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OF

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

TRANSACTIONS

1906–1907

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PUBLICATIONS

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The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

VOLUME XI

TRANSACTIONS

1906–1907

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PREFACE

VOLUME XI, now completed, contains the Transactions of the Society at seven meetings, from December, 1906, to December, 1907, both included, in continuation of Volume X.

The Committee gratefully acknowledges the Society's indebtedness to several institutions, and to friends and members of this Society, for permission to reproduce documents in their possession, for the gift of plates, or for other courtesies, namely: to Mr. William James Campbell, of Philadelphia, Mr. Elmer Chickering, Mr. Henry Herbert Edes, Mr. Albert Matthews, Mrs. Roger Wolcott, the American Antiquarian Society, the Boston Athenæum, the Harvard College Library, the Lenox Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Watkinson Library.

In accordance with a vote passed at a meeting of the Council held 2 April, 1908, the List of Members in the present volume contains the names of living members only.

For the Committee of Publication,

JOHN NOBLE,
Chairman.

BOSTON, 1 August, 1908.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

PREFACE v

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xi

OFFICERS, 1 AUGUST, 1908 xiii

RESIDENT MEMBERS xiv

HONORARY MEMBERS xvi

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS xvi

MEMBERS DECEASED xvii

DECEMBER MEETING, 1906

Members Elected 1

Gift from ROBERT HALLOWELL GARDINER, of One Hundred Dollars 1

Memoir of Dr. Thomas Young, 1731–1777, by HENRY HERBERT EDES 2

Gift from THOMAS MINNS, of four Photographs of Portraits by Copley 54

Remarks by THOMAS MINNS, on the placing of a Statue of the Rev. John Cotton in the First Church, Boston. 54

Exhibition by JAMES BOURNE AYER, of Photographs and Books illustrating the stay of the English Exiles in Geneva and Frankfort 54

Remarks by ALBERT MATTHEWS, in communicating Harvardinum Restauratum, a Poem, 1766 55

Paper by HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER, on the English Wentworth Family 61

JANUARY MEETING, 1907

Member Elected 72

Gifts from HORACE EVERETT WARE and from the Bostonian Society, of Books 72

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Paper by ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, on Barberry Bushes and Wheat — A Supplement to a chapter in "The Old Farmer and his Almanack" 73

Remarks by HORACE EVERETT WARE 95

Remarks by President KITTREDGE 95

Remarks by HENRY HERBERT EDES, on Henry Dunster 97

Communication by FRANCIS HENRY LEE, of a copy of a Letter of John Cabot, dated 27 November, 1712 98

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1907

Exhibition by LINDSAY SWIFT, of a Manuscript containing the Brut 102

Communication by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, of Letters of Washington, 1789–1793 102

Communication by FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, of an allusion to the celebration of Washington's Birthday on 11 February, 1779 195

Paper by CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON, on Circulating Libraries in Boston, 1765–1865 196

Remarks by WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN 208

Remarks by HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM 208

Remarks by WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, on the Longfellow Centenary 208

Communication by JOHN NOBLE, Jr, of the Autobiography of Captain Jonathan Chapman, 1756–1832 208

Communication by HENRY ERNEST WOODS, of an anonymous Letter presumably written by Captain Samuel Tarbell, Jr., in 1778 239

Communication by HENRY HERBERT EDES, of a Letter of Henry Laurens, dated 11 August, 1768 243

MARCH MEETING, 1907

Gift from HORACE EVERETT WARE, of a set of the Old Farmer's Almanack from 1840 to 1907 245

Communication by HENRY HERBERT EDES, of a Paper by John Henry Edmonds on the Burgis-Price View of Boston . . 245

Remarks by JAMES BOURNE AYER 262

Remarks by THOMAS MINNS 262

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Exhibition by ALBERT MATTHEWS, of photographs of the Snake Devices, 1754–1776, and of the Constitutional Courant of 21 September, 1765 263

Paper by HENRY AINSWORTH PARKER, on the Feoffees of Impropriations 263

Communication by HENRY HERBERT EDES, of Letters of Robert Morris, 1797–1798 277

APRIL MEETING, 1907

Committee to Nominate Officers appointed 280

Committee to Examine the Treasurer's Accounts appointed . . 280

Member Elected 280

Paper by ALBERT MATTHEWS, on Joyce Junior Once More . . . 280

Communication by HENRY HERBERT EDES, of a Paper by Michael Joseph Canavan on Mr. Blackstone's "Excellent Spring" . 295

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL, 19 NOVEMBER, 1907

Minute, on the Retirement of President KITTREDGE 329

ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1907

Gifts from the American Philosophical Society and from the Cambridge Historical Society, of Medals 330

Report of the Council 330

Report of the Treasurer 332

Report of the Auditing Committee 333

Officers Elected 334

Appreciation of the Services rendered to the Society by President KITTREDGE 334

Remarks by WINTHROP HOWLAND WADE, in offering a Vote expressing the sympathy of the Society for John Noble in his illness 336

Remarks by the EDITOR, in calling attention to an error in Volume IX 336

Remarks by ALBERT MATTHEWS, in communicating a Letter from the Ministers and Magistrates of Massachusetts relating to Harvard College, dated 21 August, 1671 336

Digitized by Google

PAGE

Communication by Henry Leland Chapman, of a copy of an Order commanding Sir William Phips to appear before the Privy Council, dated 15 February, 1693–94 341

Remarks by Henry Herbert Edes, in communicating a Letter of Francis Dana, dated 6 December, 1789 344

Members Elected 347

Annual Dinner 347

Memoir of Roger Wolcott, by Arthur Lawrence 348

DECEMBER MEETING, 1907

Inaugural Address, by President Lefavour 364

Member Elected 366

Address by James Kendall Hosmer, on John Harvard in England 366

Remarks by William Coolidge Lane, in exhibiting photographic facsimiles of Documents relating to John Harvard . . . 381

Exhibition by William Coolidge Lane, of a View of Harvard College engraved by Paul Revere 382

Communication by Worthington Chauncey Ford, of Letters of William Plumer, 1786–1787 383

Communication by William Endicott, of a Paper by Alfred Baylies Page on An Early American Poem 403

Paper by Albert Matthews, on the Snake Devices, 1754–1776, and the Constitutional Courant, 1765 408

Index 455

Digitized by Google

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PAGE

PORTRAIT OF ROGER WOLCOTT . . . . . *Frontispiece*

PLAN OF DR. THOMAS YOUNG'S ESTATE IN BOSTON 30

FACSIMILE OF THE ENTRY OF THE MARRIAGE OF ROBERT HARVARD AND KATHERINE ROGERS IN THE PARISH REGISTER OF HOLY TRINITY, STRATFORD-ON-AVON 374

FACSIMILE OF THE ENTRY OF THE MARRIAGE OF JOHN HARVARD AND ANNE SADLER IN THE PARISH REGISTER OF ST. MICHÆL'S, SOUTH MALLING, SUSSEX 374

FACSIMILE OF THE ENTRY OF THE MARRIAGE OF KATHERINE HARVARD AND JOHN ELLETSON IN THE PARISH REGISTER OF ST. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK 376

FACSIMILE OF THE ENTRY OF THE MARRIAGE OF KATHERINE ELLETSON AND RICHARD YEARWOOD IN THE PARISH REGISTER OF ALL SAINTS, WANDSWORTH, SURREY 376

VIEW OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE 378

PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM PLUMER 382

FACSIMILE OF SNAKE DEVICE, FROM THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE OF 9 MAY, 1754 416

FACSIMILE OF SNAKE DEVICE, FROM THE BOSTON GAZETTE OF 21 MAY, 1754 416

FACSIMILE OF SNAKE DEVICE, FROM THE BOSTON NEWS-LETTER OF 23 MAY, 1754 416

FACSIMILE OF SNAKE DEVICE, FROM THE BOSTON EVENING-POST OF 7 OCTOBER, 1765 416

Digitized by Google

PAGE

FACSIMILE OF TITLE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURANT, 21 SEPTEMBER, 1765, FORM A 422

FACSIMILE OF TITLE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURANT, 21 SEPTEMBER, 1765, FORM B 422

FACSIMILE OF TITLE OF THE NEW-YORK JOURNAL OF 23 JUNE, 1774 446

FACSIMILE OF TITLE OF THE NEW-YORK JOURNAL OF 15 DECEMBER, 1774 446

FACSIMILE OF TITLE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS SPY OF 7 JULY, 1774 448

FACSIMILE OF TITLE OF THE PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL OF 27 JULY, 1774 448

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ANDREW CUNNINGHAM WHEELWRIGHT, A.M. .	15 June,	1908

Honorary

Hon. GROVER CLEVELAND, LL.D.	24 June,	1908

Corresponding

Hon. JOHN CHANDLER BANCROFT DAVIS, LL.D.	27 December,	1907

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TRANSACTIONS

OF

THE COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS

DECEMBER MEETING, 1906

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 27 December, 1906, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from the Rev. Dr. EDWARD EVERETT HALE and Mr. ARTHUR LORD accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. CALEB BENJAMIN TILLINGHAST of Boston, and the Rev. THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS of Ipswich, were elected Resident Members.

The TREASURER reported that he had received one hundred dollars from Mr. ROBERT HALLOWELL GARDINER, a Corresponding Member; and on the motion of the Treasurer it was voted that the thanks of the Society be sent to Mr. Gardiner for his acceptable gift.

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Mr. HENRY H. EDES read the following —

MEMOIR OF DR. THOMAS YOUNG, 1731–1777.

A few weeks ago the Rev. William Ladd Ropes (H. C. 1846) put into my hands a letter written by Dr. Thomas Young in September, 1769. The letter is badly mutilated, parts of it having been destroyed by mice and dampness. With great difficulty the faded portions which remain have been deciphered, and both the original and the copy are now submitted to the Society.

This interesting and valuable paper belongs to the Trustees of the Andover Theological Seminary. It was received with a large collection of manuscripts from the representatives of the estate of the late Rev. Dr. Egbert Coffin Smyth, whose wife, born Elizabeth Bradford Dwight, was a descendant of Jonathan Edwards, through the Dwight branch of the family from which she inherited these documents. One or two passages in this letter suggest the probability that it was written to a clergyman; it was certainly addressed to a liberally educated man who lived at some distance from Boston, whose name was written at the bottom of the second page; but, unfortunately, this name has been almost obliterated. Who, then, was the receiver of this letter?

Miss Mary Woolsey Dwight, a sister of Mrs. Smyth, remembers that many years ago some ancient manuscripts, somewhat damaged, were found in the old residence of the Ellsworths in East Windsor, Connecticut, and added to the Edwards-Dwight collection of family papers. As Ann Edwards, born 28 April, 1699,[1] a sister of Jonathan Edwards and daughter of the Rev. Timothy Edwards (H. C. 1691), long the minister of the church at East Windsor, married in 1734[2] Captain John Ellsworth (1697–1784) of that town, this clue to the name of the recipient of Dr. Young's letter was followed up with gratifying results.

While mice have destroyed almost the whole of the name of the person to whom this letter was addressed, enough remains to show that his surname undoubtedly began with the letter P, and that the second letter was either o or e. Investigation showed that the

[1] Stiles, History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor (1892), ii. 194.
[2] Ibid. ii. 212.

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Rev. Thomas Potwine (Yale, 1751), born in Boston 3 October, 1731,[1] was ordained 1 May, 1754, first minister of the Second or North Society in the locality called Scantic, now known as the First Congregational Society in East Windsor, and continued his ministrations till his death 15 November, 1802, at the age of 71.[2] His daughter Elizabeth, born 24 March, 1768, married, in 1792, Captain Job Ellsworth (1765–1849) of East Windsor,[3] a kinsman of Captain John Ellsworth, above mentioned.

It was also discovered that the Rev. Joseph Perry (H. C. 1752), born in Sherborn, Massachusetts, 15 August, 1731,[4] and "distinguished for talents, learning and piety," was ordained 11 June, 1755, as colleague of the Rev. Timothy Edwards (H. C. 1691),[5] who soon after died, 27 January, 1758,[6] leaving Mr. Perry sole pastor of his flock till his death, 21 April, 1783.[7] He was chaplain of Colonel Erastus Wolcott's State Regiment at Boston, January–March, 1776.[8] Stiles says of Perry:

> When the war of the American Revolution broke out he eagerly espoused its principles, and both in public and private threw the whole weight of his influence in favor of the patriot cause. Nay, more, for when the company from East Windsor marched to Boston early in 1776, this fearless pastor accompanied them.[9]

It thus appears, beyond a reasonable doubt, that Dr. Young's letter was written either to the Rev. Thomas Potwine or to the Rev. Joseph Perry. The text of the letter follows.

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 204, xxviii. 102.

[2] Stiles, History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor (1891), i. 594, 602, ii. 625; Dexter, Yale Biographies and Annals, ii. 265.

[3] Stiles, History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, ii. 227, 625. See also ii. 210–227.

[4] Ibid. ii. 561.

[5] Ibid. i. 576. See also Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 230–232.

[6] Stiles, History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, i. 577.

[7] Ibid. i. 722, ii. 561.

[8] Ibid. i. 713, 714.

[9] Ibid. i. 722. For further facts concerning Mr. Perry, see ibid. i. 574–577, 653, ii. 723; Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, i. 231 note.

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LETTER OF DR. THOMAS YOUNG.

[Boston, September, 1769]

Dear Sir

When an ho [cler-][1]
gyman writes me that he an
my family are so also, and les
remains my friend and serv tly consider-
ing that *ultra posse nemo ob* of sense and hum[or]
sends me half a sheet of good fine [paper writt]en over one side only
and that in characters as large as treat, *quod etiam*
crescit eundo. Almost every s you say, then Sir
it is quite lucky the Comet ha[s been good] enough to visit us in such a dry season for diversion: however if the news brot by Capt William Nicols[2] in a short passage from Cadiz [be true] that france spain and prussia had formed a strict alliance the objects of which were to overturn hanover, to put holland under the command of an absolute sovereign and then give law to Britain: if this I say be true you will for sometime have new matter enough to engage your speculation. For my own part could I find leisure there seem subjects yet remaining whereon I think I coud spend time agreeably, such as writing a new paraphase on the canticles or conjectures on the meaning of ye time and times and half a time in which the prophesy is to be fulfilled. However these weighty undertakings with many of equal importance may be excused till the age of beads and prayer books, I being as yet no more than a man of this world, coud have read with a good share of pleasure a little history of your undertakings successes or disappointments; future prospects, observations and reflections on all these [four words erased]

I have put Mr Mason's[3] letter in Capt Freeman's bag who sails

[1] A few of the missing words have been supplied conjecturally between brackets.

[2] Capt. William Nichols was a charter member of the Marine Society at Newburyport, incorporated 13 October, 1777 (Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 737, 823–825). He attended the St. Patrick's Day dinner in Boston, 17 March, 1767 (Letters and Diary of John Rowe, 1903, p. 125). See ibid. pp. 318, 407.

[3] The allusion is probably to Jonathan Mason, a prominent Boston merchant, an Overseer of the Poor (1760–1787), Treasurer of the Board (1787–1795), and one of the Selectmen, chosen in the preceding March in the room of John Rowe, who declined further service (Diary, p. 183). He was also of the first Board of Directors of the Massachusetts Bank, incorporated 25 February, 1784 (Memorial History of Boston, iv. 200, 201). On 20 March, 1775, James

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for London first fair wind.[1] Mr Otis last Tuesday evening[2] in the British Coffeehouse[3] was insulted and set upon by Shanap Morgan alias John Robinson, and with the assistance of six or eight such scoundrels as himself almost murdered before any but one person ss

---

Hooker and Oliver Mather, a committee of the town of Windsor, Connecticut, appointed "to receive donations for the poor of Boston," addressed a letter to Mr. Mason announcing the shipment to him of the provisions they had collected (Stiles, History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut, i. 310). See also Manual for the use of the Overseers of the Poor in the City of Boston (1866), pp. 160, 162.

[1] Capt. Constant Freeman, a sea-captain, sailed between Boston and London and later settled at Quebec. He was the father of the Rev. Dr. James Freeman (Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, ii. 378; Wyman, Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, i. 375; Letters and Diary of John Rowe, pp. 88, 144, 234).

[2] The assault on Mr. Otis occurred on Tuesday, 5 September, 1769, about seven o'clock in the evening. See the Boston Gazette of Monday, 11 September, 1769, p. 2/3.

[3] The British Coffee House, later known as the American Coffee House, stood in State Street, on the northerly side, and had a frontage of thirty-eight or thirty-nine feet and a uniform depth of seventy feet, the westerly line of the estate being forty-four or forty-five feet east of Fitch's, Flagg's or Pierce's Alley, now known as 'Change Avenue. The property was bought for £1450, 25 April, 1792, by the Massachusetts Bank (Suffolk Deeds, clxxiii. 28, 29), and, on the west, adjoined the estate on the easterly corner of 'Change Avenue long owned and occupied by the Suffolk Bank. At the time of the assault on Otis this last named lot was the site of the London Book Store, mentioned below (p. 6 note 4). These two properties are now (1906) covered by the Massachusetts Building, numbered 60 in State Street. The Massachusetts Bank erected and occupied a stone building on its purchase, and held the lot, with additions in the rear made in 1799, 1810, and 1840 at a cost of $8,138.34 (ibid. cxcii. 158, ccxxxi. 217, cccclix. 105), till 23 April, 1860, when it sold the estate, then measuring 38 feet 10 inches on State Street, 31 feet 4 inches in the rear on the Hancock Tavern lot, and having a uniform depth of 163 feet 8 inches, and containing $5732\frac{36}{100}$ square feet, to Moses Williams, grandfather of our associate bearing the same name, for $160,000 (ibid. dcclxxviii. 225. See also ibid. clxxxvii. 184, 186, cccci. 17, cccclxx. 58, dxxvi. 165). In 1906 this land alone was taxed by the city of Boston on a valuation of eighty dollars a square foot. Corn Court, which originally ran only southerly from Faneuil Hall Square, but which has since been extended, at right angles, easterly on irregular lines to Merchants' Row, makes a part of the northern boundary of the Coffee House lot, and was undoubtedly the "back passage" through which Robinson fled after his assault on Otis. See Tudor, Life of James Otis, p. 363.

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Mr John Gridley[1] coud interpose in his favor. Mr Otis has a large cut on the forehead and many bruises however is not dangerous.[2] One of the Ruffians is taken and bound over the reforming Justice the hon.ble James Murray and Mr John Mein being his sureties the night of the binding Murray was hiss'd by a thousand in Fanuel Hall[3] Mein had signs at his bookstore and printing office[4] so besmeared with dirt that they are taken down His business is pretty well over for North America and how he will like the thin repast of his native country is not mine to determine Shan is [word erased] [word erased] absconded:[5]

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[1] The only John Gridley of whom any record is found in Boston who may have been the person mentioned in the text was John, son of Isaac and Sarah (Porter) Gridley, who was baptized 16 October, 1737. He had elder brothers, Benjamin, baptized 4 February, 1732–33, and Pollard, baptized 28 March, 1735 (Registers of the New South Church). See Frothingham, Life and Times of Joseph Warren, p. 167 note; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports xxiv. 207, 221, xxviii. 143; Suffolk Probate Files, no. 14,062. A letter by John Gridley relating to Robinson's assault on Otis is printed in the Boston Gazette of 25 September, 1769, p. 2/3.

[2] For an account of this assault and the occurrences which led up to it, see Tudor, Life of James Otis, pp. 354–366; Works of John Adams (1850), ii. 219 and note; Letters of James Murray (1901), p. 159; Letters and Diary of John Rowe, p. 192.

[3] Murray gives a full account of this incident in a letter to a friend in New York dated Boston, 30 September, 1769 (Letters, pp. 159–162); and it is alluded to by John Rowe in his Diary (p. 192). Murray was handled so roughly by the people that they were rebuked by Jonathan Mason, one of the Selectmen.

[4] John Mein's shop (1765–1769) was in King, now State, Street, "at the London Book Store, Second Door above the British Coffee House" (see above, p. 5 note 3); and in 1767, in partnership with John Fleeming, he started the Boston Chronicle, which was printed in Newbury Street, almost opposite the White Horse Tavern (Publications of this Society, ix. 483). See also ibid. v. 283 and note; Letters of James Murray, pp. 168–174; Sabine, Biographical Sketches of Loyalists in the American Revolution, ii. 78; Thomas, History of Printing (1810), i. 361–365; Buckingham, Specimens of Newspaper Literature, i. 212–216; Loring, Hundred Boston Orators (1853), pp. 23, 24.

The Boston Gazette of Monday, 29 July, 1771, p. 3/2, announces: "This day is opened, a new London Bookstore, by Henry Knox, opposite Williams's Court in Cornhill, Boston." This Washington Street site has sometimes been confounded with that in State Street, above mentioned.

[5] John Robinson, one of the Commissioners of the Customs, against whom Otis brought an action and recovered damages in £2000 sterling, was married at Trinity Church exactly a month after this affair, 5 October, 1769, to Anne Boutineau (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxx. 400), the daughter of James Boutineau, who defended his son-in-law in this suit. Robinson gave

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may he never again shew his dirty face in our horizon. The officers of the customs and army having for some time in a manner exclusively held the bar room of the British Coffeehouse since this fray it is intended to keep a moderate number of the friends of Liberty there every evening to convince them that no part [of the] Province (Meins Book store [and] the Dens of the importers a[nd Customs Com]missioners only excepted) has been so perfectly I be privileged walks of f citizens. Doct^r Warren to[day] met one of the assassins of Mr Otis at the Coffeehouse [and] demanded satisfaction on his behalf. The fellow plead his being under bonds.

The Doctor said he had not adverted to that and then expected a compliance he declined all further conversation on of the moves of that party they seem to nts of this town are not so hypochondriacally careful dear persons as they conceived them at first view. putations of opposition at landing in the first place de with fear. Finding no such thing and setting it all to apprehensions elated them beyond measure. When they now [be]gin to find the reach of our policy and intrepidity of the indi[vi]duals they have had to deal with, it much diminishes the conceit of their omnipotence.

Mr Winthrop[1] has had his telescope put in order to view the comet and provided he finds suitable intervals of good weather we hope he will give us some curious observations on so considerable a Phenomenon. I saw it two nights successively the latter was called up half after three in the morning, and carried 5 miles out of town so that I saw it till daylight; by what I cou'd conjecture from its celerity and direction it seems to fall perpendicular into the body of the sun However unas-

bonds to answer to it and sailed for England 16 March, 1770, — "goes home to represent all these things in their proper light" (Letters and Diary of John Rowe, pp. 179, 199; Publications of this Society, vii. 4 note 2; Letters of James Murray, p. 165). He returned to sign, in August, 1772, a written apology acknowledging his fault and begging Otis's pardon, to pay the costs of court, and to receive a discharge, drawn by Otis, from the payment of the heavy damages awarded him. See Tudor, Life of James Otis, pp. 365, 503–506; Sabine, Biographical Sketches of Loyalists in the American Revolution, i. 241, 242, ii. 229, 230.

[1] Professor John Winthrop (H. C. 1732). For a notice of him, see Publications of this Society, vii. 321–329. Concerning the appearance of the comet, see Letters and Diary of John Rowe, pp. 191, 192.

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sisted by instruments or perhaps much accuracy to use them this dogma is not expected to enter the essentials of your faith on these portentous bodies. A matter more immediately interesting to me is that Doct^r Warren now first in business in this town called upon [me] last night and says Sir I now wait upon you to signify my high satisfaction that your character interest and business rises fast in this town and I now assure you Sir that whatever may heretofore have happened I have now a real esteem of you and hearty friendship for you which I desire you may henceforth credit on the honor of a Gentleman. By this accession I am now as well settled respecting medical friendship as I can wish Doct^r Church[1] having since your kind mediation continued as faithful and agreeable a friend as ever man was blest with. After having such a confounded parcel of trash from me you cannot in conscience stab me off next time with a ·of and then '*add no more*' but lest you should, [and I] be always cheated by you I add no more but remain

your affec, friend
and humble serv

[2]

Considering the prominent part Dr. Young took in public affairs during the years which immediately preceded the breaking out of hostilities and the early years of the Revolutionary War, it is remarkable that his name is not found in our biographical dictionaries. It is for this reason that I have attempted to gather, from widely scattered sources, the principal facts in his career.[3]

[1] See Publications of this Society, v. 265–268.

[2] This facsimile is made from the signature appended to another letter of Dr. Young. Of the signature to the letter in the text only "Young" remains, but the identity of the handwriting is apparent. An address was added to the letter in the text, but only the letters "Po" (or "Pe") can be deciphered.

[3] My thanks are due to Messrs. Frederick L. Gay, Herbert Putnam, William P. Greenlaw, Julius H. Tuttle, Edmund M. Barton, John Woolf Jordan, I. Minis Hays, Robert H. Kelby, Wilberforce Eames, Charles K. Bolton, and Albert Matthews for aid received in the preparation of this communication. I have

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In the spring of 1729 a company of immigrants left Ireland for America under the leadership of Charles Clinton. The following extracts from a contemporary record which he kept are of interest:

A journal[1] of my Voyage and Travels from the County of Longford in the Kingdom of Ireland to Pennsylvania in America, Anno Dom. 1729.

I took my journey from the County of Longford on Friday the 9th day of May : came to Dublin ye 12th ditto. Entered on shipboard the ship call'd the George and Ann ye 18th. Sett sail the 20th . . . .

Discovered land on ye Continent of America ye 4th day of October 1729.

A paper[2] written by Dr. Young's younger brother, Dr. Joseph Young,[3] supplies many facts which had been long sought elsewhere in vain.

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also had the advantage of access to the Notes on early American Physicians by the late Dr. J. M. Toner, now in the Library of Congress.

[1] The original of Charles Clinton's Journal is now in the New York State Library.

[2] After this Memoir had been written and was about to be put to press, Miss Charlotte van Peyma of the New York State Library at Albany, in response to inquiries, called my attention to the fact that Mr. Edward M. Ruttenber, the author of the historical sketch of New Windsor which appeared in 1881 in the History of Orange County, was still living at Newburgh, New York. From him I learned that he had in his possession a copy, made by himself about thirty years since, of a manuscript account of the Young and Clinton families written a century ago by Dr. Joseph Young, a brother of Dr. Thomas Young, who was living at that time (11 April, 1807) at No. 53 Catharine Street, New York City. This he has been so kind as to allow me to copy for use in completing this Memoir. There is an account of the Clintons, based largely on this manuscript, in Dr. David Hosack's Memoir of De Witt Clinton (1829), pp. 22–24, 137–141.

[3] Dr. Joseph Young served as surgeon prior to his appointment as Hospital Physician and Surgeon, 20 September, 1781, and until the close of the war (Heitman, Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army, 1775–1783, Washington, 1893, p. 448). In the Knox Manuscripts (xvi. 115), in the cabinet of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, is a letter, dated at Albany, 30 December, 1783, written to Gen. Henry Knox by Dr. Joseph Young "Hospital Surgeon." Dr. Joseph Young's narrative, mentioned in the preceding note, bears the following title: "A Genealogical and Biographical Sketch, written by Joseph Young at the request of his niece, Barbara Amelia Hertell, who wished to gain some knowledge of her progenitors and collateral kindred, as recollected in memory. Written in June 1807." See p. 50 and note, below.

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James Clinton, Esquire, who lived near Belfast, in the north of Ireland, had *a sister* named *Margaret;* and *one son* named *Charles*, and *two daughters*, viz: Christiana and *Mary*. Margaret, the sister of James, was married to my great-grandfather, John Parks, and had a son named John (who was the grandfather of Arthur Parks), and two daughters, *Jane* and *Barbara*. About the year 1700, the whole connexion removed to the county of Longford, and lived nearly continguous to each other near Edgeworthstown, where *Jane Parks* was married to my grandfather, *John Young*, and had [a son named John, and] a daughter, Mary; and my grand-aunt, *Barbara* Parks (sister to Jane and daughter of Margaret Clinton), was married to John Crawford[1] and had three sons, viz: Matthew, Alexander and Joseph, and a daughter named Mary. After my grandfather John Young died, his widow (Jane) was married to Thomas Armstrong.[2] They lived in this vicinity (Edgeworthstown) until sometime in the year 1727 or 1728, when the whole connexion growing more and more dissatisfied with the government, resolved to emigrate to the then colony of New York; and as if bound together by the indissoluble ties of consanguinity and friendship, the greatest number of those who had emigrated from the north, with some additional members, engaged a ship at Dublin, commanded by a Captain Rymer, and all paid their passage money there, and had the ship bound to them for the faithful performance of their agreement. They laid in a sufficient stock of provisions for an ordinary passage, but instead of a common passage he kept them at sea twenty-one weeks and three days. During the passage they one morning came in full sight of the coast of Virginia, which the boatswain, who was an old seaman, affirmed he knew perfectly well, as he had frequently been on that coast before, but the captain called him a lying, skulking dog, and immediately ordered to put the ship about and put off to sea; in consequence of this unequivocal disclosure of the captain's intention to famish them all to death at sea, William Armstrong (*my father's half-brother*) would have put him to death, had he not been forcibly restrained. Colonel Charles Clinton, who by his age and superior abilities, appears to have been the head or chief of the connexion, who had a better knowledge of the laws than the others, told them that unless the other

[1] John Crawford purchased lands in New Windsor in 1738. He is presumed to have been son of James Crawford, and brother of James, 2nd.

[2] Jane, widow of Thomas Armstrong, died at Little Britain, 5 February, 1761, aged 84 years (gravestone in Clinton burial ground at Little Britain). Thomas Armstrong, who was her second husband, died, as already stated, on the voyage to America.

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officers belonging to the ship would join them, their rising forcibly against the captain would, upon trial, be adjudged piracy. But the spirits of the officers were so completely subdued by the tyrannical conduct of the captain, who had killed a man on board by striking him on the head with a pipe-stave, that they dare not join the passengers against him. In this shocking dilemma, the captain extorted from them a very considerable sum of money, as a bribe for landing them on any part of the coast. Soon after this agreement he landed them at Cape Cod.

For several days previous to their landing, their allowance had been a half biscuit, and half a pint of water for twenty-four hours. In consequence of this cruel treatment many of the passengers died, and amongst this number who perished with famine, was Thomas Armstrong. He was a very valuable man. His son William and his daughter Margery, shared the same fate. They arrived at Cape Cod in the fall, and remained there until spring, and then sailed for New Windsor in Ulster county, where Colonel Charles Clinton, Alexander Denniston, and my father, John Young,[1] bought three farms adjoining each other,[2] and lived in the greatest friendship and harmony; and called their neighborhood Little Britain.

The Cols. two sisters, Christina and Mary, lived some years contiguous to their brother and then removed to New York. Sometime in the year 1729 or '30 my father married his cousin, *Mary Crawford*, daughter of Barbara and sister to Jane Parks. By this means the descendants of John Young have derived a double portion of Clinton blood, from their

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[1] John Young died in 1784 aged 82 years. [Note by Dr. Joseph Young.]

[2] These farms were on the Andrew Johnston Patent, the centre and seat of Little Britain and its immediate vicinity. The deeds to Clinton and Young were dated 22 August, 1730. In the log-house built on John Young's farm, Dr. Thomas Young was born. About 1764, probably on his removal to Albany, John Young sold this estate to John Welling, who, in 1765, built on the site of the log-house, which was moved to one side but has long since disappeared, a stone house known as the Welling Homestead, which to-day shelters his descendants in the fourth and fifth generations.

All through the large district to which the name [Little Britain] was applied, the great majority of the settlers were Scotch-Irish or English-Irish and nearly all were Presbyterians. Agreeing very generally in their religious views, they were also remarkable for the uniformity of their political convictions. When it came down to the era of the Revolution, there were but few who were Tories or King's men, and these were mainly members of the Church of England, of whom there was a sprinkling in the neighborhood. Charles Clinton, through his sons, Governor George and Gen. James, and his grandson Governor DeWitt, has, perhaps, the most extended historical reputation in the politics of the State. . . . The neighborhood was composed of men of strong natural abilities and marked character (E. M. Ruttenber and L. H. Clark, History of Orange County, New York, pp. 211, 214, 215, 222).

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grandmothers, which they prize much more than to have been related to the assuming family of Livingston. My father had four sons, to wit: *Thomas*, *Joseph*, *John* and *Isaac;* and three daughters, viz: *Jane*, *Mary* and *Barbara*. *Thomas* was born the 19th of Feby. 1731. He exhibited very early signs of a fertile genius, and surprizing memory. Our grandmother, Jane, was a good English scholar and learned us to read, and by the time Thomas was six years old he could read any English book correctly and fluently. As there were but few children in their new settlement, they had no schoolmaster. But my father, who was a tolerable arithmetician, undertook to teach him with the assistance of *Cocker's* Arithmetic. My father found little more necessary than to explain the reasons of each operation, in the first questions in each of the first rules, when he took up the business himself and went through the book without any further instruction. This uncommon rapid progress in the acquisition of useful knowledge, by a person so young, excited the admiration of many. Sometime after Mr. John Wilson, a famous mathematician, opened a school about four miles distant, to which the young self-taught student was sent. The neighbors who knew the strength of his genius, told the master that he would acquire great credit by teaching him; but it appears that the genius of our young student was not confined to one track — he was extremely sprightly and playful and his invention quite equal to his other talents, which he did not fail to exercise in a pretty full school, by diverting the attention of the scholars from their studies. The master called at the house of one who had said so much in praise of Tommy's great genius, who asked him how Tommy improved? The master replied, "I have as yet suspended my judgment concerning him, but if his other talents are equal to his invention of means to excite laughter and merriment, he is surely a most surprising lad."

Tommy went on in his thoughtless career, until he one day chanced to displease a pompous young man, who had made considerable progress in figures, who insultingly told him, "since Providence has denied you the capacity or talents to acquire any useful knowledge, you should not interrupt those who have both the inclination and capacity to learn; besides I shall have a great estate to manage, which will require all the knowledge I can gain to manage it, and support my rank. But if you can gain a knowledge of pounds, shillings and pence, it is all you will ever have occasion for." Tommy, viewing him with the most sovreign contempt, replied: "Sir, you talk very exultingly of your talents and capacity; but I will convince you before the end of six weeks I will be qualified to teach you, and from that period as long as you and I shall live." From

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that hour he quit his wild pranks and commenced the attentive student, and fairly verified his promise to the satisfaction and gratification of the whole school. Mr. Wilson's fame as a Mathematical teacher soon procured him an invitation to open a school in New York, where he removed.

Thomas had from infancy an invincible propensity to the study of physic, and often declared to me, when we were very young, that if it should be proposed by those who possessed the power to confer it, to make him Emperor of the whole earth, on condition that he would relinquish the study of physic, he would spurn the proposal. But as he knew a knowledge of the Languages would be a necessary acquirement, he now turned all his attention to effect this purpose. But as there was no Latin master in the place at that time, he resolved to learn it from books. He accordingly borrowed a Vocabulary and a Concordi from Col. Clinton, who observed that he would find it much more difficult to learn Latin without the help of a Master, than to go through Cocker without assistance. He returned the books in about six weeks. The Col. naturally concluded that Thomas had been convinced of the impracticability of his design; he however examined him to find out what progress he had made, and soon discovered that every word of both books was perfectly imprinted in the memory of his student. The Col. laid by the books and told Tommy that he wished to see his father on business. Our father soon waited on the Col. who told him that it would be almost criminal to let such a promising genius sink in obscurity for want of an education, that could be so easily acquired, and added, "I am going to New York and if you wish to give him the means of improvement, in any degree adequate to the merit of his uncommon diligence and surprising talents, if you will give me the money I will bring him a set of the Classics; and after he has perused them sufficiently, I am confident that, by the assistance of a good tutor, for a few months, will give him a good knowledge of the Latin language." The plan was executed and when the young student got his books he retired every fair day to a pleasant arbor, composed of young trees interwoven with grape vines so as to render it impervious to the rays of the sun, and was rarely seen except at meal time. But the effect of such intense application became so visible in his conduct that his parents were alarmed with apprehensions, that if he could not be immediately diverted from his studies, his mental faculties might be much injured. Matters were so arranged that one of the Col's sons called and coaxed him to go home with him, where they would have a variety of books to read; but matters were so contrived that the key of the Col's library

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was mislaid and could not be found. He remained in this friendly assylum until he resumed his cheerful sprightly humor. This happened in the golden age when friendship was a reality and not an empty name. He assumed his studies again with more prudence and much better success, for now everything which he learned was indellibly impressed in his memory, and from this period I do candidly believe that he never forgot anything, unless past the power of recollection, that was worth retaining. After he had obtained a very considerable knowledge of his Grammar and other Latin authors, there fortunately came a minister[1] to the parish who was a good linguist, under whom he completed his Latin education. And I have reason to believe that although he was not a complete Grecian scholar, he knew the radical meaning of every technical term in the arts and sciences that has been borrowed from that language. He had gained a tolerable knowledge of the High Dutch language by reading their books, which he completed during his medical apprenticeship with Doctor John Kitterman. He could read and understand the French language, but never attempted converse in it, as he was unacquainted with its pronunciation. But as the study of physic was always his darling pursuit, his book on that favourite subject still made one of the selected number. He was indefatigable in the study of Botany, and at a very early period in life, he was acquainted with almost all the indigenous plants in our part of the country, and their virtues.

With these preparatory qualifications he commenced his apprenticeship, probably about the age of 17, and remained about two years, but before the expiration of that time, many of the patients reposed more confidence in the skill of the apprentice than in that of the tutor (Dr. Kitterman). During this period he gained a facility of conversing in both High and Low Dutch. He then took lodgings at the house of Captain [Garret] Winegar[2] in Sharon, Conn., and soon acquired fame and a very extensive practice, being frequently called to remote parts in Connecticut, Massachusetts and New York.

It is not known whether Dr. Young's epic poem, entitled The Conquest of Quebec, was written during his residence in Amenia or later; nor has a copy of it been found. In a memoir on the

[1] This, probably, was the Rev. John Moffat, whose school was known as Moffat's Academy (Ruttenber and Clark, History of Orange County, p. 212).

[2] Concerning the Winegars, who were Palatines and who lived in Amenia, see James H. Smith, History of Duchess County, New York (1882), pp. 335, 336; Newton Reed, Early History of Amenia (1875), pp. 16–20; and below, p. 50 notes 1 and 4.

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names of places in Dutch New York, read 31 December, 1816, before the New York Historical Society, the Hon. Egbert Benson says:

Vermont, Green Mountain, and the town of *Amenia*, in Dutchess county, *Pleasant*, . . . owe their names to the fancy of Young, the poet; . . . he had a peculiar facility in making English words from Latin ones. In his Poem, the Conquest of Quebec, in describing the portents which he feigned to have preceded the battle of the Plains of Abraham, and which, according to his fiction, appalled the stout heart of Wolfe not a little, the first line of one of the couplets, [was] "vulpine ululations, ursine growls," and the two concluding words of the next, "predicting owls," those which preceded have escaped my memory, and it is not now in my power to recover them; sad fate for an epic! "scarce twice five lustres past and out of print."[1]

It was during his residence in Amenia that Dr. Young's friendship with Ethan Allen, then living in the adjacent town of Salisbury, Connecticut, began.[2] In his Early History of Amenia, Newton Reed says:

They were often together, and they were also in sympathy in the violence of their patriotism and in their religious unbelief (p. 46).

In his Life of Ethan Allen, Henry Hall writes:

We are told that Allen in his early life was very intimate with Dr. Thomas Young. . . . One of the most noted characteristics of Ethan, his fondness for the society of able men, is illustrated in his association with Young (p. 20).

The following extracts are from "The Allen Family — an unpublished lecture, delivered at Burlington, by Rev. Zadock Thompson, March 16, 1852," printed in the Vermont Historical Gazetteer, 1867:

I was told by the late Mr. Jehial Johns, who died in Huntington in 1840, aged 85 years, and who knew Ethan Allen in Connecticut, . . .

[1] Collections of the New York Historical Society, Second Series, ii. pp. 125, 126. Benson was the first President of the Society. See also Newton Reed, Early History of Amenia, pp. 45, 46 and notes, 106 and note; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlvii. 215.

[2] See p. 50 note 4, below.

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that Allen was about that time on very intimate terms with that noted infidel and historical writer Dr. Thomas Young, and that from him he derived his own infidel notions, and the principal arguments by which he defended them (i. 563).

Mention is made in this letter, you will perceive, of his book on theology. This work was none other than that generally known as *Ethan Allen's Bible*. As this was the most remarkable, and most considerable of his works, it being an octavo volume of 477 pages, I will say a few words respecting it. . . .

At the time of Ethan Allen's youth there were in Litchfield co., Ct., and in Dutchess co., N. Y., which lies adjacent, a number of professed infidels, among whom a Dr. Thomas Young was prominent, both on account of his education and abilities, and also on account of his daring profaneness, amounting sometimes to blasphemy, for which he was once prosecuted, convicted and punished. Young was living on what was called the Oblong in Dutchess co., and very near the line of Connecticut. At the time Pres't Edwards proposed his famous theological questions, Young engaged in their discussion, and boldly espoused the infidel side, and argued in opposition to the necessity of a Divine Revelation. Ethan Allen had previous to this time been on very intimate terms with Young, had spent much time at his house, and fully imbibed all of his infidel notions. Allen, therefore, entered at once upon this discussion, supporting the same views with Young, and spending a large share of his time in writing. Mrs. Wadhams,[1] whom I have already mentioned, and in whose family he resided, informed me some years ago, that Ethan Allen spent one summer at her house employed nearly the whole time in writing. She did not know what he was writing about, but she recollected that once when she called him to dinner he said that he was very sorry she had called so soon, for "he had got clear up into the upper regions." It seemed at this time, to be generally understood that he and Young were engaged in company, in the preparation of a work in support of infidel principles, and that there was an agreement between them that the one who outlived the other should

[1] Mrs. Wadhams was Ethan Allen's sister-in-law. Abigail Beebe married, (1) Capt. Heman Allen of Salisbury, Litchfield County, Connecticut, and after his death in May, 1778, (2) Solomon Wadhams (Y. C. 1762) of Goshen, Connecticut, in 1780. She died in Goshen 3 June, 1844, in her 91st year (Dexter, Yale Biographies and Annals, ii. 778, 774). See also Stiles, History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut (1904), ii. 772; Cothren, History of Ancient Woodbury, Connecticut (1854), i. 414; Hemenway, Vermont Historical Gazetteer (1867), i. 561 and note, 562.

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publish it. When Ethan Allen came to Vermont his MSS. were left in possession of Young. Young engaged, soon after this, very warmly in the cause of the American colonies, and became distinguished as a political writer. . . . He died in Philadelphia . . . and his family returned to their residence in Dutchess county, N. Y. On Allen's return to Vermont, after his exile in the spring of 1778, he called upon Young's family, procured his own and Young's MSS. and took them with him to Vermont. These, as he had leisure he rewrote, altered and arranged them in the form of a book with this title, *Reason the only Oracle of Man, or a Compendious System of Natural Religion.* The preface of this work is dated July 2, 1782, and it was published at Bennington in 1784 (i. 567, 568).

The substance of Allen's theology may be expressed in few words. It consisted in a belief in the existence of a Supreme Creator and Governor of the Universe; in a belief that man would be rewarded or punished in a future state in accordance with his doings in this life; that reason is a sufficient guide for man, and that a revelation is unnecessary; and, being unnecessary, has never been made, and is not to be expected. Whether the *Oracles of Reason* was the sole production of Ethan Allen, or the joint production of him and Dr. Young, may never, perhaps, be certainly known. I am very confident, however, that no person who is familiar with Allen's other writings, can read the *Oracles of Reason* without suspicion that some other person beside himself was concerned in its composition (i. 569).

To anticipate a little our story of Dr. Young's life in Boston, the following correspondence will be read with interest in this connection. The first letter, written by Aaron Davis, Jr., appeared in the Boston News-Letter of Thursday, 26 November, 1772 (p. 2/1). Dr. Young's cause was instantly espoused by Samuel Adams[1] who, over the signature of "Vindex," published a scathing reply to Davis in the Boston Gazette of Monday, 30 November, 1772 (p. 2/1); and Dr. Young's letter to Davis, which the Boston Gazette was unable to print for lack of space, appeared in the Boston Evening-Post of the same date (p. 2/2).

[1] A note in Wells's Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams (ii. 238) refers to Dr. Young as "among the earliest and most uncompromising of the Boston patriots . . . and a valued friend of Samuel Adams," — a fact of present interest considering the pronounced orthodox religious views which Mr. Adams always held.

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I

AARON DAVIS, JR.[1] TO DR. THOMAS YOUNG.

To Dr. Young

Sir,

I Perceive the manner in which I spoke of you in a late Town-Meeting has given you offence: If you are so vain as to think yourself of so much importance that a man who expresses a dislike of your character, *wounds* his Country *through your Sides*, I believe you are the *only* man in the world that has so high an opinion of your own importance: for my own part, I believe their is no person with whose character the Interest of the Country is less connected than with your's.

If you think by giving us your CREED to deceive the vulgar; and palm yourself on them for *a Christian*, let me tell you, you are much mistaken, there are none, unless whose Eyes party zeal hath blinded, but sees there is nothing in your Creed to distinguish you from the most thorough paced infidels, and virulent opposers of our holy Religion. — Let me ask you plainly, do you believe the *scriptures* of the Old and New-Testament, or *any* part of them, to be truely a Revelation from God; — or that Jesus of Nazareth was the Son of God, and the appointed Saviour of the world? Do you believe that Jesus is risen from the Dead, or that he is the appointed Judge of the world? — that by him God will judge the world in righteousness, and every man will be rewarded or punished in *another world* according to the deeds done

[1] Captain Aaron Davis, Jr., a merchant of Boston and Roxbury, was born 18 October, 1735, married Susannah Craft 20 November, 1760, and died 12 October, 1773. In June, 1771, he was appointed Captain of the train of Artillery of the First Suffolk Regiment. His early death was attributed to exposure while drilling his troops. The announcement of his death in the Boston News-Letter of Thursday, 14 October, 1773 (p. 3/2), describes him as "a worthy, honest, useful Man, — a great Public Loss." He was son of Colonel Aaron Davis, born 26 April, 1709, who married Mary Perrin 25 January, 1732–33, and died 11 June, 1777. The father was an active Patriot and served on many committees to protest against the policy of the British Government toward the Colonies. In November, 1774, he was chosen Captain of the Company raised from the First Parish; and he represented Roxbury in the three Provincial Congresses, 1774–1776.

I am indebted to Mr. Horatio Davis for the facts contained in this note. See Roxbury Town and Church Records; F. S. Drake, The Town of Roxbury, in Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxxiv. 23–30, 36, 82, 89, 92, 103, 110, 142, 461.

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in the body? — let us have plain, positive, unavasive answers to the foregoing plain questions? — Do you believe it of a whit more consequence to be acquainted with the genealogy of Christ than with those of Paul, or Cephas, Luther, Calvin, or even Mahomet himself? — Have you not freely professed years ago that you tho't it your indispensible duty to undeceive mankind, and discredit the writings of the bible? — has not your zeal in the Cause of infidelity led you to speak of Jesus Christ; and the Virgin Mary in terms of reproach and contempt too bad to be repeated after you, and too shocking to be published to the world in a common News-Paper?

You seem to complain of it, Sir, that I censured your moral character and set that in an odious light, but let me ask you, and ask the impartial world, whether, or no the man that accustoms himself to curse and swear, and take God's name in vain and damn his fellow creatures, can be said to be a moral man? — do your acquaintance know and can they witness for you that you are free from such a use of your tongue? — perhaps I am better acquainted with your conversation than you are aware, and let me tell you, to say the least, — if you are the gentleman that keeps that unruly member, the Tongue in due subjection then I will acknowledge my ears have deceived me.

Now, Sir, I do not deny, that I did fully and openly declare in our late Town-Meeting that I did not chuse to have any thing to do with measures, wherein I must follow the lead of such men as Dr. Young, or in words of like import, — and I believe I might further say that if I had any thing of my own private affairs of importance to be transacted I should chuse to commit it to men of virtuous lives and conversations and this is still my opinion, & I hope ever will be so to my dying day: and let me tell you plainly, I do not chuse to put confidence in any man that makes it his business to disparage the religion and dishonour the person of our glorious Redeemer, or that has no more regard for the name of God, or the good of mankind, than to curse and damn his fellow creatures, and take the awful name of God in vain: — such men, I take, with all their pretences to patriotism and benevolence, to have no solid principles of goodness, and are quite unworthy of any special trust and confidence.

The Town of Boston, is not I am perswaded *straitned for persons of spirit and capacity,* and I may add of solidity and exemplary religion to serve them in all their important trusts: — and it has always been astonishing to the world how any important trust come to be committed to you the best account that can be given for it, I believe, is that you appeared ready to lead in such bold and exceptionable measures, as to

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most of the wise and discerning part of the Gentlemen of the Town appeared to be quite imprudent and dangerous, and rather savoured of faction, than boded any good to the public, — and to tell the truth it has given no small offence, to the more solid, judicious part of Town and Country, and not a little disserved the noble Cause of public liberty that you should have been held up in the light of a zealous Patriot, and been put to lead in measures of public importance: — But let your character be what it may, I don't think, that a set of Athiests or Deists, men of profligate manners and profane tongues are fit persons to be intrusted suffered to lead in the interesting concerns of public liberty and happiness; — and don't it look quite ridiculous for a Set of *Puritans*, deeply concerned for their *religious* as well as civil privileges, as the generality of the good people of this Country are, to set up such men, as I have just mentioned, to be the leaders, guiders and managers in public affairs: — For my part I wish our eyes may be on the faithful of the land, men of Exemplary Religion, united with us in the Faith and fellowship of the Gospel.

What end you designed to answer by the pompous accounts of your reputable Parentage and your comfortable fortune, I know not. — Your account of the early impressions you had of religion, and your concern to be saved, taken with your solemn appeal to God, seems to me to savour of prophanity: — however it agrees well enough with the other parts of your conduct. If you ever had such a serious turn of mind, I wish you had carried it through life, — that of an apostate is a dreadful character, read Heb. 6. 4 to the 8th verse, in a serious hour. — Perhaps, dear Sir, the Gospel is not a cunningly devised fable — and if there were only a *perhaps* such a text should make an apostate tremble.

It is not impossible that you might be helpful in encouraging Recruits for carrying on the war; but I don't find you had courage enough to venture your head: — and since the detestable Stamp-Act you may have vapoured away in talk; — Words are but wind — whether your view was to be admired, applauded and promoted, or anything better, you know best.

I now am, and ever have been as steady a friend to the rights and privileges of my country as any man whatsoever, though perhaps not so fond of sounding my own praise as some, and in my humble station shall do all in my power to promote good Government and secure our invaluable liberties, but in this glorious Cause I shall think myself very unhappy to be obliged to consult with, or follow measures dictated by other than men of probity, piety and real christianity.

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I retract nothing that I said about you in the Meeting referred to: — I wish myself and you better men. I have neither leisure nor learning to pursue controversy — I wish my Country men of abler heads and better lives than either of us to lead in public measures.

As I ever did so I now wish you well.

Roxbury Nov. 23
1772

A. DAVIS, jun.

II

SAMUEL ADAMS TO AARON DAVIS, JR.

Dr. *Young's* Letter to Mr. *Aaron Davis*, Jun should have had a Place in this Day's paper, had we not been pre-engaged with the following.

Mr. *A—n D—s.*

SIR,

THE weakness of an adversary, with a man of understanding, will frequently disarm him of his resentment: Who would chuse to enter the lists, when even victory is attended with disgrace? A—n D—s as a Huckster of small Wares, within the Bar-room, or laudably vending Milk and Water, might have grubbed on unnoticed, and not superlatively contemptible; but when he so far mistakes his proper department, as to blunder into the field of politicks, and assume a dictatorial and offensive part, we are compelled with reluctance to scourge the insect, tho' convinced 'tis but an insect still. We are informed by your *fellow townsman*, whom we presume must know you well, that you are destitute of feeling; your unexampled effrontery in the publick transaction which has unhappily brought you into notice, added to the consummate assurance evidenced in the stupid composition to which you have tacked your name, are strong circumstances in favour of the position: But is your modesty truly impregnable? Cannot the weapon of stern rebuke arouse your sensibility? Must honest indignation mourn a defeat? I intend to try the doubtful experiment, tho' you should analize a satyr to be a proof of your general consequence, and extract incense to your vanity from the blackest record of your shame.

In your outrageous zeal for the cause of christianity, and the *Virgin Mary*, permit me to question your sincerity: It is evident from your notable performance, that you have been acquainted with the religious

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principles and immoral practices of the *gentleman* so very exceptionable to you; for some years past: That he was then as thorough-paced an *infidel*, as virulent an *opposer* of *our holy religion*, as he is now: That he was doing discredit to the *Bible* then, or to adopt your own phrase, was *undeceiving mankind* as actively as at any time since: That you was *acquainted* with the *open profanity* of *his conversation*, and if we may take your word for it, was an *ear-witness* to his *oaths* and execrations: Why did you not commence a champion in the cause of christianity some months earlier? It would have had a better appearance, if in your ebullient zeal you had endeavoured to prevent his desseminating such mischievous principles, and seasonably entered your caveat against the pernicious effects of his example: But *the cause of christianity* abstracted from *political concerns*, was not sufficient to awaken your resentment: Will not this my dear sir! occasion suspicions, that all your flaming professions of patriotism will neither discredit nor remove?

Doctor Young (I dare you to contradict me) has ever been an un- unwearied assertor of the rights of his countrymen: has taken the post of hazard, and acted vigorously in the cause of American freedom: Such endeavours and exertions, have justly entitled him to the notice, to the confidence of the people; they, from a thorough conviction of his political integrity, have united him with several *gentlemen*, against whom we presume you can have no just exception, to explain their rights and state their grievances; was not your conscience so delicately offensible, I would ask such an *immaculate christian*, whether your ideas of *reprobation* extended not only to the *whole committee*, but to *every transaction* in which they could possibly be employed? If not, are you not ashamed of your capricious folly, in rejecting a cause which you profess to have at heart, for the sake of an individual, against whom, your spotless purity has matter of objection.

Shall I be arraigned of want of charity, if I here express my doubt of your veracity in this matter? The cloak of christianity is the thread-bare garb of hypocrisy; and novel cover for political apostates: I suspect 'tis *the cause* that renders *the man* obnoxious; the *infidel* might have perverted the world, and your zeal been smothered in its native bosom of sanctity; in short, had not the *cause of liberty* found a busy *advocate* in the man you brand with *irreligion*, your abhorrence would probably never have found a tongue.

You do not chuse to have any thing to do with measures wherein you must follow the lead of such men as Dr. Young: I apprehend you confine yourself here to political matters; if so, what must those rejected measures be? if just, right and reasonable, the man must be an incor-

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rigible blockhead to reject them, let them originate where they will: if on the contrary, they are improper and exceptionable; you might have discountenanced the measure, without villifying the man.

Inconsiderable and weak as I esteem you, you have still an interest in the constitutional claims of an English subject, equal to a nobleman, equal to an intelligent being: these you have no right to sacrifice even to your own predominant folly. You assert that you are, and ever have been as steady a friend to the rights and privileges of your country, as any man whatsoever, &c. what then is that exact point of discretion, that chaste line of decorum, to which your love of your country will carry you, and no further? All those concerned in consulting and labouring for the redemption of their country, must be very examplary christians, or your patriotism hangs so loosely about you, that your country may perish rather than you will unite for it's salvation, with a man not compleatly orthodox: *For no political measures can possibly be reasonable or just, which are not dictated by men of piety and real christianity:* The truth of this observation will appear with peculiar lustre, when we consider what a paultry figure, those antient heathenish states of Greece and Rome made in the primitive ages. You elsewhere shrewdly remark, *that it has always been astonishing in the world; how any important trusts came to be committed to Dr. Young; the best account that can be given for it*, YOU BELIEVE *is, that he appeared ready to lead in such bold and exceptionable measures, as rather savoured of faction than boded any good to the public:* which is in plain English, that because the measures he proposed, were dangerous and exceptionable, Therefore the town approved and confided in him. To wave the illiberal slander upon the town; I question most christian sir, whether any article of Dr. Young's CREED will shock decency and common sense more than this.

The present crisis is truly an alarming one to your country; the few friends of the people have abundant necessity to have their hands strength'ned: the man who deserts now, is the worst enemy of his country: You sir! have done this, with the aggravated guilt of endeavouring to load with obloquy the cause you abandon — I scorn to keep terms with a man I esteem so base — You have provided yourself a Retreat, being assured of the smiles of power; nay more, you are entitled to their favour, for the rank injury you meant to the oppressed people; and we shall probably see such *baseness* distinguished in the *commissioned* scroll of SCOUNDRELS and RESCINDERS.

VINDEX.

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III

DR. THOMAS YOUNG TO AARON DAVIS, JR.

To Mr. Aaron Davis, jun.

SIR,

However distant I may be from supposing you the contriver of any one sentence of the abusive thing, ushered into the world under the auspices of your name and character, I must at least consider it as a child of your adoption, and thereupon address you as the ostensible author. And even with this provision I am really sorry to find myself necessitated to impute to you more *artifice* and *disingenuous design* than any one of your acquaintance believes you capable of; and hitherto have thought beneath your native honesty even to countenance.

The town of Boston alarmed at a recent attack upon their happy constitution and constantly observing that acquiesence under one imposition invited another, concluded to present their fellow subjects in this province especially with a state of their Rights and the infringements of those Rights which have been made in the past ten years.[1] To a share of this laborious and important task I was honored with their appointment; and saving all possible deference to the superior understandings of your well known prompters, I should suppose them alone the proper judges in this particular at least, be they ever so much below yourself and associates in every other respect.

But be this matter as it may, the town of Roxbury equally uneasy at the inroads making on their birthrights called a meeting, in which mention was made of the measure planning by Boston. How did you behave on this occasion? You could not espouse a measure in the concertion of which such men as Dr. Young had been employed. Had Machiavel himself concerted the measure, were it apparently good and salutary, and as such adopted by a body of gentlemen, whose capacities you, for some cause, seem disposed to complement, I take it you would have had nothing to do with its origin. The town of Boston have long had that single point in view, to preserve inviolably the right of *appointing* and *rewarding at their discretion* their public servants. They may in some instances have appeared somewhat *exceptionable* to your new connections, by their tenacity of these Rights, but notwithstanding the impudent insinuation of your dictator they still conceive the odious epithet,

[1] The town meeting at which this action was taken was held 20 November, 1772 (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 93–108).

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faction, to be chargeable only to your side. Government, according to that glorious plan concerted by the wisdom, and established by the virtue of their renowned ancestors, they revere; but cannot so readily be convinced that the present system of usurpation, imposition and incessant innovation is that government which any honest man can countenance, much less wish to support. Your professions of readiness to do all in your power for the security of our invaluable Liberties are rendered quite suspicious by the conditions with which you clog them; they are no more than the hacknied rant of the most inveterate enemies of our constitution; and your cloke of christianity is at this time prostituted with as glaring indiscretion, absurdity and impiety as it ever was done by man.

Were you on board an armed vessel and on the point of being boarded by a pirate, would you refuse acting for the common defence till you had catechized all the sailors and rendered every one of them as orthodox as yourself and as chaste in their expressions?

If we are not to resist the invasions of tyranny till we have incorporated a band of Moseses, Jobs and Samuels for the expedition, I question whether your new party would wish a more flattering condition. To be quite free with you Mr. Davis, your designs are very apparent, and your behaviour very absurd and ridiculous, as well as unjust, and most studiously calculated to take injurious advantages, but I have long since bade defiance to the united force of your cabal. They may flourish and fulminate under the signature of Aaron Davis, jun., Chromes, True Patriot, Freeholder or Landlord, or whatever other guise of patriotism, virtue, or religion they are pleased to assume. But seeing you have been pleased to revive a most detestable falshood, long since abandon'd, I now again bid defiance to you and all your associates to prove that I ever spoke one reproachful word of Jesus Christ or the Virgin Mary in this province. This I think is the third time I have published a challenge of this import; and if it be not now answered, let the public determine what manner of zeal inspires our tory advocates for christianity.

Your interrogatories seem better calculated for the meridian of Madrid than Roxbury or Boston, and the consideration of them will therefore be suspended till we have advice of your receiving all the appendages of commission necessary to convene a free man before your awful inquisitorial tribunal.

I am Sir, with much meekness of spirit,

Your humble servant,

THO. YOUNG.

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We resume our extracts from Dr. Joseph Young's narrative:

As his [Dr. Thomas Young's] practise in the country was very extensive and fatiguing, I urged him to remove to some populous city, where the toil would be less and the profits greater. He at length consented and resolved to remove to Albany, as he and a number of wealthy men were agreeing with Col. John Henry Lydius of the city of Albany for several townships of land of six miles square, which lies in the now State of Vermont. But the great land-jobbers in New York, by endeavoring to defeat Lydius' title, that they might share in the profits, retarded the settlement of the country, and by their eagerness to grasp the shadow they lost the substance.[1]

We removed to Albany[2] in October, 1764. Doctor Young displayed the strength and power of his mind to very great advantage in combating the great lawyers, in defence of Col. Lydius' title, but as the history would be too lengthy I must omit it. But when the Stamp Act was passed he exerted himself strenuously to oppose it, and when the Stamps arrived, he was one of a small number who visited the Stamp Officer and caused him to resign. In the fall of 1766 he resolved to remove to Boston, where the energies of numbers of American patriots were in full operation. When he arrived, he soon became an active member of the patriotic band, and was honored by the Tories and British by being classed by them among the number of the arch-rebels,

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[1] Dr. Young was the author of an anonymous pamphlet entitled —

Some Reflections on the Disputes between New-York, New-Hampshire, and Col. John Henry Lydius of Albany. Vui ab altero fere tuleris, ne inferes ipse. To these Reflections are added, Some Rules of Law, fit to be observed in purchasing Land, &c. New-Haven: Printed and sold by Benjamin Mecom. 1764.

The copy of this rare octavo tract in the Lenox Library is more complete than any other of which I can learn. Mr. Wilberforce Eames writes concerning it:

Our copy ends on p. 21 thus:

Sic optat, Sic spirat, PHILODICAIOS.

The reverse of this leaf is blank. Then follows one page in verse (reverse blank), headed: "*From an Old Book. Rules of Law, fit to be observed in purchasing Land, &c.*"

For a notice of Col. John Henry Lydius and his part in these disputes, see Hiland Hall, History of Vermont (1868), pp. 169, 495–497.

[2] Dr. Young was one of the Sons of Liberty of Albany as early as 1 March, 1766, when he attended, as a delegate from New York, a conference of the Sons from several of the Colonies held at the Court House in Annapolis, Maryland (Isaac Q. Leake, Memoir of the Life and Times of General John Lamb, 1857, pp. 3, 4).

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to wit; John Hancock, Samuel Adams, the great and truly excellent Doctor Warren, &c. &c. Doctor Young, by his great activity and strenuous exertions to counteract the nefarious design of the British, had excited their indignation to such a degree that two of their officers attacked him one night in the street. They knocked him down and probably supposing they had killed him, ran off. He was carried home to his family all bloody. When he recovered he said he should certainly have been killed, but as he had seen the blow coming he had moved his head to one side; the weapon in consequence had brushed down his temple, and spent its chief force on his shoulder. But this atrocious attempt to assassinate him had alarmed his wife to such a degree, that when he went out at night she frequently cried until he returned. His friends in consequence advised him to remove to Newport in Rhode Island until some favorable change took place.

Let us briefly review Dr. Young's career in Boston. As early as 6 June, 1768, with Benjamin Kent, Benjamin Church, Jr., John Adams and Joseph Warren, he signed an Address of the Sons of Liberty of Boston to John Wilkes, which is preserved in England among Wilkes's papers and correspondence.[1] Immediately thereafter, on 14 June, 1768, he was appointed by the Town of Boston on a committee to wait on Governor Bernard at Roxbury to seek a redress of grievances and to request that the Governor "issue your immediate Order to the Commander of his Majestys Ship Romney, to remove from this harbour,"[2] and also on another committee "to draw a true state of some late Occurrences in this Town to be transmitted to Mr Agent Debert."[3] Warren, Samuel Adams, the Quincys and other prominent citizens were on both these committees of which James Otis was chairman. On 8 July, 1769, Dr. Young, with other physicians, attended the Selectmen and informed them that they knew of no cases of smallpox in Boston.[4] In John Rowe's Diary we find this mention of him under date of 24 July, 1770:

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[1] Fourth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, p. 399; Narrative and Critical History of America, viii. 460. See also 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xi. 142.

[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 253–255. See also Letters and Diary of John Rowe, pp. 165, 166.

[3] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xvi. 255.

[4] Ibid. xxiii. 23.

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This afternoon "The Body" [of merchants] as they are called met & just before some of them Proceeded through the streets with Dr Young at their head with Three Flags Flying, Drums Beating & a french Horn — Tho' Baker carried one of them for which he is much Blamed by me — The meeting today will I believe prove very Prejudicial to the Merchants & Trade of the Town of Boston (pp. 204, 205).

Writing to Governor Bernard, 28 August, 1770, Hutchinson says:

The infamous Molineux and Young with Cooper, Adams, and two or three more, still influence the mob, who threaten all who import; but it seems impossible that it should hold out much longer.[1]

In January, 1771, Hutchinson wrote to a correspondent in England:

We have not been so quiet these five years. Our incendiaries of the lower order have quite disappeared. A Doctor Young, whose name has often appeared in the newspapers, has taken passage for North Carolina. He may have a chance among the "Regulators" there. I hope many of the most flaming zealots, who have been at the head of affairs, see their mistake.[2]

Dr. Young's stay in the South was brief, since he returned to Boston in season to deliver at the Manufactory House,[3] on the

[1] Wells, Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams, i. 366.

[2] Ibid. i. 379. See Publications of this Society, vi. 390, 391 and note; 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, iv. 28.

[3] This building stood where Hamilton Place now is. It was selected for this occasion, because the first opposition to the soldiers had been made here in October, 1768. Mr. John Brown, having possession of the building as a tenant under the Province, refused admission to the military. The Sheriff was sent by Gov. Bernard to take possession and was refused admittance. On a third attempt he found a window open, and entered by that; upon which, the people gathered about him, and made him prisoner (Snow, History of Boston, 1828, p. 285 and note).

"The Bells of the several Congregational Meeting-houses, were tolled from XII o'clock at Noon till 1. . . . An Oration was delivered in the Evening, by Dr. YOUNG, at the Hall of the Manufactory, a Building originally designed for *Encouraging Manufactories and Employing the Poor.* — The Oration it is said, contained a brief Account of the Massacre; of the Imputations of Treason and Rebellion, with which the Tools of Power endeavoured to brand the Inhabitants, and a Discant upon the Nature of Treasons, with some Considerations on the Threats of the British Ministry to take away the Massachusets Charter,

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fifth of March, 1771, the first anniversary Oration on the Boston Massacre. The anniversary was celebrated annually till 1783. Before the Siege of Boston a "lampooning oration" was delivered in which we find mention of Dr. Young and his associates couched in the violent language of the times of which neither the Whigs nor the Tories had a monopoly. From the virulence of the attacks on Dr. Young, it is evident that he was a thorn in the side of his political opponents.

I cannot boast the ignorance of *Hancock*, the insolence of *Adams*, the absurdity of *Rowe*, the arrogance of *Lee*, the vicious life and untimely death of *Mollineaux*, the turgid bombast of Warren, the treasons of *Quincy*, the hypocrisy of *Cooper*, nor the principles of *Young*. Nor can I with propriety pass over the characters of these *modern heroes*, (or, to use their own phrase, *Indians*,) without a few observations on their late conduct.[1]. . .

The eighth of these heroes is Y——g, whose character cannot be drawn by any pen with the consistency that becomes a true limner. Could we raise up the spirit of one of the murderers of St. Stephen, to tell us what a figure Paul cut, when he breathed out threatening and slaughter against his *Saviour*, then might we form an idea of Dr. Y——g; but since that is impossible, I can only refer you to —— *his own countenance*, wherein you may read his true and genuine disposition. Suffice it to say, this man stands accused of rebellion, not only against his Sovereign, but against *his God*; — he makes a mock at the merits of his Redeemer, and uses his God only *to swear by*.[2]

On 12 March, 1771, Dr. Young was appointed by the Town on a committee to consider the following article in the warrant:

That some steps may be taken to vindicate the Character of the Inhabitants grosly injured by some partial and false publications relative to the tryals of Capt Preston &^{c}.[3]

This committee reported at an adjournment of the Town Meeting on 19 March, 1771, and recommended "the appointment of

&c. &c." (Boston Weekly News-Letter of Thursday, 7 and 14 March, 1771, pp. 3/3, 3/1.) See also J. S. Loring, Hundred Boston Orators, pp. 24, 25.

[1] An Oration delivered March 15, 1775, at the Request of a Number of the Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, by Dr. Thomas Bolton (1775), p. 3.

[2] Ibid. pp. 6, 7.

[3] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 47.

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another committee . . . to prepare and draw up a true and full account of those Tryals and what preceded them;" and Dr. Young was of the committee appointed for this purpose.[1] On 7 May, 1771, he was chairman of a committee to consider the petition of Jacob Emmons for compensation for land taken "to make a new Street or widen the same [Paddy's Alley] leading from Ann Street to Middle [Hanover] Street."[2] At a meeting of the Selectmen in September, 1771; —

Dr. Thoˢ Young apply'd in behalf of Mʳˢ Wells & Mʳˢ Wright for liberty to exhibit the likeness of the late Mʳ Whitefield &c. in Wax Work at Concert Hall.[3]

On 18 August, 1772, Thomas Young, of Boston, physician, for £216.6.8 purchased of John Newell of Boston, cooper, a dwelling house and land on the southerly side of Wing's Lane, now Elm Street, only a few rods distant from Faneuil Hall and from the house of his friend Dr. Joseph Warren in Hanover Street.[4] It

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 49–51.

[2] Ibid. xviii. 53, 54.

[3] Ibid. xxiii. 97. Patience (Lovell) Wright (1725–1785), wife of Joseph Wright of Bordentown, New Jersey, was "a lady of uncommon talent [who] made herself famous for likenesses in wax, in the cities of her native country . . . [and] was enabled to seek more extensive fame, and more splendid fortune in the metropolis of Great Britain . . . [where] her work was considered of an extraordinary kind" (Dunlap, History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States, 1834, i. 132). Her only son Joseph, a pupil of West, was a successful portrait painter, modeller in clay, and die sinker in England, France and the United States, and in 1784 he painted a portrait of Washington for the Count de Solms (ibid. i. 313). Her elder daughter, who married an American by the name of Platt, inherited something of her mother's talent and made herself known in New York, about 1787, by her modelling in wax (ibid. i. 134). "Her younger daughter married Hopner, the rival of Stuart and Lawrence as a portrait painter" (ibid. i. 135, 312). In the summer of 1784 Abigail Adams "went to see the celebrated Mrs. Wright" at her studio in London, and in a letter to her sister Mrs. Cranch, she gives an amusing description of her visit and of the artist's personality (Letters of Mrs. Adams, 1840, ii. 32, 33).

Mrs. Wells, mentioned in the text, was a sister of Mrs. Wright. She practised her art in Philadelphia, where John Adams visited her in the spring of 1777. "There is genius as well as taste and art discovered in this exhibition [of wax-work]. But I must confess the whole scene was disagreeable to me" (Letters of John Adams, addressed to his Wife, 1841, i. 223, 224).

[4] Suffolk Deeds, cxxii. 5.

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was a small estate, having a frontage of only sixteen and a half feet on Wing's Lane and an extreme depth, on irregular lines, of thirty-eight feet, as shown on the accompanying plan. The rear line of the premises made a part of the northerly boundary of the King's Arms Tavern lot, which fronted on Dock Square and the lower part of Cooper's Alley, now Brattle Street.[1] When, a century later, on 6 November, 1872, Washington Street was extended from the foot of new Cornhill to Haymarket Square, both these estates were taken and are now traversed by the roadway. Dr. Young immediately mortgaged his property for £120 to John White of Boston, gentleman; and the signature of his wife, Mary Young, in releasing dower, afforded the only evidence of her given name which had been found before the discovery of Dr. Joseph Young's narrative.[2]

When, on 2 November, 1772, the Town of Boston adopted Samuel Adams's proposal to create a Committee of Correspondence to consist of twenty-one persons, Dr. Young was appointed a member of it. The names of Otis, who was named as chairman, Adams, Warren, Quincy, Oliver Wendell, and other prominent citizens also appear in the list.[3]

[1] For an interesting account of the site of this tavern, also known as the States Arms, by the late Mr. John T. Hassam, see New England Historical and Genealogical Register for 1880, xxxiv. 41–48. Mr. Hassam also described the site of the Castle Tavern, later known as the George Tavern, which stood near by, at the westerly corner of Dock Square and Elm Street, in ibid. xxxiii. 400–403.

[2] Suffolk Deeds, cxxii. 6. In 1781 John White assigned his mortgage to David Bradlee of Boston for £140.8 (ibid. cxxxii. 169). Dr. Young died seized of this property, in 1777, after his removal from Massachusetts. In Suffolk Deeds (cxl. 87) is recorded an order of the Probate Court for the District of Sharon, County of Litchfield, Connecticut, to Lieut. David Doty of said Sharon, physician, administrator of the estate of Dr. Thomas Young, late of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, deceased, to make sale of the real estate of said Young for the benefit of creditors. In pursuance of it, on 11 November, 1783, Doty sold the property in Wing's Lane for £230, lawful silver money, to David Bradlee before mentioned (ibid. cxl. 87). Bradlee sold to John Wyer, for £400, 7 November, 1792 (ibid. clxxiv. 106), and he in turn, for £3020, sold to Elizabeth Brewer, widow, 15 August, 1804 (ibid. ccix. 137), who, for $3,300, sold it to David Greenough of Boston, merchant, 26 January, 1818 (ibid. cclvii. 236). See below, p. 52.

[3] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 93; Wells, Life and Pub-

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The North End Caucus, a powerful factor in public affairs in Boston at this period, was organized as early as 1767 in the old Salutation Tavern which stood at the upper end of Salutation Alley, now Salutation Street. Later its meetings were held in the Green Dragon Tavern in Union Street.[1] In 1772 the membership was increased, and at the first meeting "more than sixty were present. Their regulations were drawn up by Dr. Warren and another gentleman."[2] As Dr. Young was a man of literary ability and the first President of the Caucus,[3] in which he took a leading part, it is not unreasonable to infer that he may have been Dr. Warren's associate in draughting these regulations.

In the matter of the tea, Dr. Young had a prominent part. At a meeting of the Caucus, held at the Green Dragon, 2 November, 1773, it was —

> Voted — That a committee be chosen to draw a resolution to be read to the Tea Consignees to-morrow 12 O'Clock, noon, at Liberty Tree: and that Dr. Thoˢ Young and Church, and Warren be a committee for that purpose, and make a report as soon as may be.[4]

As the Consignees did not appear at Liberty Tree to hear the Resolution read, the Sons of Liberty appointed a committee of

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lic Services of Samuel Adams, ii. 127; Frothingham, Rise of the Republic of the United States, p. 267 and note.

[1] Frothingham, History of the Siege of Boston, p. 30; E. G. Porter, Rambles in Old Boston, New England, pp. 97, 98, 272.

Police Station No. 8 stands on the easterly end of the Salutation Tavern lot, on the northeasterly corner of Salutation Street and what is now Commercial Street. As early as 27 October, 1692, the messuage then called the Salutation, later known as "the sign of the Two Palaverers," was conveyed, for £544, by Elizabeth Green, wife of William Green of Malden, as executrix of her former husband, John Brooking, late of Boston, mariner, to Sir William Phips, the nearly rectangular lot then measuring 49 feet on the Street and 237 feet on the Alley (Suffolk Deeds, xv. 210). See also ibid. i. 57, iv. 58, xxiii. 38, xxxviii. 45, xlii. 241, xlix. 2, cix. 18, cxlv. 85, cccxxi. 267; John Brooking's will, 1683, in Suffolk Probate Files, miscellaneous docket; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxv. 248.

[2] Frothingham, Life and Times of Joseph Warren, pp. 169, 170.

[3] J. S. Loring, Hundred Boston Orators, p. 77; E. G. Porter, Rambles in Old Boston, New England, p. 272. See also E. H. Goss, Life of Colonel Paul Revere, i. 117, 120, 133, ii. 636–638, 644.

[4] E. H. Goss, Life of Colonel Paul Revere, ii. 642.

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which William Molineux was Chairman, to "wait on them to know their determination."

The principal People that accompanied Mr Mollineux [to the store of Richard Clark and Sons in King, now State, Street] were as Follows — Mr Saml Adams, Mr Wm Dennie, Mr John Pitts, Colo. Heath of Roxbury, Dr Church, Dr Warren, Dr Young, Capt J^no^ Matchet, Capt Hopkins, Nat Barker, Gabriel Joh[o]nnot, Ezek^l^ Cheever & about five hundred more as near as I could guess.[1]

Of the great meeting in Faneuil Hall and the Old South on 29 November to take measures to prevent the landing of the tea, Young was one of the leaders,[2] and Bancroft affirms that he held that "the only way to get rid of it [the tea] was to throw it overboard."[3] In his narrative of the proceedings of the Town of Boston at the tea meetings, laid before the Privy Council in 1773, Governor Bernard says:

The persons who principally proposed the questions on which the above resolutions and proceedings were founded were Mr. Adams, Mr. Molineux, Dr. Young and Dr. Warren; and they used many arguments to induce the people to concur in these resolutions.[4]

On the night of 16 December, when the tea was destroyed, Dr. Young made one of the Tea Party.[5] In a communication to the Boston Evening-Post of Monday, 25 October, 1773 (p. 2/2), he wrote:

Tea is really a slow poison . . . [and is] said to be possessed of a corrosive quality, strong enough to injure the hands of the workmen almost intolerably. . . . I have my self been rheumatically affected from my infancy, and in special at the annual changes of spring and autumn had defluxions on the jaws, teeth or other parts, till the Tea became politically poisoned, and then, however much I admired it, leaving it

[1] Letters and Diary of John Rowe, pp. 252, 253.

[2] Wells, Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams, ii. 111; Frothingham, Rise of the Republic of the United States, pp. 305, 307, 308, 334.

[3] History of the United States (1854), vi. 478, 486.

[4] Frothingham, Life and Times of Joseph Warren, pp. 247, 264, 265.

[5] F. S. Drake, Tea Leaves (1884), pp. 93, 171, 172. See ibid. pp. 23 note, 32, 44, 50, 59, 64, 90, 91; 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xii. 174–181, xiii. 171, xx. 15; Frothingham, Life and Times of Joseph Warren, p. 279 note.

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totally off I have gained a firmness of constitution unexperienced before from my infancy. My substitute is chamomile flowers.

At the Town Meeting on 10 May, 1774, Dr. Young was named on a committee to instruct the Town's Representatives in the General Court, which had been selected by the Caucus the night before at the Green Dragon.[1] A month later, 27 June, there was sharp criticism of the conduct of the Committee of Correspondence in Town Meeting, when a "Motion for Censuring & Annihilating the Comittee" was hotly debated and defeated.[2] John Rowe notes in his Diary that the debate "lasted all day & adjournd until tomorrow 10 of Clock," and that the speakers in behalf of the Committee were Samuel Adams, Dr. Warren, William Molineux, Josiah Quincy, Jr., Dr. Young, and Benjamin Kent.[3] At the time that the Boston Port Bill was causing great distress, a Town Meeting was held 19 July, 1774, at which an important committee, of distinguished personnel, was appointed "to consider & Report a Declaration to be made by this Town to Great Britain & all the World;" and Dr. Young's name appears in the list.[4]

Young's friendship with Ethan Allen, already mentioned, may account for his selection at this time as the financial agent of Charles Phelps of Marlborough, Vermont, who was actively engaged (1770–1777) "in prosecuting petitions to prevent New York patenting those lands west of Connecticut River and east of New York east line:"

1774, July 27, sent £6, Lawful money, to Deacon Barrett[5] of Boston, by Wilder the Postman.[6] The money to be delivered to Doctor Tho's

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 169; E. H. Goss, Life of Colonel Paul Revere, ii. 644.

[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 178.

[3] Letters and Diary of John Rowe, p. 276.

[4] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 183.

[5] Deacon John Barrett, a prominent Boston merchant, was born 21 June, 1708; married Sarah Gerrish, 3 June, 1731; chosen Deacon of the New North Church, 6 December, 1742; and died 9 September, 1786 (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxiv. 54, xxviii. 170; Records of the New North Church, p. 242; Suffolk Probate Files, no. 18, 757; Letters and Diary of John Rowe, pp. 195, 216; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xlii. 263).

[6] Failing to identify "Wilder the Postman," I addressed a note of inquiry

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Young of Boston, with a letter desiring him to pay said sum to said Barrett.[1]

In addition to his professional and public duties, Dr. Young found time to conduct a vigorous correspondence with prominent men in other places[2] and to write for the public press and the Royal American Magazine on political, medical, and religious subjects. It has also been said that he was John Adams's family physician while Mr. Adams resided in Boston, but this is apparently refuted by the statement in the Life of Mr. Adams that Dr.

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to Mr. C. W. Ernst, whose knowledge of all matters concerning the postal service of this country, the legislation affecting it, and its history is recondite. An extract from his reply follows:

Your very interesting question refers, I think, to Silent Wilde, Shutesbury, who was the local express, as we now say, between Boston and Deerfield, from 1761 to 1775, that is, I have no earlier record of his service than Boston Post-Boy, 6 April, 1761, p. 3/3, nor any later than New-England Chronicle, 26 October, 1775, p. 2/2.

He must have been satisfactory, as he had a monopoly, and the postal legislation of Massachusetts did not interfere with him in 1775.

His chief business was to sell newspapers; in addition he carried letters, did a little money-order business, and executed all sorts of commissions. He was usually called "post-man," but had nothing to do with the official postal service.

His route was important, being the connecting link between Boston and Canada. In fact, the route began in 1759, when Quebec fell, and Christopher Page established the service.

The United States took the postal service in 1775, but did not serve Deerfield and Brattleboro until 1792.

These early private posts, or expressmen, were responsible people. They carried money, and often traded for their customers. A young woman, going from Deerfield to Boston in 1765, would travel safely and pleasantly with Silent Wilde, who was known, respected, and familiar with the road, knowing best where to stop for meals or over night.

The people of Massachusetts always took pleasure in defeating the postal monopoly of the King, and never recognised the right of Parliament to pass any postal acts affecting the local service of Massachusetts.

In many cases, therefore, our private posts were more important than the King's, and Silent Wilde, of Shutesbury, was, perhaps, the most important of all. He advertised liberally. I have no evidence that he ever went as far as Brattleboro. But he took good care of matter going beyond his terminus.

[1] Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont, iii. 493.

[2] See three spirited letters on public affairs written in May, June and July, 1774, in I. Q. Leake's Memoir of the Life and Times of Gen. John Lamb, pp. 84–92. There is another letter of Dr. Young, dated 25 March, 1774, written on behalf of the Boston Committee of Correspondence to their brethren in Salem, in the Pickering Papers (xxxix. 40). See 6 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 577.

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Warren held to him and his family that professional relation.[1] The following extract from a letter dated 21 July, 1774, written by Daniel Tyler (H. C. 1771), of Brooklyn, Connecticut, to his classmate Dr. John Warren of Boston, is of present interest:

I was in Boston the other day, and flattered myself with the hope of seeing you, but Dr. Young informed me you had removed to Salem. However, the deficiency of your good company was in a great measure made up by my being honored with the company of Messrs. Cushing, Adams, and Dr. Young, patriots of renown, whose zeal in their country's cause will hand down their names to posterity, with universal applause.[2]

A letter written by Dr. Young to Samuel Adams, 4 September, 1774, describes the scene in Harvard Square, Cambridge, two days before, when Judge Danforth publicly, in the presence of four thousand people, resigned his office as a Mandamus Councillor, which Dr. Young and his friend Dr. Joseph Warren witnessed.[3]

The letters of John Andrews, which afford much valuable information concerning persons and events in Boston at this period, contain the following paragraph under date of 13 September, 1774:

This morning Doctor Young left the town, to settle at Providence, being apprehensive from the measures that are taking that he may be taken up, and therefore thinks it his duty to defeat their purposes, in regard to himself, while it 's in his power.[4]

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[1] J. S. Loring, Hundred Boston Orators, p. 26; Works of John Adams, i. 64. In the Letters of John Adams addressed to his Wife (1841), however, we find the following passages:

Philadelphia, 29 May, 1775. I have had miserable health and blind eyes, almost ever since I left you; but I found Dr. Young here, who, after scolding at me *quantum sufficit*, for not taking his advice, has pill'd and electuary'd me into pretty good order. My eyes are better, my head is better, so are my spirits (i. 40).

Philadelphia, 7 July, 1775. I have really had a very disagreeable time of it. My health, and especially my eyes, have been so very bad, that I have not been so fit for business as I ought, and if I had been in perfect health, I should have had, in the present condition of my country and my friends, no taste for pleasure. But Dr. Young has made a kind of cure of my health, and Dr. Church of my eyes (i. 52).

[2] E. Warren, Life of John Warren, M.D., p. 28.

[3] Wells, Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams, ii. 237, 238. See also a letter from Adams to Young, dated 17 October, 1774, in ibid. ii. 242; Boston Gazette of Monday, 5 September, 1774, p. 2/2; Stiles, Literary Diary, i. 478; Paige, History of Cambridge, p. 154.

[4] 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, viii. 360. Andrews

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That Dr. Young's apprehensions were not without substantial foundation is apparent from the following document which appeared in a Boston newspaper within a week of his flight:

The following is an authentic Copy of a Letter which was lately thrown into the Camps, directed,

"To the Officers and Soldiers of his Majesty's Troops in Boston."

IT being more than probable that the Kings standard will soon be erected, from rebellion breaking out in this province, its proper that you soldiers, should be acquainted with the authors thereof, and of all the Misfortunes brought upon the province, the following is a list of them, viz: Mess. Samuel Adams, James Bowdoin, Dr. Thomas Young, Dr. Benjamin Church, Capt. John Bradford, Josiah Quincey, Major Nathaniel Barber, William Molleneux, John Hancock, Wm. Cooper, Dr. Chancy, Dr. Cooper, Thomas Cushing, Joseph Greenleaf, and William Denning. — The friends of your King and Country, and of America hope and expect it from you soldiers, the instant rebellion happens, that you will put the above persons immediately to the sword, destroy their houses and plunder their effects; it is just that they should be the first victims to the mischeifs they have br't upon us.

A Friend to Gr. Brit. & America.

N. B. — Don't forget those trumpeters of sedition, the printers Edes and Gill, and Thomas.[1]

Dr. Franklin B. Dexter says that Dr. Young "took refuge in Newport after the battle of Lexington."[2] At Newport we catch earlier glimpses of him in Dr. Ezra Stiles's Literary Diary:

Oct 1774.

3. Conversing with Dr. Young on philosophy. Dined at Mr. Channings[3] with a Number of Gentlemen, Sons of Liberty from Boston and N. York (i. 461).

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was in error in stating that Dr. Young was intending "to settle at Providence," since he went directly to Newport, where he arrived on the following Thursday night, the fifteenth.

[1] Boston Evening-Post of Monday, 19 September, 1774, p. 3/1.

[2] Stiles, Literary Diary, i. 463 note.

[3] The allusion is to the Hon. William Channing, father of the Rev. Dr. William Ellery Channing.

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10. Dr. Young one of the Committee at B° [Boston] being here, ventured to open Mr. Adams Letter and copied the Affidavit and sent it to Mr. Adams at the Congress Philad[a] (i. 463).

December 13, 1774. Last Evening I read a Letter dated Boston yesterday and sent by Dr. Young to Mr. Sec'ry. Ward with this Information, viz. last Evening Dr. Warren desired me to inform you & the rest of our Friends in Newport that, 300 Soldiers more or less *are embarked* for Newport (i. 501).

December 23, 1774. It is certain that Application has been made to the French Canadians & to the Six Nations of Indians, to joyn the Kings Troops against the Colonies — but as to both without Success, as I see in the New York, N Haven & Boston prints. Dr. Young just from Boston brings the same Acc° who conversed with a Gentleman just from Canada. The Tories begin to say that no such Application has been made (i. 503).

Dr. Joseph Young gives the following interesting account of his brother's experience at Newport:

He accordingly removed there [Newport], and remained until the British concerted their design to seize those who they called the ringleaders of the rebellion and send them in irons to England. But as it would be necessary to seize them all at one time, a particular day was appointed and Wallace of the Rose man-of-war, was deputed to go to Newport and seize Doctor Young, but lest he should have a long passage, I think they allowed him three or four days. He however had a very short passage[1] and had time to concert plans with the Tories and watch the Doctor until the arrival of the appointed day. Intelligence of the intent against his liberty was gained by Doctor Young by means of a sewing girl who had frequently been employed in his family, but was now employed in a Tory family. She overheard them whispering and learned that the Dr. was to be taken prisoner that night. She hid her thread to make an errand to go out to get more. She went directly to a merchant who she knew to be a great friend to the Dr. and told him what she had heard. He set off to go to the Dr. but met him by the way, and told him if he was not off the Island before midnight he would be a prisoner on board the Rose man-of-war. The Doctor replied, "What will become of my family?" The generous merchant told him not to

[1] 1774, November 5. The Rose, frigate, Capt. Wallace, was stationed at Newport for the winter, and repeated the annoyances of the Gaspee (S. G. Arnold, History of Rhode Island, 1894, ii. 342).

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concern himself about his family. "You must go off immediately to Philadelphia; I will take care of them and send them to you by water" — which he performed most faithfully without charging the Doctor one farthing. He told him there were spies watching his motions, but that he should come to his house after it began to grow dark; that he would equip him and have him sent off the Island. The Doctor thanked him for his kindness. When he returned home he found two young ladies from a Tory family there who had never visited him before. He was at no loss to guess the cause of such a friendly visit, but assumed a very sprightly air, took his violin and played a number of tunes; then took his oldest daughter into another room pretending to want her assistance to prepare some medicine. He then told her that he had a secret to communicate to her, if she would promise to keep it inviolate even from her mother, which she promised; he then told her the whole, and exhorted her by all means to appear cheerful. He then caused her to pack up some shirts and put the bundle out of a back window. Fortunately about dusk, a messenger called on him to visit a patient at some little distance. He told the messenger to return and that he would set off in a few minntes. The messenger returned, and when it grew dark the Doctor went to his friend, who equipped him in a complete sailor's dress. Our new made Jack Tar took up his bundle, embarked on board of a boat, and his brother sailors soon landed him on *terra firma*. He pushed on and soon met his brother fugitives John Hancock and Samuel Adams in Philadelphia; and soon after had the felicity to receive his family from on board of one of his benefactor's vessels.[1]

The fugitive hired a house in Philadelphia and fell into some private practice until the General Hospital was established, when he was appointed a senior physician, and with the celebrated Doctor Rush, had the chief care of the Hospital until his death.

In the Pennsylvania Gazette of Wednesday, 26 July, 1775 (p. 3/1), there appeared a paper by Dr. Young on putrid bilious fever. It is dated 17 July, is addressed to Hall and Sellers, the proprietors of the Gazette, and fills almost a column. In this connection it is interesting to quote Dr. Benjamin Rush:

I derived great pleasure from hearing, after the fever had left the city, that calomel had been given with success as a purge in bilious

[1] The extracts from Dr. Stiles's Literary Diary in the text (pp. 37, 38, above), make it doubtful if Dr. Young went directly to Philadelphia, where, however, he appears to have been established in the following July (above, text, p. 39).

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fevers in other parts of the Union besides Philadelphia. Dr. Lawrence [1] informed me that he had cured many patients by it of the yellow fever which prevailed in New-York, in the year 1791, and the New-York papers have told us that several practitioners had been in the habit of giving it in the autumnal fevers, with great success, in the western parts of that State. They had probably learned the use of it from Dr. Young, who formerly practised in that part of the United States, and who lost no opportunity of making its praise public wherever he went.[2]

On 5 August, 1775, Dr. Young wrote from Philadelphia to John Adams a letter which seems to have been in reply to questions of Mr. Adams as to the proper person to be employed to search for minerals, especially lead, "much needed under present circumstances."[3] From Christopher Marshall's Diary[4] we gather several items of interest about Dr. Young after he had taken up his abode in Philadelphia:

1775, Oct. 10. Dr. Young called at my house, requesting me to endeavor to collect a small supply for Mrs. Cleamuns,[5] a woman driven from Boston with several children, whom they purposed to send and settle for the present amongst a set of his friends near Albany (pp. 46, 47).

[1] The allusion is probably to Dr. Jason Valentine O'Brien Lawrence (1791-1823). See J. Thacher, American Medical Biography (1828), i. 352-356.

[2] Medical Inquiries and Observations (1818), iii. 140.

[3] I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Charles Francis Adams for this interesting item from the only letter of Dr. Young preserved in his family papers.

[4] W. Duane, Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall, 1774–1781 (1877).

[5] Thomas Clemens and Elizabeth Andrews Mitchell, both of Boston, were married at King's Chapel 6 May, 1764. They had several children baptized at the Chapel, 1766–1774, and others at Trinity Church, after the Evacuation of Boston, 1776–1785 (Registers of King's Chapel and Trinity Church). This is the only family of this name in Boston at that time "with several children" which appears of record. Thomas Clemens, or Clement as the name was later spelled, was a Vestryman of King's Chapel, 1783–1801, and died 10, buried 12, September, 1823, at the age of 88 (Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, ii. 608; Boston Records of Deaths). He appears to have been among those members of the Chapel congregation who espoused the cause of the Colonies, hence the probability of his family having to seek refuge "for the present" in Albany during the Siege of Boston. See Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, ii. 162, 321-323, 325, 328, 329, 331, 381, 590, 592, 596.

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1775, December 23. Lent Dr. Young an octavo volume (p. 54).

1776, March 13. After dinner, went to Dr. Young's. Stayed there hearing him read a piece as answer to Common Sense, called Plain Truth, but very far from coming up to the title (p. 62).

1776, May 30. After dinner went to James Cannon's . . . Dr. Young being returned from Yorktown, came there to see me . . . Heard of his declaration of his expedition, read his letters from the Committee[1] (p. 74).

In the summer of 1776 Dr. Young was attached to the Philadelphia Rifle Battalion.[2]

The letter-book of Edmund Quincy (1703–1788) contains the draught of an interesting letter dated Lancaster, Massachusetts, 25 March, 1776, to his son-in-law John Hancock, then in Philadelphia in attendance on Congress, in which there are allusions to Dr. Young: "I thank you for your hint to Dr. Y. of writing to me, under cover, the political news of the day." In a postscript he adds:

Wrote at same time, and enclosed, a letter to daughter Hancock, in which I acquainted her as follows: . . . Refer her to Dr. Y's letter . . . To send me newspapers or other publications; and to put Dr. Y upon writing frequently of occurrences, especially what relates to French proceedings, either from F[rance] or W[est] Indies.[3]

Notwithstanding his residence in Philadelphia, Dr. Young appears to have been again in Albany in May, 1776, where he was a member of the Committee of Correspondence as late as the following November.[4]

Again we have recourse to Marshall:

1776, July 3. Near nine [P. M.] went to meet the Committee of Privates with others at Thorne's school-room,[5] where three speakers,

[1] Dr. Young appears to have been one of the gentlemen sent into the different counties with the resolves of the Philadelphia town meeting of 20 May. Yorktown or York is the County town of York County, Pennsylvania.

[2] Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, x. 653.

[3] 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, iv. 33, 34.

[4] Force, American Archives, Fourth Series, vi. 1325; Fifth Series, iii. 305, 605. See also ibid. Fourth Series, i. 764, 783, and v. 1145.

[5] This was William Thorne's School-room in Vidal's Alley, Philadelphia, which was frequently used in the evening for political meetings. See W. Duane,

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viz., James Cannon, Timothy Matlack [and] Dr. Young flourished away on the necessity of choosing eight persons to be proposed . . . for our representatives in Convention (p. 81).

1776, July 10. To James Cannon's; drank coffee there; stayed till past nine. There were John Adams, Paul Fooks, Dr. Young, Timothy Matlack (p. 83).

1776, Oct. 21. To the State House Yard, where it's thought about fifteen hundred people assembled, in order to deliberate on the change of sundry matters contained in Form of Government, settled in the late Convention . . . Chief speakers, against [the] Convention, were Col. McKean and Col. Dickinson; for the Convention, James Cannon, Timothy Matlack, Dr. Young and Col. Smith of York County (p. 98).

In a letter to Samuel Perley dated 19 June, 1809, John Adams wrote:

In 1775 and 1776 there had been great disputes, in Congress and in the several States, concerning a proper constitution for the several States to adopt for their government. A Convention in Pennsylvania had adopted a government in one representative assembly and Dr. Franklin was the President of that Convention. The Doctor, when he went to France in 1776, carried with him the printed copy of that Constitution, and it was immediately propagated through France that it was the plan of government of Mr. Franklin. In truth it was not Franklin, but Timothy Matlack, James Cannon, Thomas Young, and Thomas Paine, who were the authors of it.[1]

John Adams wrote to Dr. Benjamin Rush, 12 April, 1809, as follows:

I call you to witness that I was the first member of Congress who ventured to come out in public, as I did in January, 1776, in my "Thoughts on Government, in a letter from a gentleman to his friend," that is, Mr. Wythe, in favor of a government in three branches, with an independent judiciary. This pamphlet, you know, was very unpopular. No man appeared in public to support it, but yourself. You attempted in the public papers to give it some countenance, but without much success. Franklin leaned against it. Dr. Young, Mr. Timothy Matlack, and Mr. James Cannon, and I suppose Mr. George Bryan were alarmed and displeased at it. Mr. Thomas Paine was so highly offended

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Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall, 1774–1781 (1877), pp. 66, 67.

[1] Works of John Adams, ix. 622, 623.

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with it, that he came to visit me at my chamber at Mrs. Yard's to remonstrate and even scold at me for it, which he did in very ungenteel terms . . . Paine's wrath was excited because my plan of government was essentially different from the silly projects that he had published in his "Common Sense." By this means I became suspected and unpopular with the leading demagogues and the whole constitutional party in Pennsylvania.[1]

In a paper entitled The Council of Censors,[2] Mr. Lewis H. Meader speaks of "the radical wing of the people's party, in which were Timothy Matlack, James Cannon, George Bryan, Dr. Thomas Young, and Thomas Paine" (p. 280), and of its great influence in framing the Constitution of Pennsylvania (p. 279): Continuing, he says:

The Constitution of Pennsylvania was launched upon a stormy sea . . . The Whigs divided: some wanted to revise the Constitution, while others wanted it kept as it was framed. The laws were disregarded. The trouble "brought the dregs to the top."

The influence of Cannon, Matlack, and Dr. Young was still felt. In the opinion of their opponents they held "back the strength of the State by urging the execution of their rascally Government in preference to supporting measures for repelling the common enemy."

The two chief points of attack in the constitution were the Legislature, with its single House, and the method of amending (p. 285).

Dr. Young's active interest in public affairs, however, did not preclude the exercise of his profession. At a meeting of the Council of Safety, 14 December, 1776, it was —

Resolved, that Doct'r Thomas Young be appointed to assist Doct'r Potts in taking care of sick soldiers of the army, for which he shall have the rank and pay of Senior Surgeon in the Continental Hospital.[3]

In the following January he had charge of one of the wards in the "Bettering House," as it was called, where two smallpox patients were committed to his care.[4]

[1] Works of John Adams, ix. 617, 618.

[2] Pennsylvania Magazine, xxii. 265–300.

[3] Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, xi. 50. See also xi. 52.

[4] Ibid. xi. 151. See also xi. 155.

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Under date of Tuesday, 4 February, 1777, the Journal of Congress records that —

> A memorial from Dr. Thomas Young was read:
> *Ordered*, That it be referred to the medical committee.[1]

Unfortunately, however, neither the subject of the memorial nor the action upon it appears; and the memorial itself is not on file.

That Dr. Young and his household had not forgotten their Boston friends is shown by a letter written at Philadelphia 29 April, 1777, by Dr. J. B. Cutting[2] to Dr. John Warren concerning hospital arrangements, surgeons' appointments, and some social matters, in which he says: "Dr. Young's family send their best regards to you."[3]

Reference has already been made to Dr. Young's friendship with Ethan Allen and to his having coined the word Vermont. His unfortunate and ill-judged attempt to secure the independence of the New Hampshire Grants and its recognition by Congress, — one of his last and most important public acts, — remains to be mentioned. The facts appear in the following Address, which, preceded by a Resolution of Congress of 15 May, 1776, was printed in the form of a handbill:

To the INHABITANTS *of*

VERMONT

A Free and Independent State, bounding on the River CONNECTICUT *and* LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

PHILADELPHIA, April 11, 1777.

GENTLEMEN, — Numbers of you are knowing to the zeal with which I have exerted myself in your behalf from the beginning of your struggle with the New York Monopolizers. As the Supreme Arbiter of right has smiled on the just cause of North America at large, you, in a peculiar manner, have been highly favoured. God has done by you the best thing commonly done for our species. He has put it fairly in your power to help yourselves.

I have taken the minds of several leading Members in the Honourable the Continental Congress, and can assure you that you have nothing to

[1] Journals of the American Congress from 1774 to 1788 (1823), ii. 31.

[2] John Brown Cutting, of Delaware, was an apothecary for the Middle Medical District and for some time at the Hospital at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

[3] E. Warren, Life of John Warren, M.D., p. 147.

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do but send attested copies of the Recommendation to take up government to every township in your district, and invite all your freeholders and inhabitants to meet in their respective townships and choose members for a General Convention, to meet at an early day, to choose Delegates for the General Congress, a Committee of Safety, and to form a Constitution for your State.

Your friends here tell me that some are in doubt whether Delegates from your district would be admitted into Congress. I tell you to organize fairly, and make the experiment, and I will ensure your success at the risk of my reputation as a man of honour or common sense. Indeed, they can by no means refuse you! You have as good a right to choose how you will be governed, and by whom, as they had.

I have recommended to your Committee the Constitution of Pennsylvania for a model, which, with a very little alteration, will, in my opinion, come as near perfection as anything yet concerted by mankind. This Constitution has been sifted with all the criticism that a band of despots were masters of and has bid defiance to their united powers.

The alteration I would recommend is, that all the Bills intended to be passed into Laws should be laid before the Executive Board for their perusal and proposals of amendment. All the difference then between such a Constitution and those of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, in the grand outlines is, that in one case the Executive power can advise and in the other compel. For my own part, I esteem the people at large the true proprietors of governmental power. They are the supreme constituent power, and of course their immediate Representatives are the supreme Delegate power; and as soon as the delegate power gets too far out of the hands of the constituent power, a tyranny is in some degree established.

Happy are you that in laying the foundation of a new government, you have a digest drawn from the purest fountain of antiquity, and improved by the readings and observations of the great Doctor Franklin, David Rittenhouse, Esq., and others. I am certain you may build on such a basis a system which will transmit liberty and happiness to posterity.

Let the scandalous practice of bribing men by places, commissions, &c., be held in abhorrence among you. By entrusting only men of capacity and integrity in public affairs, and by obliging even the best men to fall into the common mass of the people every year, and be sensible of their need of the popular good will to sustain their political importance, are your liberties well secured. These plans effectually promise this security.

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May Almighty God smile upon your arduous and important undertaking, and inspire you with that wisdom, virtue, public spirit and unanimity, which ensures success in the most hazardous enterprizes!

I am, Gentlemen, Ycur sincere friend and humble servant,

THOMAS YOUNG.

APRIL 12, 1777.

Your committee have obtained for you a copy of the Recommendation of Congress to all such bodies of men as looked upon themselves returned to a state of nature, to adopt such government as should, in the opinion of the Representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general.

You may perhaps think strange that nothing further is done for you at this time than to send you this extract. But if you consider that till you incorporate and actually announce to Congress your having become a body politic, they cannot treat with you as a free State. While New-York claims you as subjects of that government, my humble opinion is, your own good sense will suggest to you, that no time is to be lost in availing yourselves of the same opportunity your assuming mistress is improving to establish a dominion for herself and you too.

A WORD TO THE WISE IS SUFFICIENT.[1]

As might have been foreseen, the Council of Safety of New York vigorously opposed the action of Vermont in a letter to the President of Congress.[2] The climax of this movement, which was reached less than a week after Dr. Young's sudden death, is best described in the words of the official record:

MONDAY, *June* 23, 1777.

A delegate from the State of New-York laid before Congress a printed paper, signed "A word to the wise is sufficient," containing an extract from the minutes of Congress, and a letter signed Thomas Young, to the inhabitants of Vermont, dated "Philadelphia, April 11, 1777," which was read:

Ordered, That the letter from P. Van Cortlandt, and the foregoing

[1] Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont, i. 394–396. This Address is also printed in Documentary History of the State of New York (1851), iv. 934, 935. It is most imperfectly printed in Vermont State Papers (1823), p. 76.

[2] Vermont State Papers, pp. 77, 78; Documentary History of the State of New York (1851), iv. 832, 941.

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printed paper, and the papers formerly received from the convention of New-York, respecting the difference likely to arise between that state and the inhabitants of the place called the New-Hampshire Grants, and also the papers received from the said inhabitants, be referred to a committee of the whole.[1]

On Wednesday, 25 June, the committee of the whole considered the various papers in the case and postponed the further consideration of it.[2] The matter was finally disposed of on —

MONDAY, *June* 30, 1777.

Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to consider farther the letters and papers from the state of New-York, the petition from Jonas Fay, &c.[3] and the printed papers; and, after some time spent thereon, the president resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported, that the committee have had under consideration the letters and papers referred to them, and have come to sundry resolutions thereupon, which he was ready to report.

Ordered, That the report be now received.

The report from the committee of the whole Congress being read, was agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That Congress is composed of delegates chosen by, and representing the communities respectively inhabiting the territories of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, as they respectively stood at the time of its first institution; that it was instituted for the purposes of securing and defending the communities aforesaid against the usurpations, oppressions, and hostile invasions of Great-Britain; and that, therefore, it cannot be intended that Congress, by any of its proceedings, would do or recommend or countenance any thing injurious to the rights and jurisdictions of the several communities which it represents.

Resolved, That the independent government attempted to be established by the people styling themselves inhabitants of the New-Hamp-

[1] Journals of the American Congress from 1774 to 1788 (1823), ii. 176.

[2] Ibid. ii. 178.

[3] The Declaration and Petition of the Inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, to Congress, announcing the District to be a Free and Independent State, and dated at Westminster, 15 January, 1777, is printed at length in Ira Allen's Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont (London, 1798), pp. 80–85, followed by extracts from Dr. Young's letter and from the Records of Congress.

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shire Grants, can derive no countenance or justification fron the act of Congress declaring the United Colonies to be independent of the crown of Great-Britain, nor from any other act or resolution of Congress.

Resolved, That the petition of Jonas Fay, Thomas Chittenden, Heman Allen and Reuben Jones, in the name and behalf of the people styling themselves as aforesaid, praying that "their declaration, that they would consider themselves as a free and independent state may be received; that the district in the said petition described may be ranked among the free and independent states, and that delegates therefrom may be admitted to seats in Congress," be dismissed.

Resolved, That Congress, by raising and officering the regiment commanded by col. Warner, never meant to give any encouragement to the claim of the people aforesaid, to be considered as an independent state; but that the reason which induced Congress to form that corps was, that many officers of different states, who had served in Canada, and alleged that they could soon raise a regiment, but were then unprovided for, might be reinstated in the service of the United States.

Whereas, a printed paper, addressed to the inhabitants of the district aforesaid, dated Philadelphia, April 11, 1777, and subscribed Thomas Young, was laid before Congress by one of the delegates of New-York, to which address is prefixed the resolution of Congress of the 15th May, 1776, and in which are contained the following paragraphs: "I have taken the minds of several of the leading members of the honorable the Continental Congress, and can assure you, that you have nothing to do, but to send attested copies of the recommendation to take up government, to every township in your district, and invite all the freeholders and inhabitants to meet and choose members for a general convention, to meet at an early day to choose delegates for the general Congress and committee of safety, and to form a constitution for yourselves. Your friends here tell me that some are in doubt whether delegates from your district would be admitted into Congress. I tell you to organize fairly, and make the experiment, and I will ensure you success at the risque of my reputation, as a man of honor or common sense. Indeed, they can by no means, refuse you: you have as good a right to choose how you will be governed, and by whom, as they had."

Resolved, That the contents of the said paragraphs are derogatory to the honor of Congress, are a gross misrepresentation of the resolutions of Congress therein referred to, and tend to deceive and mislead the people to whom they are addressed.[1]

[1] Journals of the American Congress (1823), ii. 182, 183. See Hiland Hall, History of Vermont, pp. 243, 250, 251, 268, 497–500; Records of the Governor

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The death of Dr. Young was announced in the newspapers as follows:

Philadelphia, June 28 [Saturday, 1777]. . . . Last Tuesday died of a fever in this city, Doctor Thomas Young, one of the Senior Surgeons of the Military Hospital. He has left a sickly widow and six children wholly unprovided for.[1]

Another announcement reads:

[Died] At Philadelphia, the 24th of June, Dr. Thomas Young, one of the senior surgeons of the military hospital; formerly of this town. He has left a sickly widow and six children wholly unprovided for.[2]

Dr. Young's death and burial occurred on the same day, doubtless on account of the contagious nature of the fever of which he died. In a letter to Governor Jonathan Trumbull, dated Philadelphia, 5 July, 1777, William Williams writes:.

We did not arrive here till Tuesday ye 24th ult^o^. Dr. Young died lately of a Fever caught in attending ye Congress Hospitals in ye City, & was buried the day we came into town. poor man He now knows the reality of things he lately disputed & disbelieved. can find out very little of his last Ideas but believe he died just as he lived, expecting if there was a future State that a man of his Benevolence must be happy.[3]

Dr. Joseph Young's account of his brother concludes in these words:

He died in June, 1777, of a most virulent putrid fever, which appeared to be almost as fatal as the plague. His very valuable library, which he had collected with great care and cost, was sold for Continental money, and was in a great measure lost to his family. These are a few of the incidents which occurred in the life of a man of superior talents, and, as far

and Council of Vermont, i. 32, 42, 58, 59, 78, 83, 394–399, 403, 404; S. Williams, Natural and Civil History of Vermont (1809), ii. 167 et seq.; Vermont State Papers, pp. 65–79; Z. Thompson, History of Vermont, pp. 51–53, 106; B. H. Hall, History of Eastern Vermont, pp. 566, 567; Documentary History of the State of New York (1851), iv. 934–946; Collections of the New York Historical Society for the year 1870, pp. 30, 31; Lossing, Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, i. 168 note.

[1] Independent Chronicle (Boston) of Thursday, 17 July, 1777, p. 3/1.

[2] Continental Journal (Boston) of Thursday, 24 July, 1777, p. 3/1.

[3] Historical Magazine, Second Series, iv. 224.

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as I am capable of judging, of the most consumate physician I ever knew. He married Mary, the daughter of Captain [Garret] Winegar, of Sharon, Conn.,[1] by whom he had two sons, viz: John and Rosmond, and four daughters, viz: Susannah, Catharine, Sarah, and Mary. Rosmond died young. Susan was married to a Mr. [Michael] Knies of Philadelphia, and had two sons, Thomas and John. She died about 1803 or '4;[2] her sons Thomas[3] and John removed to the westward of Albany, and their grandmother, Mary Young, lives with them. John Young, the only surviving son of Doctor Thomas, studied physic under his father and was a Mate in the Hospital until his father died, and was then sent to the Hospital at Albany to be under my care. After the conclusion of the War he practiced in Fayette county, Pennsylvania, but removed to Hendersonville, Tennessee, where he was killed by a fall from his horse in November, 1805. He married Mary Hammond at Fayette by whom he had four children, viz: Mary, Thomas, William, and Sarah. Catharine, the second daughter of Doctor Thomas, was married to Mr. Daniel Castle, who removed to near Canandaigua Lake, where she died, but I do not know how many children she left. Sarah was married to Mr. Clark at Sharon or Amenia;[4] and Mary was married to a Doctor Strong.[5]

Miss Mary Hoes Reed, formerly of Amenia and well informed as to its history and families, but now of Rutherford, New Jersey, writes:

I have here a copy of Rev. Ebenezer Knibloe's Church Records and find the following:

Nov. 19, 1761 Joseph Young[6] married Sarah Brown.
July 17, 1774 Josiah Strong and his wife admitted to the church.

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[1] The Winegars were of Amenia, Dutchess County, New York. See p. 14 note 2, above; p. 52, below.

[2] Probably during her widowhood, Mrs. Knies kept a private school for young women. The family of Knies was from "High Germany." In time the name was spelled Nase (Newton Reed, Early History of Amenia, pp. 21, 22, 141). See the inscription on her gravestone, p. 51, below.

[3] Mr. Ruttenber says that this son was named Thomas Y. Knies.

[4] The towns of Sharon, Connecticut, and Amenia, New York, are contiguous; and there has always been a strong community of interest among the inhabitants of both towns. Salisbury adjoins Sharon on the north.

[5] Dr. Strong may have been identical with Josiah Strong, who, with his wife, was admitted to the Amenia church 17 July, 1774. See text, above.

[6] Dr. Joseph Young, later of Albany, Dr. Thomas Young's younger brother. See p. 9 note 3, above.

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June 25, 1776 Mr. Josiah Strong & wife had Lydia baptized.

Feb. 21, 1779 Josiah Strong had a child baptized by Dr. John Rodgers.

April 19, 1781 Mr. Merrit Clerk of Oyster River at West Haven [New Haven County, Connecticut] has son Nicholas (born April 17, 1781) baptized.[1]

Sep. 16, 1781 Daniel Castle & his wife, daughter of Doct. Thomas Young deceased, had son James baptized by Rev. David Rose.[2]

May 12, 1782 Susannah Nase, daughter of Doct. Thos. Young deceased, had her son John baptized by Rev. David Rose.

May 25, 1783 Daniel Castle and his wife had a child baptized by Rev. David Rose.

The Hon. Lawrence Van Alstyne, Judge of Probate of the Sharon District, Connecticut, sends me the following inscription, copied from a stone in the graveyard at Amenia Union:

Mrs. Susanna Knies, relict of Michael Knies, Esq. and daughter of the late Dr. Thomas Young, died Oct. 14, 1801, aged 44.[3]

The care taken in these baptismal and burial records to connect children and grandchildren with Dr. Young testifies the respect in which his memory was held, long after his decease, by clergy and kinsfolk.

In Christopher Marshall's Diary, we get a final glimpse of Dr. Young's family in Philadelphia, after his decease:

1777, July 14. I went this morning and visited several of our Philadelphia friends, and at the same time in company with our friend George Schlosser, reminded them, as well as some of our Lancaster friends, whom we visited, of the distress poor Dr. Young (deceased)'s family was left in, most of whom, to their honor be it remembered, gave me what they thought proper, in order for me to remit it for their relief, the which I accepted and kindly thanked them on the family's behalf (pp. 119, 120).

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[1] Concerning this entry Miss Reed writes:

I find no *Clark* anywhere in the record but this. As Clerk was often pronounced Clark, and as this is the only Clerk in the whole record, I think he may have been the husband of Sarah Young.

[2] The Rev. David Rose graduated at Yale College in the Class of 1760 (Dexter, Yale Biographies and Annals, ii. 676). He served the Amenia Church during the Revolutionary War when, for a time, Mr. Knibloe's patriotism was suspected and his ministrations were not acceptable to his people, with whom, however, he finally died in peace.

[3] This inscription is printed in Judge Van Alstyne's Burying Grounds of Sharon, Connecticut, Amenia, and North East, New York (1903), 123.

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1777, August 20. I gave to James Cannon, to carry to the Widow Young, the donations I collected in this place [Lancaster, Penn.], which, with my own, amounted to Seventeen Pounds, six shillings (p. 122).

Although evidently an advanced thinker in religion and politics whose views failed of the approval of conservative minds, Dr. Young appears to have been a devoted husband and father and a sincere, ardent and unselfish lover of his country, who scorned to take advantage of his position of leadership to enrich himself or his family. It is probable that the only property he left was the equity in the before-mentioned real estate in Wing's Lane, Boston. Administration on his estate was not granted till 5 May, 1779, when letters were issued by the Probate Court for the District of Sharon, County of Litchfield, Connecticut, to Lieutenant David Doty of Amenia, New York,[1] whose sister, Elizabeth Doty, had married, 28 June, 1764, at Amenia Union, John Winegar, a brother of Dr. Young's widow.[2] The only other proceeding of record concerning this estate is the order of Court, 2 September, 1783, already referred to,[3] to sell the real estate and make return thereon;[4] but none was made. These proceedings plainly indicate that after his decease, some members at least of Dr. Young's family returned to Amenia to reside.

A paper hitherto unpublished testifies that Dr. Young's ill-starred efforts in behalf of Vermont, and the straitened financial condition in which he had left his family, were not forgotten by some of the most prominent men in the State.

[1] Sharon Probate Records, v. 120.

[2] E. A. Doty, The Doty-Doten Family in America (1897), nos. 9505, 9506, ii. 661. See also C. F. Sedgwick, General History of the Town of Sharon, Connecticut (1877), p. 127. In view of the family connection, through the Winegars, of Dr. Young and the Dotys, it is of interest to remark that the Suffolk Congress convened on Tuesday, 16 August, 1774, just before Dr. Young's flight from Boston, at the Doty Tavern in Stoughton, Massachusetts, kept by Col. Thomas Doty (1703–1795); and that Dr. Joseph Warren was a leading spirit in the Congress, which at a subsequent meeting passed the Suffolk Resolves that were drafted by Warren (Frothingham, Life and Times of Joseph Warren, pp. 341, 361; Huntoon, History of Canton, Massachusetts, pp. 196, 318, 335–337, 340).

[3] See p. 31 note 2, above.

[4] Sharon Probate Records, vi. 5.

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To the Hon^{bl} General Assembly of the State of Vermont convened at Rutland. The petition of the subscribers Humbly sheweth, that your petitioners with many others in this State Retain the higheet feelings of gratitude to all those persons who have stood forth in early period and in time of utmost uncertainty & Distress to assist & promote the interest of this State. And we feel a more particular Gratitude to such persons who have exerted themselves & pointed out a system to be pursued to Bring this government into existence & who have acted from the most disinterested motives any farther than respected Humanity & who has in consequence thereof suffered Great Injury in personal character & private property, We beg leave to represent our former worthy friend Doct^{r} Thomas Young, Dec^{d} as coming completely under this description from the decided part which he took in our favour in the most critical Moments as Respected the existence of this State, having pointed out the system to be pursued to establish Government by a separate jurisdiction & to whom we stand indebted for the Name of (Vermont) We now beg leave to Recom[mend] his family who are left in low and indigent circumstances [to your] Notice & patronage & pray in their Behalf that [your honors] consider the merit due to our Dec^{d} friend & [that an] Hon^{bl} Compensation be made to them by a Gra[nt of] some land in such part of the State as shall be vacant which after a determination your petitioners will point out. Your petitioners pray that [a] committee may be appointed hereon that the circumstances may be more fully Represented [& a] Report made to your honors as in Duty bound your petitioners ever pray.

THO^{s} CHIT[TENDEN]
ETHAN ALLE[N]
JOSEPH FAY

Rutland
20 Oct 1786

[*Filed*]
Petition of Et Allen & Jos Fay
Oct. 24, 1786 referred to next session. Attest Ros^{l} Hopkins Clk
Filed 24 Oct. 1786.[1]

This tribute to a forgotten patriot may be fitly closed by the following passage from Ira Allen's History:

[1] State Papers, in the office of the Secretary of State, Montpelier, Vermont, xvii. 234. For a copy of this document I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Edward M. Goddard, Assistant Librarian of the State Library, who writes that "the filing on the petition indicates that no action was taken on the matter; and I am unable to find any reference to the petition in 1787 Council records."

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Dr. Thomas Young, of Philadelphia, who greatly interested himself in behalf of the settlers of Vermont; by several publications, he was highly distinguished as a philosopher, philanthropist, and patriot, and for his erudition and brilliancy of imagination. His death was universally regretted by the friends of American Independence, as one of her warm supporters, and by the republic of letters as a brilliant ornament.[1]

Mr. THOMAS MINNS presented to the Society four photographs of portraits by Copley of Thomas Hancock, the noted Boston merchant, of his wife Lydia (Henchman) Hancock, and of their nephew John Hancock. The original portraits were recently sold in Boston to settle the estate of the late Washington Hancock of London.

Mr. MINNS also stated that there had recently been placed in the First Church in Boston a life-size recumbent statue by Bela L. Pratt of the Rev. John Cotton, the likeness of which had been taken from an original portrait of Cotton in the possession of his descendant Miss Adele G. Thayer of Boston.

Dr. JAMES B. AYER exhibited some large photographs — showing both the exterior and the interior of the Consistoire, Church of St. Pierre, Geneva — and some printed books[2] which illustrate the stay of the English exiles in Geneva and Frankfort, indicating that the local historians are now greatly interested in the subject. The latter feel that a knowledge of the growth of English Puritanism, and conse-

[1] Ira Allen, Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont, p. 86 note. There are many references to Dr. Young and his activity in public affairs, during his residence in Boston, in Frothingham's Life and Times of Joseph Warren, pp. 24, 64 note, 157 note, 201, 258, 290, 305, 313, 316, 321, 325, 326, 355, 360, 388, 525. Frothingham frequently quotes from manuscript letters of Dr. Young, the ownership of which he omits to mention.

[2] The following are the titles of the books: E. Doumergue's Jean Calvin, Les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps, Lausanne, 1905; F. C. Ebrard's Die Französisch-reformierte Gemeinde in Frankfurt am Main, 1554–1904, Frankfort, 1906; and a reprint, published at London in 1846, of the 1575 edition of A Brief Discourse of the Troubles Begun at Frankfurt in the year 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies.

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quently a knowledge of our early New England history, cannot be arrived at without an acquaintance with the time of the English exiles' residence at Geneva and Frankfort and their relations there with Calvin and Knox.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS spoke of the destruction by fire of the second Harvard College on 24 January, 1764, and of the laying of the foundation of the present Harvard Hall on 26 June following;[1] and communicated a poem commemorating the completion of the building in 1766. In a letter dated 15 July, 1765, Governor Bernard said that "a Magnificent Building has been erected and is nearly finished;"[2] while Quincy stated that the building was completed in June, 1766.[3] The poem in question was printed in the Boston Gazette of 7 April, 1766.[4] The author was presumably a graduate of the class of 1763 or 1764 or 1765, as he had not yet taken his second degree; but his identity has eluded research. Mr. Matthews reminded the members that the present Harvard Hall was planned by Governor Bernard, who, according to Hutchinson, "was a very ingenious architect."[5] The poem follows.

The following POEM, written by a young Gentleman who lately receiv'd his first Degree at HARVARD COLLEGE, we doubt not will be acceptable to our Readers.

HARVARDINUM RESTAURATUM.

WHILE some in politics are deep immers'd,
And liberty's just cause with patriot fire
Defend, nor fear oppressive acts t' oppose;
Acts, only fit for those ignoble souls,

[1] Boston Gazette, 2 July, 1764, p. 3/2.

[2] Massachusetts Province Laws, iv. 869.

[3] History of Harvard University, ii. 115. Cf. ibid. ii. 112–116, 496; Peirce, History of Harvard University, pp. 281–295.

[4] It fills the entire first page of that issue. The notes here printed are in the original.

[5] History of Massachusetts, iii. 105 note.

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To whom the rattling of a slavish chain
Is grateful music; O! permit a muse
Unvers'd in state affairs, tho' freedom's friend,
To sing of diff'rent themes, soft to the ear —
Parnassian heights, the pure Castalian fount,
And seats to the muses sacred, where the foes
Of science, free from ev'ry anxious care,
With intellectual food may feast their minds.

In Cambridge' happy plains, behold the piles
Of lofty venerable buildings rise,
The pride, the glory of New Albion's shore!

To our fore fathers' memories, what praise
From us their offspring, for their care, is due;
Who, when their strength was small, nor fortune smil'd,
Nor affluence crown'd their labours, strongly urg'd
By love of liberty and virtue's cause
(Sure indication of a noble mind)
Convinc'd that where dark ignorance prevails,
There superstition reigns, and slavery
Is easily impos'd; fell En'mies both
To noble sentiments, to manly thought,
Laid firm the basis of these happy seats,
From whence the beams of science issuing forth,
Enlighten far and wide this western world!

Nor is the present generation void
Of their great grand sires' gen'rous sentiments;
A love of lib'ral arts, not to few breasts
Appears confin'd: Our noble senators,
Whose words and actions, when in council met,
The gen'ral voice must ever be esteem'd,
Thro' our provincial tract (not least in worth
Among her sister colonies confess'd)
Bespeak this love extensively diffus'd.
Nor needs our retrospective view extend,
For such a proof, to times long since elaps'd;
A recent instance of their ardent Zeal,
True learning's cause, by gen'rous aid, t' advance,
Each one must recollect, when he surveys

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That lofty Edifice, which to the Pray'r[a]
Of those whose skilful hand our tender youth,
In their pursuit of letters wisely guides,
They bade arise, nor grudg'd to sacrifice
The golden store to such a *gen'ral good.*

But now, behold! a scene diversify'd
Opes to my busy thoughts. In that dread night
When Hyperborean blasts rush'd o'er the Plain,
When all within their walls, by driving snows,
Were close pent up, what pen the deep distress
And heart-felt pangs can paint, when wak'd from sleep
By cry of fire up-starting in amaze,
From venerable Harvard's sacred roofs,
Where learning's treasures lay, the spiral flame
Forth bursting we beheld! Our senators,
By fell contagion, from the Capital
Driv'n out, then took their lodging round these walls:
Quick they rush'd forth amid huge banks of snow,
With resolution arm'd; each active hand,
Obedient to the heart, in learning's cause
Engag'd, was full employ'd, with force to oppose
The stanch devourer, but alas! in vain!
Down rush precipitate, with thund'ring crash,
The roofs, the walls, and in one ruinous heap,
The ancient dome, and all it's treasures lie!

The tear forth gushing and the deep fetch'd sigh
Who cou'd restrain, when godlike science felt
A wound so near her heart? But soon our tears
Begin t' assuage; the fathers of our land
Command another edifice t' ascend,
From the same spot where ancient Harvard stood;
But O! how diff'rent, from that antique pile!
In room of Gothic structure, erst the taste
Of Britain's sons, now Grecian elegance
And Roman Grandeur rising to the view,
Here strike the modern eye. — But thou my muse
No longer hover round these new-built walls;
For what are walls unfurnish'd? empty things;
Fit treasures give them worth, be these thy theme.

[a] Hollis Hall built by Massachusetts Province, A. D. 1763.

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In our distressful thoughts, when Harvard fell
To flames a sacrifice, the second place
The ruin'd fabric held; our anxious minds
For loss of books and philosophic aids
Felt far severer pangs: But from our breasts
The heart felt grief, which like a Vulture gnaws
The vitals, soon was banish'd, straight appears
Of Massachusetts' sons a godlike band,
With hearts engag'd in learning's glorious cause,
(Full well the worth they knew) nor spar'd their wealth,
When wounded science ask'd it's pow'rful aid.
Many, with lib'ral hand, bestow'd large gifts;
But like some lofty tow'r, whose rev'rend head,
Erected high, o'ertops the neighbouring roofs;
One, whose beneficence and pious care [b]
Confer'd the means, by which the sacred Page,
In the original, by Harvard's sons
Might be explor'd, rose far above the rest
In noble purposes to this fam'd seat.
Tho' death prevented, by a sudden shaft,
His hand from off'ring what his heart design'd,
His nephew, who inherits with his wealth,
His gen'rous spirit, gave the purpos'd sum.

Nor was this noble spirit here confin'd;
A sister colony, that oft has sent [c]
Her tender sons to drink at Harvard's fount,
Mov'd by her fall, reach'd out a helping hand.

To Britain, patroness of lib'ral arts,
O'er the Atlantic flies the dismal news
Of our calamity. The many hands,
Op'd by the gen'rous heart, to send relief
From that fam'd isle, my muse could now recount;

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[b] The late Honorable Thomas Hancock, Esq: who founded a Professorship of Oriental Languages, and design'd to have given £500 Sterling towards furnishing a new Library; but he dying suddenly before he had subscrib'd, his Nephew, John Hancock, Esq: gave said sum.

[c] New-Hampshire Province, which gave £300 Sterling towards furnishing a Library.

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But chief to thee, known by a name endear'd[d]
To Harvard's sons; to thee, whose noble breast
Blind bigotry, offspring of narrow minds,
Fell party zeal, the bane of all that 's good
Ne'er felt, belongs the tribute of her song.
But sure, a Panegyrist's pen to raise
A monument to thy munificence
Thou need'st not; Harvard's new built walls contain
Fairest memorials of thy lib'ral soul.
From that grand alcove, destin'd to receive
The learned treasures by thy bounteous hand
Presented, we behold, with wond'ring eyes,
The splendid tomes, throughout the spacious room,
Like orient sol diffuse their beamy glories!
The marble column, the triumphal arch,
Let haughty monarchs raise, with vast expence,
T' immortalize their name; when these are fallen
To time's devouring hand a sacrifice,
Treasures like thine, surviving shall record
The lib'ral donor's worth — How chang'd the scene!
That blow which seem'd to give a deadly stab
To science, proves her friend, 'tis that has serv'd
To raise her glory. As the skilful hands
Of those vers'd in the œsculapian art,
T' a mortal frame, by bloody wounds depress'd,
More than it's pristine vigor oft restore;
So Harvard's gen'rous friends her wounds have heal'd;
Nor ceas'd they here, their rich restoratives
Have rais'd her to a height unknown before.

Philosophy again erects it's head,*
And universal science now puts on
It's wonted smiles. —— O sons of Harvard! say,
Where can be found a lot so blest as your's!
Fast by your side flows the Pierian spring
Exhaustless, in a thousand diff'rent streams
Courting your lips, ne'er let it court in vain:
Here slake your thirst, the copious draught imbibe,

[d] The Name of Hollis.

* There is a new, and most elegant Apparatus, vastly excelling that which was destroy'd.

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Slight sips intoxicate, these shun as pests.
Fell envy, child of dæmons, from your breasts
Exterminate; but let your youthful minds
Be fir'd with emulation, diff'rent guest;
That gnaws upon the vitals, *this* inspires
To arduous attempts, "attempts in which
'Tis glorious ev'n to fall"! — O'er the fam'd page,
Wrote by the learned sages who adorn'd
Old Greece and Rome, O trim the midnight lamp!
From ev'ry fragrant flow'r in learning's field
Extract the treasur'd sweets: Let ev'ry thought
Be elevated high: Let deathless young,[f]
And fam'd Longinus all be made your own;
Then take the pen and ease your teeming minds,
Success can never fail. Where am I rapt!
A *Genius* seems to whisper in my ear, —
Soon shall be seen fair Harvard's rising glory;
'Tis yet in embryo; lo! her future sons,
Blest with new aids, shall mount the steeps of fame;
Remotest fields of science shall appear
Plain to their view. Some, with sagacious minds
Searching the depths of nature, various truths,
Which even to that bright genius Newton's self
Lay hid, as if enwrap'd in sev'nfold night,
Shall quick investigate: While others, fir'd
By all the tuneful *nine*, shall emulate
The Greek and Roman bards; nor shall success
Be wanting: Some, inspir'd with noblest fire,
With Pindar's impetus shall rush along,
Whose ev'ry verse, with rapid vehemence,
Like to the victors' car (of which he sings)
By fiery steeds along the Stadium whirl'd,
Or like some torrent, from the mountain's side
Rolling amain; flows on without control,
In freest measures, emblem of his mind,
Daring, unbounded: Some to Epic song
Shall rise, nor shall their strains discover less
Of grand description, sentiment sublime,
Imagination's force and fancy's flight,
Than those of Maro, the fam'd Mantuan bard,

[f] Dr. Young on Original Composition, and Longinus on the Sublime.

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Or Greek Mœonides, still more renown'd,
Or British Milton much surpassing both!
Others to gayer themes shall tune the lyre,
And in their song, display the elegance
And courtly wit of Horace' polish'd strains,
Or charms of old Anacreon's gentle lays,
Where native beauties strike th' admiring mind
Beyond the studied ornaments of dress.
Some form'd for public speakers, here shall rise,
With eloquence array'd: Some, from the desk
(In virtue's cause engag'd) with sacred fire
Shall melt th' admiring audience: Some, employ'd
To plead the cause of justice at the bar,
Shall gain th' attentive ear: While others plac'd
In that grand council, where the public weal
Is sought, with zeal inspir'd to serve the state;
Furnish'd with Ciceronian rhetoric;
The soft, the smooth persuasives, from their tongue
Mellifluent shall insinuate; or fill'd
With Grecian energy, with Attic fire,
Shall wield the thunder of Demosthenes,
Rousing such torpid souls as motionless
Could see the state enslav'd. — But cease my muse,
These strains give o'er; the heav'nly form that deign'd
These pleasing futures to disclose, is fled.

O Massachusetts! with a Parent's care
Protect these happy seats; your genial smiles ‡
Let these enjoy, smiles that must serve to raise
Fair Harvard to that pitch the muse has sung.
Let Cam and Isis then unite and flow
In harmony; the single stream that laves
The banks where Harvard stands shall equal both!

‡ Sis bonus O felixque tuis! VIRGIL.

The Rev. HENRY A. PARKER read the following paper on —

THE ENGLISH WENTWORTH FAMILY.

The ancient Yorkshire family of Wentworth is interesting to the student of New England history both on account of Thomas

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Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and the other royalist Wentworths of the seventeenth century, and on account of the distinguished American branch of the Wentworths who early settled in New Hampshire.

The family has received rather an unusual amount of attention from a series of eminent genealogists. There is no doubt of its antiquity or of its historical importance, but, as we easily discover, there are great differences of opinion as to details of the pedigree.

Wentworth pedigrees were recorded by Tonge in 1530, the first known visitation of Yorkshire, and probably in every subsequent visitation; and besides the very elaborate study of the Wentworth family by Richard Gascoigne and by his friend Dugdale, the Rev. Joseph Hunter and Colonel Chester — two of the most eminent of the nineteenth century genealogists — devoted special attention to the study of the history of this family. Several of the Yorkshire visitations, all containing Wentworth pedigrees, have been edited by distinguished scholars — Mr. Longstaffe, Mr. Metcalfe, Mr. Foster, and Mr. Clay.[1]

The family was probably settled not long after the Norman conquest at Wentworth in the parish of Wath, in the wapentake of Strafford, Yorkshire. The family was not by any means of the rank of the great feudatories of those parts, Percy, Warren, and the like, nor did it rank in the same class with the great families of the second rank, subinfeudatories such as Vavasour, FitzWilliam, and Fleming. But it maintained itself, grew stronger, and spread abroad in numerous cadet branches by marriage with heiresses, until before the Civil War it had become one of the greatest of English families. In England, however, all are now gone, and the surname is borne there, so far as appears, by persons of position, only as adopted by descendants of female branches.

[1] The following Yorkshire visitations have been printed: 1530, T. Tonge, edited by W. Hylton Dyer Longstaffe (Surtees Society, xli); 1563, 1564, W. Flower, edited by C. B. Norcliffe (Harleian Society, xvi); 1584, 1585, R. Glover, 1612, R. St. George, edited by J. Foster (1875); 1665, 1666, W. Dugdale, edited by R. Davies (Surtees Society, xxxvi); 1665, 1666, W. Dugdale, edited by J. W. Clay (Genealogist, New Series, ix et seq.).

"Most of the above, however," remarks Walter Rye, "have been printed from transcripts, and in several cases from incorrect and incomplete transcripts" (Records and Record Searching, pp. 152, 153). But how much better are the visitation copies in the College of Arms?

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Writing in 1831, the Rev. Joseph Hunter, after noting the end of the regular male succession of the senior line, the Wentworths of Wentworth-Woodhouse, by the death of William the second Earl Strafford in 1695, said, "the extinction of the other principal branches of the family took place in rapid succession after that of the eldest branch." Two had already become extinct: 1631, Wentworth of Gosfield, by the death of Sir John Wentworth; 1667, Wentworth of Nettlestead, by the death of Thomas, Earl of Cleveland; 1695, Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse, by the death of the second Earl of Strafford; 1741, Wentworth of Elmsall, by the death of Sir Butler Cavendish Wentworth, Bart.; 1787, Wentworth of South Elmsall, by the death of Hugh Wentworth, Esq.; 1789, Wentworth of Wooley and Hickelton, by the death of Godfrey Wentworth, Esq.; 1792, Wentworth of Bretton, by the death of Sir Thomas Blackett, Bart.; 1799, the Earls of Strafford of the second creation, by the death of Frederick Thomas, Earl of Strafford; 1800, "a younger branch of Wentworth of Wooley, by the death of Peregrine Wentworth, Esq., the last male who can on sufficient evidence be attached to the stock of this noble family."[1] We may, however, add: 1844, the returned American Wentworths, by the death of Sir Charles Mary Wentworth, Bart.

It is likely that Hunter had him especially in mind in writing as above of Peregrine Wentworth, and with good reason; for the descent of the American family was only proved a generation later by Colonel Chester. Yet the heralds had assigned to Governor Wentworth, the first baronet of this line, arms which were but slightly differenced from the Wentworths of Wentworth-Woodhouse,[2] — a proceeding by no means defensible and particularly

[1] J. Hunter, South Yorkshire, ii. 248–248.

[2] The arms of the Wentworth-Woodhouse family as recorded by Tonge are: Sable, a chevron between three leopards' heads or. (No crest given.) The arms of the American Baronets were: Arms — sable, on a chevron engrailed or, between three leopards' faces argent, two antique keys, chevronwise azure, wards upwards. Crest — on a mount vert, a griffin passant, per pale or and sable, charged with two antique keys erect in fesse, counter charged.

Motto — En Dieu est tout. (Burke's Peerage, 1842.)

The coat of Wentworth of Elmsall, from which came the American family, is given in Dugdale's visitation (1665–66) exactly as Tonge gives that of the elder house quoted above. Besides the "honorable augmentation" of the keys, the herald engrailed the chevron and possibly changed the leopards' heads from

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offensive to the conscientious antiquary. Mr. John Wentworth of Chicago, who compiled the excellent Wentworth Genealogy, says, undoubtedly correctly, that neither the last baronet nor his father knew their line of descent.[1] Colonel Chester's proof, on which he justly prided himself, was not indeed sufficient, as I imagine, to be received as conclusive in the House of Lords in case of a claimant for a peerage, but is very good historical evidence. Hunter says that in the great Civil War all the branches of Wentworth took the King's side. But we now find, oddly enough, that the history of the house in England closes with the descendant of the Colonial Puritan Elder, William Wentworth of the Hutchinson connection, of Exeter, New Hampshire.

It may be noticed that three branches of the family had attained to earldoms and that four other branches had obtained baronetcies. These honors came rather late. The first peerage in the family was obtained by Sir Thomas Wentworth of the cadet branch of Nettlestead, Suffolk, who was created a baron in 1529 by Henry VIII, who was then engaged in packing the House of Lords with a view to the suppression of the monasteries and the confiscation of their property. After passing through the hands of the Baroness Wentworth, a mistress of the Duke of Monmouth, this barony passed by her sister to Lovelace, to Noel, to Milbanke, to Gordon, to King, which last family now holds it. The fourth Lord Wentworth of this creation was created Earl of Cleveland and distinguished himself as did his son fighting for the King in the Civil War.

This Nettlestead family was founded by the marriage of a Wentworth with the heiress of the Despencers; he came from the cadet house of Elmsall, founded by the marriage of a Wentworth with the heiress of the Bissets.

The main stem, the Wentworths of Wentworth-Woodhouse, only reached the peerage nearly a century later, though William Wentworth, who inherited a large accession of property from his mother, the heiress of the Gascoignes, was created a baronet in 1611. His second son, Thomas Wentworth, the most distinguished of all the family, may be said to have promptly made up for lost time, for,

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gold to silver; but as they were sometimes argent as early as the time of Elizabeth, this can hardly be considered a change. Cf. Surtees Society's Publications, vol. xli. p. xx.

[1] Wentworth Genealogy, by John Wentworth, 1878.

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22 July, 1628, he was created Baron Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse and at the same time Baron of Newmarch and Oversley, while less than five months later, 13 December, 1628, he was created Viscount Wentworth. On 12 January, 1639–40, he was created Baron of Raby, and also Earl of Strafford; so that when he was attainted early in the following year he had three baronies, a viscounty, and an earldom. And it has been said that it was the acquisition of one of these rather superfluous baronies, the Barony of Raby, that lost him his head. One branch of the great family of the Nevils had been Barons of Raby; from them he was descended; but Raby had come into the possession of Sir Harry Vane, the elder, whose intense hatred of Strafford is said to have been caused by Wentworth's taking from his estate a title which Vane desired for himself, and in revenge pursued him to his death.[1] Three months to the day after Strafford was beheaded, his son William received from the King all the peerage honors which had become extinct by his father's attainder. This was not an act of gratuitous folly on the King's part, but in fulfilment of a promise made to the late Earl. All, however, became extinct by the death of this William without issue, excepting only this unfortunate Barony of Raby, which, having been created with a special remainder, descended to the grandson of the first Lord Strafford's elder brother, and is still in existence, having passed in the female line to Conolly and from that family to Byng, which family now holds it.

The famous Earl of Strafford was, however, a younger son, and the eldest line of Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse only came to a peerage when Sir Thomas Wentworth, Bart., in 1695 inherited the Barony of Raby. He was in 1711 created Viscount Wentworth and Earl of Strafford.

The most elaborate pedigree of the English Wentworths is that to be found in the first volume of Mr. John Wentworth's Wentworth Genealogy, a part of which was printed before by Colonel Chester in the Heraldic Journal (IV. 125–129) and in the New

[1] "His taking the title of Raby . . . added to his many enemies the notorious Sir Harry Vane who proved one of the most bitter of them; . . . Lord Clarendon mentions it as 'an act of the most unnecessary provocation that I have known and I believe was the chief occasion of the loss of his head'" (G. E. C., Complete Peerage, vii. 263).

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England Historical and Genealogical Register (XII. 120–139). Joseph Foster published in 1874 Pedigrees of County Families of Yorkshire, and the next year, 1875, Mr. Foster edited Glover's Visitation of Yorkshire (1584–85). Since then Mr. Clay has been publishing in the Genealogist, with many valuable additions, Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire. In various particulars these pedigrees by no means agree among themselves nor with the earlier Wentworth pedigrees.

The line of Matthew Wentworth of Bretton contains a number of the most important points of difference, and furnishes a sample of the difficulties and uncertainties not uncommonly met with in English pedigrees. Matthew Wentworth of Bretton,[1] son and heir of Richard Wentworth, inherited his father's estate in 1488, married Elizabeth Woodruffe, and died leaving two sons and four daughters. His will was dated 10 November, 1505, and proved at York 10 January following. His two sons were both named Thomas. The elder, who was knighted, died childless. This Sir Thomas entered his pedigree at Tonge's visitation, 1530; he mentions but three of his sisters.

Richard Wentworth, the father of Matthew last mentioned, married Isabel FitzWilliam of Sprotsborough; she was his executrix. His will, made 3 October, 1488, and proved in January following, shows that he left six sons and three daughters. Tonge's visitation omits one son and the three daughters. Flower's visitation, 1563–64, gives to him the four daughters of his son Richard, mentioning their husbands, and omits two at least of his own daughters.

Richard Wentworth of Bretton, the father of the last named, married Cecilia, daughter and heir of John Tansley of Everton. His will was dated 20 December, 1447, named his wife executrix, and was probated 29 May, 1449. This Richard was a younger son of John Wentworth of Elmsall, who married one of the heiresses of Dronsfield from whom Richard inherited his Bretton estate. Richard is interesting genealogically because of an extraordinary mistake, or misrepresentation, concerning his marriage. Mr. Clay

[1] Matthew Wentworth's youngest child, Beatrix, was married to Arthur Kaye and was the great-grandmother of Grace Kaye, the mother of Sir Richard Saltonstall, the Massachusetts colonist. See L. Saltonstall's Ancestry and Descendants of Sir Richard Saltonstall.

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gives it as above and makes no mention of any other statement.[1] In Flower's visitation, however, taken in 1563–64, while both the sons of Matthew (the great grandsons of this Richard) were still living, Richard's wife is said to have been Maud, Countess of Cambridge. In the visitation by Glover (1584–85) as edited by Foster, Richard's wife is given as Maud, Countess of Cambridge, and second daughter to Thomas, Lord Clifford. Foster in his Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire, "authenticated by the members of each family," gives Richard two wives, first Cecilia Tansley, to whom he assigns all the children except son Richard who was, he says, son of "Maud (second wife) Countess of Cambridge, and daughter of Thomas, Lord Clifford, and relict of Richard, Earl of Cambridge (who was beheaded), son of Edmund Duke of York." And he might have added relict of John Nevil, Lord Latimer (d. s. p. 1430). She was, indeed, a very great lady, this widow of the Plantagenet Duke of Cambridge — he who appears in Shakespeare's Henry V; and it is perfectly clear that she never married this Squire Wentworth. The mystery is how there came to be a "family tradition" among the Wentworths that she was their great grandmother, and how they managed to get the heralds, not much more than a hundred years after her death, to record the invention. Mr. John Wentworth rejected the splendid alliance from his pedigree. He says:

> In some of the accounts of the family he is said to have married Matilda, daughter of Thomas Lord Clifford, and relict of Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cambridge; but the present writer can find no evidence of it, nor in fact that any such person ever existed. On the contrary his son William Wentworth, in his will distinctly mentions "John Tansley and Dame Alice his wife and their daughter Cecilia *my mother*."[2]

This, however, might have been compatible with Mr. Foster's arrangement of two wives. But that excellent and careful antiquary, Mr. Hunter, had long ago shown that Richard Wentworth married Cecilia before Lord Latimer died, and that Cecilia was his

[1] Genealogist, New Series xvii. 182. This is an addition to the record of Dugdale. Mr. Clay's edition is made with the express purpose of extending the pedigrees of the Dugdale visitation. The additions are distinguished by differences of type. See Genealogist, New Series, ix. 61.

[2] Wentworth Genealogy, i. 45, 46.

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wife after the Countess's death.[1] But what did Mr. Wentworth mean by saying of the Countess that he could find no evidence that any such person ever existed? It would seem from this and other things that neither he nor Colonel Chester had consulted Mr. Hunter's Deanery of Doncaster (otherwise called South Yorkshire), quite the best book yet published on that part of England. Mr. Wentworth in writing of his authorities, says:

> The earliest portion of the Wentworth Pedigree rests upon the authority of William Flower, Norroy King of arms, one of the most careful and accurate genealogists ever connected with the College of Arms, who compiled it in the year 1588, and it has ever since remained upon the records of the college, and been accepted not only by that body but by all genealogists as authentic.[2]

Flower's visitation as we have it in print certainly shows the most extraordinary inaccuracy so far as the Wentworths were concerned, as well in times more remote as in these which fell within a century of his own time. The earlier generations are not by any means the same as those which Mr. Wentworth gives as from Flower's pedigree of Wentworth in the College of Arms, which would appear to be very much worse. And it is only right to say that while there have been many honorable, careful, and learned men in the College of Arms, there have been also heralds who, like many other needy and avaricious professional genealogists outside the College, have been more or less unscrupulous in their efforts to please the vanity of their employers.[3]

The father of this Richard who did not marry the Countess was John of North Elmsall, who married Agnes, one of the coheirs of the Dronsfield family, according to the two best authorities, Mr. Hunter and Mr. Clay, as also Mr. Foster and Mr. Wentworth, but

[1] Hunter, South Yorkshire, ii. 245. See also Testamenta Eboracensia (Surtees Society, xxx), pp. 118–124, 127, 128.

[2] Wentworth Genealogy, i. 5.

[3] Any one who may be disposed to accept the authority of all visitation pedigrees without question or who may be overpowered by the authority of the College of Arms as upheld in The Right to Bear Arms by "X" or by other fervent advocates, may find instruction and amusement in Mr. J. H. Round's Peerage and Family History. Mr. Walter Rye, writing in 1897 in defence of the heralds, said: "One thing I can say, of my own knowledge, that the officers are far more conscientious and careful than they used to be, and nowadays very seldom pass fudged pedigrees as was formerly the case" (Records and Record Searching, p. 148).

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the visitation pedigrees as we have them of Flower and of Glover insert another John between — namely, he who married a Beaumont and who is, according to better authorities, the brother, not the father, of Richard. We may note by the way that it was Roger, brother of Richard, who founded the family of Nettlestead by marrying the widow of Lord Ros, who became heiress of the Despencers, for which marriage he was in trouble with the Privy Council.

All the authorities agree that the John Wentworth who married the Dronsfield was son of another John and either the son or the grandson of the John who married Joan (or Jane) Tyas: Foster and the Wentworth Genealogy make him the son; the Glover and Flower visitations make him the grandson, of that John, and the son of the Bisset heiress whose name Flower gives as Elizabeth; Glover omits her name; and Hunter, who agrees to the line of descent with some hesitation, calls her Alice.[1]

All agree that John Wentworth and Jane Tyas are in the line and that this John's father was William. Flower's visitation makes John the son of William and Isabel Pollington, the Pollington heiress, and to this agree Foster, Hunter, and the Wentworth Genealogy; but Glover's visitation inserts two Williams whom the other authorities assert to have been not the father and grandfather, but the brother and the nephew of John who married the Tyas heiress. This William Wentworth who married the Pollington heiress was Wentworth of Wentworth-Woodhouse.

The father of William who married the Pollington heiress was also William of Wentworth-Woodhouse, according to all the authorities, except the Glover visitation, which gives the father's name as Roger, and does not mention his mother. Flower's visitation gives Lucy Newmarch as his mother (Newmarch was a great family). Foster, Hunter and the Wentworth Genealogy agree in thinking her to have been Dionisia or Dionysia Rotherfield. Back of this, it would seem that although there is good reason to believe that the same family had owned Wentworth-Woodhouse for a considerable time, the pedigrees are clearly entirely worthless, and may be best shown by parallel columns. Hunter says the pedigree he gives is an old one, but entirely discredits it.

Of the pedigrees which follow, one can take his choice. There seems no reason to believe that either is of any value, or anything like correct.

[1] South Yorkshire, ii. 453.

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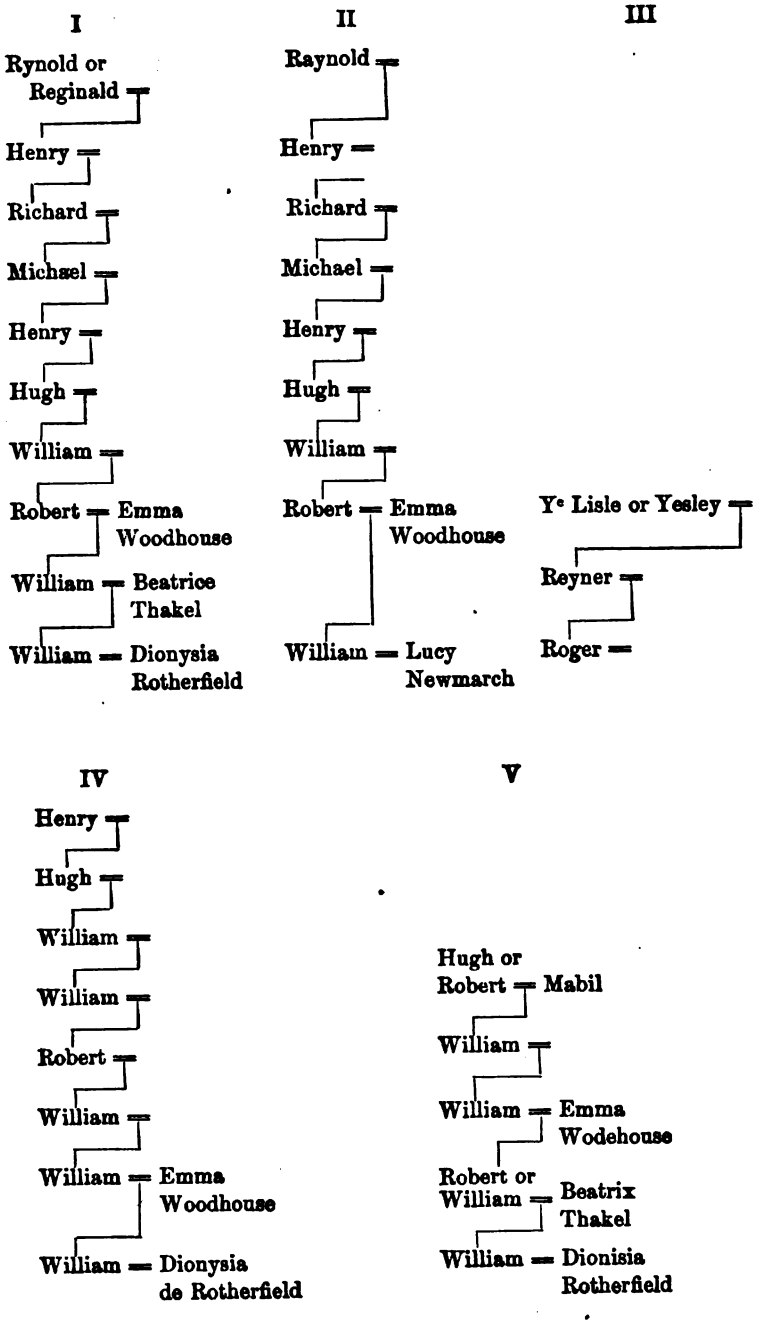

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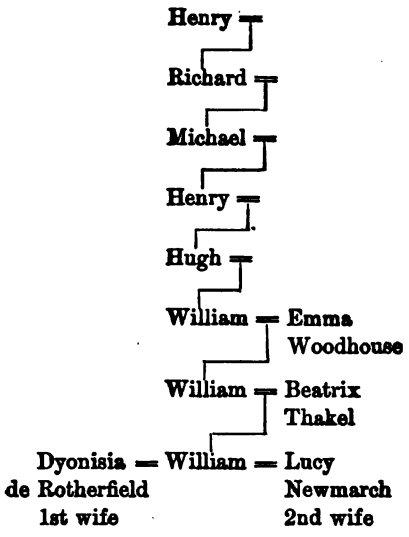
VI[1]



[1] These pedigrees are taken from the following sources: I, Wentworth Genealogy, vol. i. p. xv; II, Flower's Visitation, Publications of the Harleian Society, xvi. 344; III, Glover's Visitation and St. George's Visitation, edited by J. Foster (1875), pp. 374, 375; IV, An Old Pedigree in Hunter's South Yorkshire, ii. 81; V, Foster's Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire (1874), vol. ii; VI, Joseph Edmondson, Baronagium Genealogicum, vol. i. plate 80. In the last named work there is also a pedigree, vol. iii. plate 194, which is the same as I. Pedigrees I and V state that William, who married Dionisia de Rotherfield, also married for a second wife Lucy Newmarch.

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JANUARY MEETING, 1907

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 24 January, 1907, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that letters had been received from Mr. CALEB BENJAMIN TILLINGHAST and the Rev. THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS accepting Resident Membership.

Mr. THOMAS WILLING BALCH of Philadelphia was elected a Corresponding Member.

The PRESIDENT announced that the Council had voted to accept an invitation sent to a few of the leading historical societies in the country to join in guaranteeing for four years the cost of continuing the publication of a Bibliography of Writings on American History, begun in 1903 by the Carnegie Institution.

Mr. HORACE E. WARE presented to the Society a copy of the Rev. George M. Bodge's Soldiers in King Philip's War, and the Bostonian Society gave a copy of Volume III of its Publications.

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Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS made the following communication:

BARBERRY BUSHES AND WHEAT — A SUPPLEMENT TO A CHAPTER IN "THE OLD FARMER AND HIS ALMANACK."

In offering for the consideration of this Society the following comments on the subject of Barberry Bushes and Wheat, which will serve perhaps as a supplement to one of the chapters in Professor Kittredge's recently published work, The Old Farmer and his Almanack, I may perhaps be pardoned if I preface them with a few words concerning almanacs in general, their functions and their evolution. If these introductory remarks shall seem to be unnecessary, it will be recognized, at least, that they will help us to appreciate the character of the work upon which Mr. Kittredge entered when he undertook to analyze the pages of the Farmer's Almanac.

An almanac is defined by the Encyclopædia Britannica as —

> a book or table, published from year to year, containing a calendar of the days, weeks and months of the year, a register of ecclesiastical festivals and saints' days, and a record of various astronomical phenomena, particularly the rising and setting of the sun and moon, the times of high water at particular ports, etc. In addition to these contents, which may be regarded as essential to the almanac, it generally presents additional information, which is more or less extensive and varied according to the many different special objects contemplated in works of this kind.

The author of the article from which the above is quoted also says that the almanac proper is often secondary to a variety of extraneous matter included in the publication, and he refers to two of these annuals "as works of general statistical reference . . . of very great value."

The Century Dictionary says: "Many annual publications called almanacs are largely extended by the insertion of historical, political, statistical and other current information as supplemental to the calendar."

Many statistical works of this class have become absolutely essential for one who would keep up with the times. The digests

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of current political events contained in the almanacs published annually by the leading New York papers, for example, are indispensable for the politician who deals with national affairs. In a similar way there are in Europe compilations known as almanacs having international reputations, to which a student may turn with confidence for information as to imports and exports, national debts, military and naval equipments and expenditures, and the current events of political importance which have occurred during the year next preceding their issue. One of these, having a special feature of its own, is described in Scribner's Monthly for January, 1907. "The *Almanach De Gotha*," says the writer, —

is to Europe what Burke and Debrett and the other Peerages are to the British Isles, and it is also the lineal ancestor and model of such topical encyclopædias as our "Whittaker", our "Hazell" and our "Statesman's Year-Book." A political and social history of the world for the last one hundred and fifty years could be written from its back numbers if these were readily accessible to students. But they are not. The *Almanach De Gotha* began to appear in 1763, but the purchasers did not file it for reference. The earliest numbers in the British Museum are those for 1774 and 1783, and a complete set can only be found in the editorial offices in Friederich's Allee in the little Thuringian capital whence the 141st issue was lately published.

The Nation for January 3, 1907, says, "The Almanach De Gotha for 1907 (its 144th year) comes to us as usual and takes its place among books reserved for reference." [1]

The belief in the influence of the heavenly bodies upon the condition and affairs of men, early led to the introduction in almanacs not only of prognostications as to the weather but also of prophecies of events. The popularity based on these appeals to the super-

[1] The almanacs printed by the Cambridge Press in the early days of the Colony have attracted the attention of bibliographers, and their value in the eyes of collectors has been greatly enhanced by their rarity. One among them, in which the calculations were made by a future President of Harvard College, is thus alluded to by Cotton Mather, in his life of Urian Oakes in the Magnalia:

Being here a lad of *small*, as he never was of *great* stature, he published a little parcel of astronomical calculations with this apposite verse in the title page:

Parvum parva decent, sed inest sua Gratia parvis.

The "parcel of astronomical calculations" was the Almanac for 1650.

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stitions of the purchasing public soon caused these publications to assume the form of annuals. In England a government monopoly of the right "to sell almanacs and prognostications" remained in force for nearly one hundred and seventy-five years from the date of the grant.

The original letters patent were issued under James I, October 29, 1603. They were surrendered and renewed in the 13th year of the reign, 1615, the original letters being recited in the renewal. "Full power, privilege and authority" were given, "to print or cause to be printed, all manner of almanacks and prognostications whatever in the English tongue, and all manner of books, tending to the same purpose, being allowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London." The letters contained a "prohibition to all other printers &c. not to buy, sell, or utter any other than should be printed by the said Company." The monopoly originally granted to two individuals came into the hands of the Stationers' Company and the profits were for a time shared with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.[1] It was attacked from time to time in the courts and was finally overthrown in 1775, in a suit against one Thomas Carnan.[2] There were two points raised in this case — one that the monopoly applied only to almanacs approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London — the other that it was not good anyway. The decision was sweeping against the monopoly. How it could have prevented the publication of almanacs not approved by those clerical authorities during this period, may perhaps be gathered from the definition of an almanac given in the suit of the Company of Stationers against Seymour in 1654.[3]

[1] In 1781 an annual allowance was made to each of these universities by the government, "in lieu of the Money heretofore paid to the said Universities by the Company of Stationers of the City of *London*, for the Privilege of printing Almanacks." The tenth section of the Act in which this was accomplished recites that the privilege of printing and vending almanacs had been granted to the universities and by them demised to the Company of Stationers, for which they had received one thousand pounds and upwards annually. This privilege had by a late decision at law been found to be "a common right, over which the Crown had no Controul, and consequently the Universities no Power to demise the same to any Person or Body of Men" (21 George III, Ch. 56).

[2] 2 W. Blackstone, p. 1003 et seq.

[3] Trinity Term of the Court of Common Pleas, 29 Car. II and reported 1 Mod. p. 256.

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Seymour was sued in an action of debt, for printing Gadbury's Almanack without leave of the Company. The Court opens its decision sustaining the monopoly in the following language:

> There is no difference in any material part betwixt this almanack and that which is put in THE RUBRICK of the common-prayer. Now the almanack that is before the common-prayer proceeds from a public constitution; it was first settled by the *Nicene Council;* is established by the canons of the church; and is under the government of the *Archbishop of Canterbury;* so that almanacks may be accounted *prerogative copies.*

The Court then goes on to say, "There is no particular author of an almanack," and deals with the special matter included in the publication as follows: "Those additions of prognostications and other things that are common to almanacks do not alter the case."

Fortunately for posterity this case was overruled in 1775, and Mr. Carnan was permitted to publish "*A Diary for the Year of our Lord* 1774," without responsibility to the Stationers' Company for his profits. The dictum propounded by the Court in 1654, that "There is no particular author to an almanack," has also been set aside by authorities competent for the purpose. Allibone practically settled this question when he enrolled the name of Robert B. Thomas in his Dictionary of Authors, and Oscar Fay Adams endorsed the decision by admitting the name among those which he thought worthy of record in his similar work, limited, however, to those who claimed to be American authors. Drake, when he gave the name a resting place in his Dictionary of American Biography, to all intents and purposes made the same decision, and from his work the question was passed on to the editors of Appletons' Cyclopædia of American Biography, where the approval by James Grant Wilson and John Fiske of the insertion of Thomas's name secured the public endorsement of two other authorities to this repudiation of the doctrine propounded in the old decision.

There is still another dictum in the Seymour case which has been quoted, viz.: "Those additions of prognostications and other things that are common to almanacks do not alter the case," i. e., to go back to the decision, these additions "made no difference in any material part betwixt" Gadbury's "almanack and that which is put in the Rubrick of the Common-Prayer." We may assume

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that Gadbury's had many of the features which distinguish the Farmer's Almanac and hence can cite The Old Farmer and his Almanack as evidence that the Court was also in error in this statement. Thus the whole fabric of the decision is toppled over, and the name of Thomas, which in spite of this ancient decision had already secured recognition as an author when The Old Farmer and his Almanack appeared, has through this recent publication secured a fresh hold upon fame. Existing sets of the Almanac might be destroyed; dictionaries and encyclopædias might disappear, and still Professor Kittredge's work might be relied upon to vindicate the reputation of the Almanac and rescue the name of its author from oblivion.

The title-page of the volume containing the chapter on Barberry Bushes and Wheat which has occasioned this paper, contained the following description of the contents of the book: "Observations on Life and Manners in New England a Hundred Years Ago, suggested by reading the earlier numbers of Mr. Robert B. Thomas's Farmer's Almanack Together with Extracts, Curious, Instructive and Entertaining, as well as a Variety of Miscellaneous Matter."

Notwithstanding the fact already shown that certain annual publications under the name of almanacs have acquired reputation as historical authorities upon special points, it cannot be denied that it required some courage on the part of Professor Kittredge to attempt an analysis of the "new, useful and entertaining matter" with which Thomas was accustomed to promise his readers that they would be rewarded if they should peruse the pages of his Almanac. Nor does the fact that Thomas has — as disclosed above — secured recognition through this work as an author, diminish to any great extent the tax upon the courage that was required for a careful and deliberate investigation of a publication like the Farmer's Almanac, which not only did not purport to be historical in character, but which still clung to the feature of prognostications and to sundry other of the things alluded to by the Court in 1654 as "common to almanacks." Prognostications of this sort and the absurdity of some of the material with which almanacs from the earliest times were garnished has, in times past, offered a ready theme for satirists like Rabelais and Swift, and indeed continues to do so to this day. Nevertheless, mixed

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in with the information about the planets, one might expect to find, in addition to absurd medical prescriptions, notices of saints' days and predictions of weather and occurrences, occasional references to historical events. From much of this miscellaneous mixture of worthless stuff, the intelligence of Thomas protected whoever should analyze the pages of his Almanac, and the promise on his title-page that it would be found to contain "as great a variety as are to be found in any other Almanac of NEW, USEFUL and ENTERTAINING MATTER" consequently had some value. Yet it will readily be admitted that there was still a great demand left upon the discretion of one who should be required to analyze a complete set of this work in search for historical matter.

Facing page 81 of The Old Farmer and his Almanack there is a reproduction of a page from the Almanac itself where we may see in facsimile the entries for the month of October, 1800. Under the heading "*Courts, Aspects, Holidays, Weather, &c. &c.,*" predictions are given that on the first there will be "*Cool Breezes;*" on the fifth it will "*Storm;*" on the eighth, ninth, and tenth it will be "*Pleasant for the Season;*" and so on through the month. Information as to tides, sun-rise, eclipses, and church festivals is varied with what was of equal importance to a large part of the community, the dates and places of assemblage of the Supreme Judicial Court and the Court of Common Pleas. The historical anniversaries alluded to are: "16th, Q. of Fr. behead 1793;" "17th, Burgoyne sur. 1777;" "30th, Pres. Adams born 1735." Under the heading "Farmer's Calendar" there is a good deal of sound advice to the farmer as to what may be done to advantage at this season of the year and what also ought not to be done.

A glance at this facsimile page will reveal the size of the task which was imposed upon one who would run through the great number of pages of this character, necessitated by the search for topics alluded to therein which might bear upon life and manners in New England a hundred years ago, even though reliance was placed upon prefatory matter, rather than upon the pages of the Calendar. It is with keen appreciation of the thorough manner in which this work was performed by the author of The Old Farmer and his Almanack, that I venture to take up the subject introduced under the title "Barberries and Wheat" on page 327, in the hopes that what I can add thereto may prove to be of interest.

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Mr. Kittredge quotes from the Almanac a letter dated at Malden, August 26, 1799, written by one P. Sprague, who speaks of the barberry bush as "the most pernicious bush that ever I knew grow upon the face of the earth, multiplying exceedingly fast though great pains are taken by many of our people to clear their lands of them, but to no purpose. Some cut them down, some burn them on where they were cut; others attempt to pull them up with their oxen, but they soon sprout again four to one, and it is said by many, that there is no way to clean the land of them." The writer then goes on to prescribe the following method of getting rid of them:

An effectual Method to Destroy Barberry Bushes.

Let a man take a small chain with short links, and lay it on the ground round a bunch of bushes, then lay one of the hooks across the chain and draw it as snug as he can with his hands about the bush close to the ground, then put on a sufficient team to bring it up by the roots at once. If this be done in the months of October or November, it will never fail to exterminate them.

Sprague's letter is introduced by the author with the preliminary statement that "The barberry already had a bad reputation. It infested the land and was a great nuisance to farmers on account of its *tenacity of life*," the italics being mine.

Having thus transcribed to his pages Mr. Sprague's effective method for destroying the bushes, Professor Kittredge continues as follows: "Our correspondent, it will be noted, has nothing to say of the blasting powers of the barberry, but we have a very circumstantial account of them from about the same time, in President Dwight's narrative of his journey to Berwick, Maine, in 1796." Extensive quotations are then given from this narrative. President Dwight dwells at length upon the pest that the barberry bush had proved to be to farmers in Eastern Massachusetts. He says "neat farmers" are able to keep them down in the open fields, but cannot eradicate them along the division walls. He expresses the belief that it would be impossible to get rid of them without tearing down the division walls, i. e. the walls which separate the fields from each other as well as from the highways. "The bush," he says, "is, in New England, generally believed to blast both wheat and rye." This he attributes to the blossoms which for

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a long time emit a pungent effluvium "believed to be so acrimonious as to injure essentially both these kinds of grain." He then enumerates instances of observation which justify this belief. A single barberry bush grew upon the southern side of a wheat field in Long Island. Southerly winds prevailed when it was in bloom. The effluvium and the dead blossoms were borne over a small breadth in the field to a considerable distance. Wherever this took place the wheat was blasted. In Worcester County, Massachusetts, he heard of two similar cases. In the first of these, which he describes at length, there also was a single barberry bush at the south end of the field, and there also "the grain was blasted throughout the whole field, in a narrow tract commencing at the bush and proceeding directly in the course and to the extent in which the blossoms were diffused by the wind." The second of these cases was of substantially the same character. It occurred in the same township as the one just described and was disclosed to him by the same authority.

Dr. Dwight's conclusions are given in the following words: "As no part of the grain was blasted in either of these cases, except that which lay in a narrow tract leeward of the barberry bushes; these facts appear to be decisive and to establish the correctness of the common opinion. Should the conclusion be admitted; we cannot wonder, that wheat and rye should be blasted wherever these bushes abound."

Having got on track of these well authenticated and specific instances of the evil effect of permitting barberry bushes to grow in proximity to fields of grain, we may be sure that they furnished the Doctor a topic of conversation and at last he found one person ready to bring the new charge against the barberry bush that it was an enemy to esculent roots. He did not, however, accept this as proven, but in winding up his indictment of the pernicious bush, he says, with reservation, "If there be no error in the account, it indicates that the barberry bush has an unfavorable influence on other vegetable productions beside wheat and rye."[1]

Professor Kittredge then quotes from Lieutenant John Harriott who speaks of the difficulty of growing wheat in 1794, on the seacoast in New England, which is attributed by some to saline

[1] Dwight, Travels in New England and New York, i. 381–383. Cf. i. 376.

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vapors, by others to the vicinity of barberry bushes.[1] Harriot's own opinion was that the true causes were poor soil and bad management.

The chapter on "Barberry Bushes and Wheat" which is under our consideration closes with the statement that "The innocent barberry bush gradually lost its bad eminence in the farmer's mind." In thus declaring innocent the culprit indicted by President Dwight with such vigor and force, our author was evidently affected by the close proximity to the end of his chapter, in the arrangement of his material, of the doubts of Harriott and of certain other doubts of later date, to which also he refers. It is to the question whether the specific charges of President Dwight were not entitled to preference that I now address myself, and the authorities which I shall cite belong to the New England of a hundred years ago and upward as well as to the modern scientific world.

Let us turn first to the statutes of the Province. We shall find, if we examine the legislation of the General Court in December, 1754, that this very subject was there taken up and that a temporary Act to remain in force for nine and one-half years was then passed, the purpose of which was to secure the extirpation of the barberry bush in Massachusetts. It will also be seen that the difficulty alluded to by President Dwight with regard to the division walls was recognized at that time and provision was made for the destruction of the bushes where they grew in walls or fences. This legislation is introduced by a preamble which distinctly asserts that "the blasting of wheat and other English grain is often occasioned by barberry bushes." The tenacity of life of the pernicious bush, so strongly set forth in the Sprague letter, was evidently recognized by those who drew up this statute, but the sole cause for this legislation was, if we may accept the allegations of the preamble, because of the office of the barberry bush in blasting grain. Unfortunately we have no record of the journey through Massachusetts of any Dr. Dwight in 1750, and must depend exclusively on the general assertions of this preamble and the character of the legislation itself for our knowledge of the observed facts on which the statute was based. The observations

[1] Struggle through Life, London, 1807, ii. 32–33.

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recorded by Dr. Dwight must have occurred about thirty years after the expiration of the temporary act referred to. It may be that for a time the farmers got the upper hand of the barberry bush. At any rate, it will be noted that all knowledge of the legislation or of the experience which led up to it would seem to have been forgotten when Dr. Dwight and his interlocutors exchanged views upon the character of the barberry bush.[1]

For an appreciation of the completeness with which the ground was covered by those who drew up this statute it is necessary to reproduce the Act itself in full. It may, however, be useful before doing so to say that the law was evidently based upon the belief that the people of the Province demanded its passage. The power, therefore, to carry out its provisions was given to the people. Primarily the owner or occupant of the land was required to remove all barberry bushes; if he failed to do so, methods were prescribed through which any person might enter on the land and remove the bushes and collect from the owner for services in doing the work. The occupant of land also had his right of collection from the owner for work of this sort. The only penalties imposed by the act were fines on towns in case the surveyors of highways neglected to destroy the bushes in the highways of their districts.

The following is the language of the Statute:

Preamble. WHEREAS it has been found, by experience, that the blasting of wheat and other English grain, is often occasioned by barberry-bushes, to the great loss and damage of the inhabitants of this Province, —

Be it therefore enacted by the Governour, Council and House of Representatives,

Barberry-bushes to be extirpated on or before June, 1760. [Sect. 1.] That whoever, whether community or private person hath any barberry-bushes standing or growing in his or their land within any of the towns in this province he or they shall cause the same to be extirpated or destroyed on or before the tenth day of June, *Anno Domini* one thousand seven hundred and sixty.

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[1] This will apply equally as well to the earlier and later Connecticut legislation on the same subject which is quoted hereafter (pp. 89–91, 93).

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Be it further enacted,

[Sect. 2.] That if there shall be any barberry bushes standing or growing, in any land within this province, after the said tenth day of June, it shall be lawful, by virtue of this act, for any person whomsoever to enter the lands wherein such barberry-bushes are (first giving three months' notice of his intention so to do, to the owner or occupant thereof) and to cut them down, or pull them up by the roots, and then to present a fair account of his labour and charge therein to the owner or occupant of the said land; and if such owner or occupant shall neglect or refuse by the space of two months next after the presenting of said account, to make to such person reasonable payment as aforesaid, then the person who cut down or pulled up such bushes, may bring his action against such owner or occupant, owners or occupants, before any justice of the peace, if under forty shillings; or otherwise, before the inferiour court of common pleas, in the county where such bushes grew; who, upon proof of the cutting down or pulling up of such bushes, by the person who brings the action, or such as were employed by him, shall and is hereby, respectively, empowered to enter up judgment for him to recover double the value of the reasonable expence and labour in such service and award execution accordingly.

Liberty after that time for any person to cut them down, provided, &c.

Provision in case owners or occupants neglect, &c.

Be it further enacted,

[Sec. 3.] That if the lands on which such bushes grow are common and undivided lands, that then an action may be brought, as aforesaid, against any one of the proprietors, in such manner as the laws of this province provide in such cases where proprietors may be sued.

Actions may be brought as in cases of the like nature.

Be it further enacted,

[Sec. 4.] That the surveyors of the highways, whether publick or private, be and hereby are empowered and required, *ex officio*, to destroy and extirpate all such barberry bushes as are or shall be in the highways in their respective wards or districts; and if any such shall remain after the aforesaid tenth day of June, *Anno Domini* one thousand seven hundred and sixty, that then the town or district in which such bushes are, shall pay a fine of two shillings

Surveyors of highways empowered to extirpate barberry-bushes standing in highways.

Penalty, in case.

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for every bush standing or growing on such highway, to be recovered by bill, plaint, information, or the presentment of a grand jury, and to be paid, one half to the informer and the other half to the treasurer of the county in which such bushes grew, for the use of the county.

Be it further enacted,

Provision if such bushes grow in stone wall, or fence.

[Sec. 5.] That if any barberry bushes stand or grow in any stone wall, or other fence, either fronting the highway, or dividing between one proprietor and another, that then an action may be brought, as aforesaid, against the owner of said fence, or the person occupying the land to which such land belongs; and if the fence in which such bushes grow is a divisional fence between the lands of one person or community and another, and such fence hath not been divided, by which means the particular share of each person or community is not known, then action may be brought, as aforesaid, against either of the owners or occupants of said land.

Be it further enacted,

Owner or proprietor to pay for pulling up or destroying said bushes.

[Sect. 6.] That where the occupant of any land shall eradicate and destroy any barberry bushes growing therein, or in any of the fences belonging to the same (which such occupant is hereby authorized to do, and every action to be brought against him for so doing shall be already barred) or shall be obliged, pursuant to this act, to pay for pulling them up or cutting them down, that then the owner or proprietor of such land shall pay the said occupant the full value of his labour and cost in destroying them himself, or what he is obliged to pay to others as aforesaid; and if the said owner or owners shall refuse so to do, then it shall be lawful for said occupant or occupants to withhold so much of the rents or income of said land as shall be sufficient to pay or reimburse his cost or charge arising as aforesaid.

Limitation.

[Sect. 7.] This act to continue and be in force until the tenth day of June one thousand seven hundred and sixty-four. [*Passed December* 26, 1754; *published, January* 13, 1755.][1]

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, 1754–55, Ch. 20, iii. 797, 798.

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It will be seen that five years and a half were given within which owners of land were to extirpate all the barberry bushes in the Province, and that provision was made for procuring the work to be done in the case of common or undivided lands, as well as in cases of doubtful responsibility such as that of bushes growing in division walls. To secure the accomplishment of this work, reliance was placed upon the authority given to the general public to perform it in case of neglect by the owner. The Act was of a temporary nature. It expired by limitation in 1764. Much of the legislation of that day was temporary, and if there seemed to be occasion for renewal, the operation of such statutes was from time to time extended. This particular statute was not extended. Whether we may infer from this its success or its failure, is a matter purely for conjecture. In view, however, of the fact that modern botanists have established beyond doubt a connection between the barberry bush and the rust which infects wheat, it would seem probable that this wholesale attack upon the barberry bushes of Massachusetts probably had such a beneficial effect that when the time of the expiration of the Act came round it was not thought necessary to stimulate farmers by public legislation to protect their wheat fields in the future.

This subject cannot properly be closed without mention being made of what the function of the barberry bush is in propagating rust on growing wheat. In order to do this we must necessarily trespass upon a field of scientific research foreign to the objects of this Society, but fortunately for our special purpose we have at our command material which will in the main be intelligible, even if we are not ourselves sufficiently skilled to comprehend technical details.

First, let us quote from a note to this chapter in the Province Laws, written by our associate Mr. Abner C. Goodell. He says:

> It will be seen in the following communication to Silliman's Journal, by the distinguished botanist, Dr. Asa Gray of Cambridge, that the sagacity of the promoters of this measure is fully vindicated by the later researches of European cryptogamists:
>
> The effect of barberry-bushes in rusting wheat, after having been long accounted a groundless popular superstition, is at length understood and admitted by the cryptogamists. The botanists used to rebut the farmers by the statement that the rust in the grain-fields and the prevalent fungus of the

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barberry belonged to very different genera, and that therefore the one could not give origin to the other. But De Bary in Germany and Œersted in Denmark, following up similar inquiries by Tulasne in France, have concluded that *Uredo*, *Puccinia* and *Æcidium* are to be regarded, not as so many genera, but as three successive forms of fructification of the same fungus, or, in some sort, an alternation of generations. De Bary ascertained that the spores of *Puccinia graminis* do not germinate when sprinkled on the leaves and stalks of the cereal grains, which this rust infests, while they will germinate on the leaves of the barberry, and there give rise to the *Æcidium berberidis;* and the spores of this are equally inert upon the barberry, but will grow, in their turn, upon wheat, and then reproduce first the *Uredo*, or yellow rust, and later the *Puccinia graminis* or dark rust. Another species of *Puccinia* equally produces *Æcidium* upon buckthorn; another alternates between the cereal grains and certain boragineous weeds. These results have been practically tested, in the large way, last summer (1869) in France. Long hedges of barberry planted along the Paris and Lyons railway in a commune in the Côte d'Or, were complained of by the adjacent cultivators and were cut away at certain places by way of experiment; and an investigation by the railroad company, whose interests were adverse to such a decision, left no doubt of the injurious effects of the barberry on the contiguous wheat fields. — *American Journal of Science and the Arts, vol.* 49, 1870, *p.* 406 (*No. CXLVII., 2d series*).

The French account referred to is in "*Bulletin de la Société Botanique de France*," *tom.* 16, *pp.* 331–333.[1]

The foregoing may perhaps be considered adequate to establish the fact that our ancestors were on the right track; that it was not the mere "tenacity of life" of the barberry bush which disturbed them, but that its presence was an actual menace to the wheat. If, however, we require more evidence we may turn to that encyclopedic dictionary, The Century, where we shall find the following definition for *Puccinia*, which may be considered as fully corroborating the charge of complicity on the part of the barberry bush in propagating rust.

Puccinia — A genus of parasitic fungi of the class *Uredineæ;* the rusts. Plants of this genus exhibit the phenomenon of heterœcism, that is, they pass through different stages of their life-history upon different host plants. *P. graminis*, one of the commonest and most destructive species, may be taken as a type. It appears in the spring on the leaves of the *Berberis vulgaris*, constituting what is known as *barberry rust*, or *barberry cluster cups*. This is the æcidial stage, and

[1] Massachusetts Province Laws, iii. 835.

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received the name of *Æcidium Berberidis* before the heterœcism was suspected. Later in the season the uredo stage makes its appearance on the leaves and stems of the cultivated oats, wheat, etc., appearing as pale yellowish or whitish spots on the leaves. Soon the tissues are ruptured and the long lines of orange red, uredo spores are exposed, now constituting the red rust of oats, etc. By the rapid germination of the uredo spores the disease is quickly spread, and may involve the entire plant. In the fall, just before cold weather, the black teleuto-spores are produced. This is known as the black rust, and is designed to carry the fungus over the winter, when it again begins its life-cycle on the barberry. About 450 species of *Puccinia* are known, not a few of which are serious pests to the agriculturist or horticulturist.

Our somewhat desultory discussion has taken us into the domain of almanacs; we have quoted largely from English law reports and from a book written about a set of almanacs; we have invaded the field of Provincial legislation; and finally we have been stranded upon that abstruse modern science, cryptogamic botany.

The discussion of purely botanical questions is foreign to the purposes of this Society, yet I cannot refrain from communicating the substance of a letter to me from Professor Charles E. Bessey of the University of Nebraska. After speaking of the rust and its methods of propagation, Professor Bessey says:

It was noticed, however, long ago, that there was wheat rust in abundance where there were no barberry bushes, and in some places there were barberry bushes that were not affected with rust to any great extent. The explanation of this is that for some reason or other, the rust is not wholly dependent upon its barberry phase of existence. On the plains and prairies of the west there are no barberry bushes excepting a few that are planted in the gardens and on the grounds around houses, and yet this species of rust, *Puccinia graminis* is very abundant. Some years ago it was found that the phase of rust which occurs on the wheat plant is able to live through the winter. Infection may take place in the late autumn, and the rust persists through the winter, so that there is no need of infection of the wheat in the spring of the year from the barberry bushes. I should say that the autumn infection of the wheat is from the preceding wheat crop.

We have here, apparently, an interesting case of a change of habitat of a parasite, whereas it formerly (and normally) lived first on the barberry, where it gained sufficient strength to form large spores able to

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penetrate the wheat, and then on the wheat to develop its second stage. Now, apparently, under favorable conditions offered by the wide cultivation of winter wheat, this rust parasite is able to pass from wheat crop to wheat crop directly.

Thus we have the testimony of a recognized authority on such subjects whose residence in Nebraska has permitted personal observation. This evidence is of such a nature that we can no longer deny the possibility of an "innocent" barberry bush. Yet this does not release the pernicious bush from the condemnation which it received at the hands of President Dwight, nor ought it to lessen our admiration for the observations of our ancestors made in New England under circumstances when the widespread cultivation of winter wheat did not present the favorable conditions for the propagation of rust upon the wheat plant itself which now exist upon the plains and prairies of the West. On the contrary, we must admit the sagacity which could connect cause and effect under conditions which, according to Dr. Gray, led scientific men to account this "a groundless superstition" which they sought to rebut by declaring the rust on the wheat to be incapable of origin from the fungus on the barberry bush. The farmers proved to be right and the botanists of that day wrong.

Two things are impressed upon us as a result of this review of an interesting but comparatively unimportant matter. The first of these, the unerring sagacity with which observers traced out the source of the contamination of the wheat fields, has already been dwelt upon. The state of botanical science at that time did not permit that the mysterious method of propagation should be then revealed, but it will be admitted that a compulsory application of the legislation which sought to cure the evil by removing the source of propagation could only have produced beneficial results. Apparently, in after days doubts were thrown by scientific men upon the justice of the recorded observations, and then, under the influence of these doubts, came forgetfulness of the lesson which had been so thoroughly learned. In a similar way the experiences through which the same people passed, during the period when they were dependent upon bills of public credit for a medium of trade, furnished a complete object lesson as to the evils of a redundant irredeemable paper currency, a lesson which was freely accepted by

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the best intellects of the Province. Yet this too was neglected by their posterity when the printing-press proved a more convenient method than borrowing for covering an emergent need. Whatever may be the feelings of the student of our Provincial history at finding this tendency to forget well certified experiences, he will at least be grateful for their evidences of intelligent observation and receptive mentality on the part of our forefathers.

The foregoing, relative to barberry bushes and wheat, has not touched upon the legislation in the other New England Colonies on the same subject. To fill out this gap in the discussion I add hereto certain references to the Colonial Records of Connecticut and Rhode Island, which have been furnished me by Mr. Albert Matthews, and it seems to me that the statutes referred to are entitled to be given in full. The oldest legislation upon the subject took place in Connecticut in May, 1726, when the following act was passed:

An Act concerning Barberry Bushes.

Whereas the abounding of barberry bushes is thought to be very hurtful, it being by plentiful experience found that, where they are in large quantities, they do occasion, or at least increase, the blast on all sorts of English grain,

Be it therefore enacted by the Governour, Council and Representatives, in General Court Assembled, and by the authority of the same, That the inhabitants of the several towns within this Colony, may and they are hereby fully impowered at their annual town meetings, to determine and agree upon the utter destroying of the said bushes within their respective townships, and the time and manner how. And if any of the inhabitants of such town or towns so agreeing shall oppose the cutting down said bushes within their fields and enclosures, and forbid the other inhabitants coming thereinto for that end, they shall incur the penalty of twenty shillings, to be paid into the treasury of the town wherein they dwell. And if any such person shall thenceforward continue to oppose the cutting said bushes as aforesaid, they shall also incur the penalty of ten shillings per month until they shall declare to the Selectmen their free consent for their entering into such enclosures and destroying the said bushes therein growing. Said penalties to be recovered by distraint on the goods and chattels of the person or persons so offending.

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Provided nevertheless, That if any person or persons have any of said bushes, the which they make use of or depend upon for a fence, such person or persons shall not incur either of the aforesaid penalties till after just satisfaction to them made by the town, as they and the selectmen can agree; or as by two or three indifferent men, chosen by said parties or appointed by the civil authority, shall judge reasonable.[1]

It will be seen that the Massachusetts statute was anticipated in Connecticut by upwards of a quarter of a century. The method of procedure in Connecticut was peculiar, the whole matter being referred to the several towns, thus making it almost certain that there would be no concert of action throughout the Colony. Moreover, the hands of the opponents of the bill are to be seen in the proviso, which threw upon the towns the necessity of first settling with farmers who might claim that the offending bushes were made use of or depended upon as fences, before they could enforce any of the penalties of the Act.

The caution with which the preamble of the Act is drawn is worthy of notice. The presence of barberry bushes in great quantity was "thought" to be very hurtful; plentiful experience having shown that large quantities of the bushes occasion "or at least increase" the blast of all sorts on English grain. Of course those who drew up this preamble were ignorant that the fungus required a host-plant and that the different varieties of æcidium could propagate upon different plants, but they had discovered the essential fact that the barberry bush "at least increased" the blast on grain. Its extirpation might not entirely remove the rust from the wheat, but they felt sure it would reduce it.

The power thus lodged in the towns remained there unaltered for fifty-three years. There is no indication that the subject was under discussion in Connecticut during these years, but the fact that there was during this period legislation against barberry bushes in Massachusetts and in Rhode Island suggests the possibility that the action of these Colonies may have been brought to the notice of the government. At any rate in January, 1779, a new Act was passed, authorizing in a general way the destruction of barberry bushes, at certain times of the year, but still leaving the enforcement of the Act to the discretion of town-officers. This Act follows.

[1] Colonial Records of Connecticut, vii. 10.

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An Act in Addition to and Alteration of the Law of this State entituled An Act concerning Barberry Bushes.

Be it enacted by the Governour, Council and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same, That any person or persons whatsoever, with the advice and consent of the civil authority and selectmen, or the major part of them, of the town where any barberry bushes are or shall be growing, may in the months of March, April, October or November, enter into and upon any lands whereon shall be growing any barberry bushes and dig up and destroy such bushes without being liable to any action, suit or demand therefor; any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.[1]

The first legislation in Rhode Island was not until ten years after that in Massachusetts and is to be found in the Records of the Colony for the year 1766. The Act, which applies only to the town of Middletown, was passed in August of that year. It reads as follows:

An Act for destroying barberry bushes in Middletown.

Whereas experience showeth, that barberry bushes have a very great tendency to blast English grain,

Be it therefore enacted by this General Assembly, and by the authority of the same it is enacted, That where any person in the town of Middletown, hath any barberry bushes growing in his or her field, or enclosure, and shall be applied to by any free holders in said town, to destroy them, and the person so applied to, shall refuse or neglect for the space of one month, to to [*sic*] cut up and destroy them, that then, and in such case, it shall, and may be, lawful for the person so applying, to make application to one of his Majesty's justices of the peace, who is hereby empowered to grant forth his warrant to impress labourers to cut and destroy all the barberry bushes there growing (for the destroying of which, applications hath been mde [*sic*] as aforesaid,) at the cost and charge of the complainant or complainants and not at the expense of the owner of the land, committing as little waste, and doing as little damage to the owner of the land, as the case will admit of.

God save the King.[2]

If the title of this Act had been changed to "An Act to protect barberry-bushes in Middletown," it would have defined its appar-

[1] State Records of Connecticut, ii. 176.

[2] Rhode Island Colonial Records, vi. 509.

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ent purpose about as well. The method of procedure laid down for the freeholder of the town who wished to compel his neighbor to eradicate the barberry bushes in his fields was so complicated, elaborate and expensive, and so many dangers lurked under the phrase, "doing as little damage to the owner of the land as the case will admit of," that it practically insured the peaceful life of barberry bushes in Middletown.

In the seventh volume of the Records of Rhode Island, an Act for the destruction of barberry bushes throughout the Colony is referred to.[1] Although the text of this Act is not given in the published Records, it is to be found in the Session Laws for the year 1772.

The following is the language of the Act:

Act for destroying Barberry Bushes.

AN ACT for destroying Barberry-Bushes throughout this Colony.

Preamble.

WHEREAS it is found by Experience that Barberry-Bushes are very destructive to English Grain:

Persons neglecting to cut or destroy their Barberry-Bushes to be fined £10 0 0

BE it therefore Enacted by this General Assembly, and, by the Authority thereof, It is Enacted, That if any Freeholder in this Colony shall apply to any Person having Barberry Bushes growing in his Field or Inclosure to destroy them, and the Owner of the Land shall neglect or refuse to cut them annually, or otherwise destroy them, he shall pay as a Fine, the Sum of Ten Pounds Lawful Money, One Half to and for the Use of the Town in which the Barberry Bushes grow, and the other Half to the Informer, to be recovered by Information before the Court of General-Sessions of the Peace, where the Land lies.

Barberry-Bushes in Commons or Highways to be destroyed by the Town.

AND be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That if any Barberry-Bushes shall be found in the Commons or Highways in any Town in the Colony, and any Freeholder of any Town therein, shall make Application to the Town-Treasurer of such Town to destroy them; and such Town-Treasurer shall refuse or neglect so to do, for the Space of One Year, That then, and in such Case, such Free-

[1] Rhode Island Colonial Records, vii. 54.

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holder may make Application, to any One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for said Town, who is hereby empowered and requirea to grant his Warrant to procure Labourers to cut up and destroy the said Barberry-Bushes; the Expence whereof shall be paid out of the Town-Treasury of such Town.[1]

This is a decided improvement upon the earlier Rhode Island statute, if its purpose was, as its title indicates, to secure the destruction of barberry bushes, and its presence upon the statute books of the Colony doubtless furnished a weapon for those who were disposed to make war upon this mischief-making bush.

A glance at the chronology of this legislation is instructive as well as interesting. The Colony of Connecticut began the war against the barberry bush in 1726. The subject was taken up in the Province of Massachusetts Bay in 1756. Ten years later, Rhode Island was awakened to the situation and joined, in a half-hearted way, in the fight. After an interval of six years this last Colony, in 1772, took the subject up again and this time passed an Act which, if not all that the enemies of the barberry bush might wish, was at any rate much more pronounced in its efforts to secure the destruction of the bush than the earlier statute. Then comes the second attack of Connecticut, now a State, in 1779. This statute was perhaps capable of being made more effective than the law of 1726, but was still hampered by the deference to the town officers which was the characteristic feature of the first legislation on the subject, and which is perhaps to be explained by the system of representation which has prevailed there from the days of the Charter to the present time. That the subject should have attracted so much attention in New England as is indicated by the foregoing review of the legislation, and then should have been so completely forgotten that modern cryptogamists were obliged to start at the bottom in their scientific study of this fungus, is very remarkable.

A quotation has already been made from Dr. Gray, giving the results of modern scientific study of the fungus which makes its home upon the barberry bush. A few words may, perhaps, be appropriately added as to the knowledge and the possibility of

[1] Rhode Island Laws, August, 1772, p. 46.

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knowledge of this legislation on the part of European and American botanists. I am indebted to Dr. William G. Farlow, of the Department of Cryptogamic Botany in Harvard University, for the following references which, as far as they go, cover this ground. He tells me that as long ago as 1788, a German traveller in the Middle and Southern States published an account of his experiences and observations, in which he referred to this legislation. The author was obviously a disbeliever in the charges against the barberry bush, but he gives a brief account of the law derived from hearsay during his travels in the section of the country indicated above, and not from actual inspection of the printed statute.[1] It is not certain to which of the laws he referred, but it is interesting to discover that this legislation was the subject of discussion at this time, so far from the locality where the pest provoked these laws.[2]

The Massachusetts statute was referred to in various botanical journals towards the close of the last century,[3] and in 1882 Professor Farlow forwarded to Charles B. Plowright of King's Lynn, England, the full text of the law. This was published by him as a supplement to a communication to the Lynn News of December 23, 1882, and was reprinted on a separate sheet under the heading "Wheat Mildew."

The cultivation of wheat in this country has persistently moved away from the coast as our population has increased with such regularity, that after a little study of the statistics of emigration, one who knew the population of the country at a given date could easily predict where the contemporaneous wheat fields would be found. The question of the protection of wheat from fungi is no longer of interest in New England, but perhaps the same spirit of observation which inspired the legislation which we have been discussing, applied to the great wheat fields in the Middle West may be helpful to our farmers to-day.

[1] Johann David Schöpf, Reise durch einige der mittlern und südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten nach Ost-Florida und den Bahama-Inseln unternommen in den Jahren 1783 und 1784. Erlangen, 1788.

[2] The possibility that Arthur Young may have seen this naturally suggests itself. In that event the presumption that it was instrumental in leading up to the series of observations chronicled by Young and quoted by Mr. Kittredge (p. 96, below) makes this reference doubly interesting.

[3] See Botanical Gazette, May, 1884, ix. 83.

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The reading of this paper was followed by a discussion in the course of which Mr. HORACE E. WARE read a letter he had recently received from Mr. Edwin W. Allen of the United States Department of Agriculture, from which the following extract is taken:

Referring to the matter of your letter regarding wheat rust, which has been known in England and in the older literature as mildew, this disease is caused by a fungus which passes through three distinct stages in its life cycle. These stages are known as the æcidial, uredo, and teleutal. Each stage is capable of reproduction by means of spores. The damage is done in the uredo or summer stage, in which the fungus appears as a red rust. It grows within the tissue of the plant, and the first we see of it is the red rust which breaks through the surface. This rust is in effect an aggregation of spores. From this stage it passes to the teleutal stage, in which it forms black spores which winter over on straw and stubble. In the spring the organism germinates and passes to the æcidial stage, which it spends on the barberry if this is present. It was long supposed that if the barberry was not present the organism could not be perpetuated, and hence there would be no red rust. But the most recent investigations indicate that under some conditions, at least, it can skip this stage and pass directly from the wintering stage to the uredo or red rust stage. It can therefore get along without the barberry, and hence cleaning the latter out will not insure the absence of rust; but as the barberry forms one of the stages in the life cycle of the rust, under normal conditions, the theory of the old farmers was all right, and it has required a great deal of very nice work by plant pathologists to show that it did not apply as broadly as supposed.

The PRESIDENT, in closing the discussion, said:

Much curious material concerning the beliefs of English farmers with reference to barberry bushes and wheat blight may be found in Volumes XLIII, XLIV, and XLV[1] of the Annals of Agriculture and other Useful Arts, edited by the celebrated economist Arthur Young. In 1804 the English wheat crop suffered severely from "mildew." Young, who was at that time Secretary to the Board of Agriculture, sent out a circular letter to many farmers in different parts of the country, asking for the results of their observations. The ninth question in this letter is, "Have you made any

[1] London, 1805, 1806, 1808.

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observations on the barberry, as locally affecting wheat?"[1] In the replies to Young's circular, which are printed in considerable numbers in the above-mentioned volumes of the Annals, the ninth question is frequently ignored. Still, there is an abundance of testimony, on both sides of the question, to be derived from these replies, — all of them, it is to be noted, from experienced farmers. One correspondent writes:

> The barberry is, I believe, an old fashioned fable. I remember destroying barberry trees on that account, but mildew visited me never the less from their destruction.[2]

Another is equally vigorous in asserting the noxiousness of the barberry:

> The concurring assent of every voice inquired of, agree in the opinion, that the barberry does affect the wheat, although not to a great *extent;* yet as far as it has an influence, it generally turns it quite black. An hundred instances might easily be proved, where the stubbing up the bush has prevented the following crops from being mildewed, as formerly. This cannot be contradicted, however difficult to account for.[3]

The great blight of 1804 also brought out a valuable monograph by Sir Joseph Banks, the eminent botanist: A Short Account of the Cause of the Disease in Corn, called by Farmers the Blight, the Mildew, the Rust (London, 1805). Sir Joseph, in the following paragraphs, certainly seems to have been on the right track, if I may judge, as a layman, from the accounts of the latest scientific observations and theories given in Mr. Davis's highly interesting paper and in the letter just read, in the course of the discussion, by Mr. Ware:

> It has long been admitted by farmers, though scarcely credited by botanists, that wheat in the neighbourhood of a barberry bush seldom escapes the Blight. The village of Rollesby in Norfolk, where barberries abound, and wheat seldom succeeds, is called by the opprobrious

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[1] Annals of Agriculture, xliii. 322.

[2] James Payne, Annals of Agriculture, xliii. 618.

[3] Benjamin Cotton, Annals of Agriculture, xliv. 132. See also xliii. 325, 327, 328, 336, 625; xliv. 86, 132, 138, 141, 146, 149, 152, 154, 155, 159, 425; xlv. 111, 115, 117.

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appellation of Mildew Rollesby. Some observing men have of late attributed this very perplexing effect to the farina of the flowers of the barberry, which is in truth yellow, and resembles in some degree the appearance of the rust, or what is presumed to be the Blight in its early state.

It is, however, notorious to all botanical observers, that the leaves of the barberry are very subject to the attack of a yellow parasitic fungus, larger, but otherwise much resembling the rust in corn.

Is it not more than possible that the parasitic fungus of the barberry and that of the wheat are one and the same species, and that the seed is transferred from the barberry to the corn?[1]

In closing, I should like to call attention to a curious passage of question and answer in a once-popular miscellany of general information, Knowledge for the People: or, the Plain Why and Because, by John Timbs.[2] The question, "Why has the barberry been banished from the hedgerows of England, where it formerly grew in great abundance?" is here answered, "Because it was generally believed to be injurious to the growth of corn." There follows a brief botanical disquisition, with which I will not trouble you.

Mr. Henry H. Edes read extracts from a letter printed in the Nation of 3 January, 1907 (LXXIV. 9), relating to Henry Dunster, the first President of Harvard College. The writer, Mr. Ernest Axon of Hatherlow, near Stockport, England, refers to an article by William Hewitson, Master of the Bury Grammar School, in the Clavian for December, 1906 (pp. 7–10), — the magazine of the School. Mr. Hewitson shows that President Dunster, son of Henry Dunster, was baptized at Bury, Lancashire, on 26 November, 1609.[3]

[1] Short Account, p. 10.

[2] Part i. p. 47, of the undated Philadelphia reprint by "Ed. Barrington and Geo. D. Haswell."

[3] The authority is the Parish Register of Bury, published by the Lancashire Parish Register Society. Mr. Axon states that the will of Henry Dunster, the father of President Dunster, is preserved in the Chester Probate Register, and he gives some information derived from it. In his article in the Clavian, Mr. Hewitson also states that the Rev. Richard Mather (the father of President Increase Mather), a native of Lowton, in the parish of Winwick, was married to Katherine Holt at Bury on 29 September, 1624.

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On behalf of Mr. FRANCIS H. LEE, Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS communicated a copy[1] of a letter written at Surinam on 27 November, 1712, by John Cabot to Colonel Thomas Savage[2] of Boston. The writer, who was a native of the Island of Jessey, came to Salem about 1700 and died in 1742.[3] The letter,[4] which follows, refers to the troubles occasioned by the French under Cassard, who sailed up the river and put Paramaribo to ransom.[5]

SVRYNAME, Novembr ye 27d 1712

COLONOL SAVAGE
& COMPA

Gentlayman thayge are to Informe yov of owor Misfortvne of Metinge
Gentlemen these are to inform you of our misfortune of meeting

of gaynayrol Cavsor wisthe tooke os in the Rever of Svraynam one Day
of General Cassard which took us in the river of Surinam one day

Before he sayled he hage tooke Svraynam & broste tham tow Ransom
before he sailed. He has took Surinam and brought them to ransom

for 15000 hhd of svgar & Valayde the svgar at 52 pd – 10 sh ℔
for 15000 hogshead of sugar & valued the sugar at £52. 10 per

[1] Though the letter is a copy, yet it was presumably written by Cabot himself.

[2] Probably the Col. Thomas Savage who was born in 1688 and died in 1720.

[3] Felt, Annals of Salem (1827), p. 423; Essex Institute Historical Collections, iv. 275.

[4] Owing to torn paper, bad handwriting, and Cabot's unfamiliarity with English, the letter, which has been deciphered by Miss Mary H. Rollins, is difficult to read. The first line of each couplet in our text reproduces the text of the letter, so far as this is possible; while the second line indicates what it is supposed the writer intended.

[5] Writing in 1796, Capt. J. G. Stedman said:

During the succeeding war which happened in 1712, the French Commodore Jaques Cassard, met with the same reception from Governor De Gooyer, which Ducasse had experienced from Scherpenhayzon before Zelandia; but four months after he returned with better success, and laid the colony under contribution for a sum of about 56,618 l. sterling. It was on the 10th of October that he entered the river of Surinam, . . . The 11th Cassard . . . threatened to bombard the town of Paramaribo (Narrative, i. 49,52).

For notices of Cassard (1672-1740), see Michaud, Biographie Universelle, vii. 126-128; La Grande Encyclopédie, ix. 679.

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hh^{d} it Comes tow 787500 ^{pd} Day have Cared 800 Negorge & olle
hogshead; it comes to £787500. They have carried 800 niggers & all

the Monay & olle the goodge & olle Moste olle the rings & giowalle in
the money, & all the goods & almost all the rings & jewels in

the Contray the Negorge Ware Valayde at 350 ^{pd} ℔, the ogonborge
the country. The niggers were valued at 350 ^{pd} each, the oaken boards (?)

at 7^{d} E^{h} and olle the Raiste of goodge a kording loy he hage Cared
at 7^{d} each and all the rest of the goods accordingly; he has carried

away 4000 hh^{d} of svgar & the Raymaindor in silvor & goold & bil
away 4000 hogshead of sugar & the remainder in Silver & gold & bills

& goodge there is one C^{t} Biyord of Niow yorke hov Wage tooke
& goods. There is one Capt. Bayard of New York who was took

olle so and in Kominge tov Svrayname he tothe tov Borm[]dos
also, and in coming to Surinam he touched to Bermuda

& thare Wage the Dolayge Main of Ware Wis and [ ]ayte for
and there was the Dulwich,[1] man of war, with a for

Wrgenay & yorke & Boston of the Payse[2] the say C^{t} Biyor
Virginia & York & Boston of the peace; they say Capt. Bayard

& is. Main tooke thare oge that day sav at bormovdos the artikle
& his men took their oaths that they saw at Bermuda the article

of the payse & the Koine Bravde Sayle tov it and olle so and
of the peace, & the Queen's broad seal to it; and also a

---

[1] In a letter to the Lords of Trade dated October 31, 1712, Governor Hunter of New York wrote:

Captn Graves in the Dullidge, brought me Her Majt^{ys} orders and Proclamation for a Cessation of arms by sea and land, who [is] in haste to proceed to Boston with like dispatches (New York Colonial Documents, v. 347).

Capt. Thomas Graves, who attained the rank of Rear-Admiral, died in 1755. As to the name of his vessel, there is a curious discrepancy. In the above letter Gov. Hunter calls it the "Dullidge." In letters dated December 16, 1712, and March 14, 1712–13, he speaks of it as the "Dunwich" (ibid. v. 350, 356). Writing in 1796, Charnock said that Graves was on January 1, 1712–13, "appointed either to the Dunwich or Dunkirk, a confusion arising, most probably from some mistake in the manuscript lists which have been preserved" (Biographia Navalis, iv. 43, 44). Capt. Graves was the father of Thomas Graves, Lord Graves, who was commander-in-chief of the British naval forces in America at the time of the siege of Yorktown.

[2] The Peace of Utrecht was concluded in 1713.

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Dayne of Santomos hov I sant the letor by Woin he Wage a
Dane of St. Thomas who I sent the letter by, when he was a

Koming to Svryname he Mayte Wis and flite of Spaniord hov Kom-
coming to Surinam he met with a fleet of Spaniards who com-

[mand]ing him on bovrd & Day told him that the payse [Wage (?)]
manding him on board, and they told him that the peace was

Mayde & he told it to gaynayrol Cavsor but he [ ]vld Not Belive it
made, & he told it to General Cassard but he would not believe it.

Woin I Wage takne I askayde gaynayrol Cavsor Woste he thofte to Dov
When I was taken I asked General Cassard what he thought to do

of Me & he ansvord Me that he Wovld Caray Me & the slop to Mar-
of me, & he answered me that he would carry me & the sloop to Mar-

tayneko & I ansvord to him I hope he Wovld Not & he Mayde
tinique, & I answered to him I hoped he would not & he made

ansvor hefe I Wovld Me & olle the Main Mite be Cared ope tov the
answer if I would me & all the men might be carried up to the

tovne and I Made hime ansvor that I Wovld leve the Mayte Wis hime
town and I made him answer that I would leave the mate with him

& sand olle the invoyse Wis him that he May se that the Cargos Wage
and send all the invoice with him, that he may see that the cargo was

onbord akordinge to the invoyse for that I sovld sovne Be Wis him
on board according to the invoice, for that I should soon be with him,

for it Wage Payse and he sant and avfisor onbovrd of the slop to se
for it was peace; and he sent an officer on board of the sloop to see

that thare Wage Nothinge tothe of the Cargo and he told Me if it Wage
that there was nothing touched of the cargo and he told me if it was

payse that I sovld Be payde in svgar or Monay bvt My Cargos he
peace that I should be paid in sugar or money, but my cargo he

Wold have Davis Wille sayle for Barbados in 6 or 7 day & C^{t}
would have. Davis will sail for Barbadoes in 6 or 7 days, & Capt.

Biyord & C^{t} Siarpe Wis him & olle his Main I Dov intand to
Bayard & Capt. Sharp with him & all his men. I do intend to

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ordor him haidor & I sholle provoyde for him and Cargos of Mol
order him hither & I shall provide for him a Cargo of molasses

& Rom Mr pesiote hage yet of yore 4 hhd of tobako Wethe he
& rum. Mr. Peixotto (?) has yet of yours 4 hhd of tobacco which he

hage avford Me gentlaymain yov May asiovre yore selfe that I Wille
has offered me. Gentlemen, you may assure yourself that I will

Dov My otmost indevor to Rekovor the slop & Cargos or pay for it
do my utmost endeavor to recover the sloop & cargo or pay for it.

thare is N° provegion in the playse Nor lekor bvt Mol° & Rom
There is no provision in the place nor liquor, but molasses & rum

a Nof & Bille of Extiange Varay skayse & olle so Monay We have
enough, & Bills of Exchange very scarce, & also money. We have

lost 11 horses Riste in haiste for the slop saille this day Nomore
lost 11 horses. Writ in haste for the sloop sails this day. No more

at pregent bvt yore homble sarvante
at present, but your humble servant,

JOHN CABOT.

[*Endorsed*]
Copay of a later sent
to Cl Thomas Savage
[ ]pa Svryname
Novemr ye 27d 1712

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FEBRUARY MEETING, 1907

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 February, 1907, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported that a letter had been received from Mr. THOMAS WILLING BALCH accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. LINDSAY SWIFT exhibited a curious manuscript on vellum dating, perhaps, from the fourteenth century, and containing a variant and a continuation of the romantic chronicle of Britain first written in Latin by Geoffrey of Monmouth, then translated into French and thence into English, and generally known as the Brut. This manuscript, which is in excellent condition and in a fair hand, was bought by one William Naseby in the reign of Edward IV for about seven pounds, equal to eighty or ninety pounds at the present day.

On behalf of Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD, a Corresponding Member, Mr. HENRY H. EDES communicated a letter of Directions written by Washington to his nephew, Major George Augustine Washington, and some letters, never before published in full, written by Washington to Anthony Whiting, the manager of his Mount Vernon estates. These follow.

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LETTERS OF WASHINGTON, 1789–1793.

I

DIRECTIONS FOR MAJOR GEORGE AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.[1]

MOUNT VERNON, 31 March, 1789

Having given very full and ample details of the intended crops, and my ideas of the modes of managing them at the several Plantations, little, if these are observed, need be added on this subject. But as the profit of every Farm is greater, or less in proportion to the quantity of manure which is made thereon, or can be obtained, and by keeping the fields in good condition — These two important requisites ought never to be lost sight of. — To effect the first, besides the ordinary means of Farmyards, cowpens, sheepfolds, stables, &c^{a}, it would be of essential use if certain proportion of the force of each Plantation could be appropriated in the Summer or early part of Autumn to the purpose of getting up mud to be ameliorated by the frosts of winter for the spring crops wh^{ch} are to follow. And to accomplish the latter the Gullies in these fields (previous to their being sown with Grain and Grass seeds) ought invariably to be filled up. By so doing and a small sprinkling of manure thereon they will acquire a green-sward, and strength of soil sufficient to preserve them; and these are the only means I know of by which exhausted land can be recovered, and our estates rescued from destruction.

Although a precise number of Tobacco hills is, by my general directions, allotted to each Plantation, yet my real intention is, that no more ground shall be appropriated to this crop than what is either naturally *very* good (for which purpose small spots may be chosen) or which can be made strong by manure of some kind or another, for my object is to labor for profit, and therefore to substitute quality instead of quantity, there being (except in the article of manuring) no difference between attending a good Plantation and an indifferent one — but in any event let the precise number of hills be ascertained that an estimate may be formed of their yield to the thousand.

Being thoroughly convinced, from experience, that embezzlement & waste of Crops, (to say nothing of the various accidents to which they are liable to delays) are encreased proportionately to the time they are

[1] These Directions are printed in my Writings of Washington, xii. 230–234, and in Sparks's Writings of Washington, xii. 336–339, but are reprinted here as an introduction to the letters to Whiting.

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suffered to remain on hand. My wish is, as soon as circumstances will permit after the Grain is harvested, that it may be got out of the Straw (especially at the Plantations where there are no Barns) and either disposed of in proper deposits, or sold if the price is tolerable (after, if it is wheat, it has been converted into flour) when this work is set about as the sole, or as a serious business, it will be executed properly. But when a little is done now, and a little then, there is more waste, even if there should be no embezzlement than can well be conceived.

There is one or two other matters which I beg may be invariably attended to. The first is, to begin Harvest as soon as the grain can be cut with safety; — and the next to get it in the ground in due season. Wheat should be sown by the last of August, at any rate by the 10th of Sept., and other fall Grain, as soon after as possible. Spring grain & Grass seeds should be sown as soon as the ground can possibly (with propriety) be prepared for their reception.

For such essential purposes as may absolutely require the aid of the Ditchers, they may be taken from that work. At all other times they must proceed in the manner which has been directed formerly. And in making the New Roads from the Ferry to the Mill and from the Tumbling Dam across the Neck till it communicates with the Alexandria Road, as has been pointed out on the spot. The Ditch from the Ferry to the Mill along this Road may be a common four foot one. But from the Mill to the Tumbling Dam and thence across the head of the old field by Muddy hole farm, must be five feet wide at top — but no deeper than the four feet one & the same width at bottom as the latter.

After the Carpenters have given security to the old Barn in the Neck, they must proceed to the completion of the new one at the Ferry, according to the Plan & the explanations which have been given. Gunner & Tom Davis should get bricks made for this purpose; and if John Knowles could be spared (his work, not only with respect to time, but quantity & quality to be amply returned) to examine the bilged walls, & the security of them; but to level & lay the foundations of the other work when the Bricks are ready, it would be rendering me an essential service, and as the work might be returned in time & proper season would be no detriment to your building.

When the Brick work is executed at the Ferry Barn, Gunner & Davis must repair to D[ogue] Run & make bricks there; at the place & in the manner which has been directed that I may have no sammon bricks in that building.

Oyster shells should be bought whenever they are offered for sale — if good and reasonable.

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Such monies as you may receive for Flour, Barley, Fish, as also for other things wch can be spared & sold, as also for Rents, the use of the Jacks &c^a^, and the Book debts which may be tried though little is expected from the justice of those who have been long endulged, — may be applied to the payment of workmen's wages as they arise, Fairfax, and the Taxes; and likewise to the payment of any just debts which I may be owing (in small sums) & have not been able to discharge previous to my leaving the State. The residue may await further orders.

As I shall want shingles, Plank, Nails, Rum for Harvest, Scantling, & such like things which would cost me money at another time, Fish may be bartered for them. The Scantling (if any is taken) must be such as will suit for the barn now about [building], or that at Dogue Run, without waste, and of good quality.

I find that it is indispensably necessary for two reasons, to save my own clover & Timothy seed: First, because it is the *only* certain means of having it good & in due season, and secondly because I find it is a heavy article to purchase.

Save all the honey locust seed you can, of that which belongs to me; if more can be obtained the better. And in the fall plant them on the Ditches where they are to remain about 6 inches apart one seed from another.

The seeds which are on the case in my study ought without loss of time to be sown & planted in my Botanical garden, & proper mem^os^ kept of the time & places.

You will use your best endeavors to obtain the means for the support of G. & L. Washington,[1] who I expect will board (till something further can be decided on) with Doct^r^ Craik; who must be requested to see that they are decently, and properly provided with cloths from Mr Porter's store, who will give them a credit on my becoming answerable to him for the payment. And as I know of no resource that Harriott has for supplies but from me, Fanny[2] will, from time to time as occasion may require have such things got for her on my account as she shall judge necessary. Mrs Washington will I expect, leave her tolerably well provided with common articles for the present.

My memorandum books, which will be left in my study, will inform you of the times and places when, & where, different kinds of Wheat, Grass seeds, &c^a^., were sown. Let particular attention be paid to the quality & quantity of each sort, that a proper judgm^t^ of them may be

[1] George Steptoe, Lawrence, and Harriott Washington were children of General Washington's brother, Samuel Washington.

[2] The wife of Maj. George A. Washington.

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taken to prevent mixture of the several sorts as they are so contiguous to each other.

The general superintendence of my affairs is all I require of you, for it is neither my desire nor wish that you should become a drudge to it, or, that you should refrain from any amusements, or visitings which may be agreeable either to Fanny or yourself to make or receive. If Fairfax, the Farmer & Thomas Green, on each of whom I have endeavored to impress a proper sense of their duty will act their part with propriety & fidelity, nothing more will be necessary for you to do than would comport with amusement & that exercise which is conducive to health. Nor is it my wish that you should live in too parsimonious and niggardly a manner. Frugality & œconomy are undoubtedly commendable and all that is required. Happily for this country, these virtues prevail more & more every day among all classes of citizens. I have heard of, and I have seen with pleasure, a remarkable change in the mode of living from what it was a year or two ago, and nothing but the event which I dreaded would take place soon, has prevented my following the example. Indeed necessity (if this had not happened) would have forced me into the measure as my means are not adequate to the expense at which I have lived since my retirement to what is called private life.

Sincerely wishing you health & happiness, I am ever your warm friend and affectionate uncle

G° Washington.

II

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Mount Vernon,[1] 14 October, 1792

Mr. Whiting,

I arrived in this city yesterday afternoon, without encountering any accident except what you are acquainted with by the return of the man from George Town; — and the indisposition of Richard; who, with difficulty, was able to travel from Baltimore to this place, on account of the fever wch returned on him.

Recollecting that it was my desire that you should send the Reports to the Post Office every Wednesday afternoon, & receive at the same time my communications from thence; I shall now, to avoid the delay of a week, mention such things as have occurred to me since I left home, and were not communicated to you; or, if mentioned at all, were but

[1] The letter was mailed from Philadelphia.

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slightly touched upon; from the hurried situation into which I had been thrown.

Having left the disposition of the Mansion House people to you, I wish to know how they are arranged; and think the sooner they are distributed to their permanent abodes the better. Those which I allotted to the Gardener, are neither to be idle themselves, nor to support him in idleness; but are to enable him to carry certain plans of mine into effect with more promptness; and in a better manner (under his immediate superintendance) than it otherwise could be, without withdrawing your attention more than it ought to be from matters of greater magnitude. The things which I want him to do with these people (aided by the Mans^{n}. H^{o}. cart) are to complete the upper Garden walk with gravel, taken from the nearest Pit wch. is hid from view; & this I think may be found in a gully in the clover lot in front of the M: House. The gravel to pass through a wooden sieve, to take out stones of too large a size. To gravel the walks in the Pine labyrinths, on both sides of the Lawn west of the House. To plant fresh clumps as soon as the trees can be removed; in the Buck Wheat Lot; — the two clover lots; &c; & of the best, & most ornamental trees — quick in their growth. These clumps are not to be placed with regularity as they respect one another — nor the trees in each, individually. Nor are the clumps to cover (individually) half the ground those did which were planted out last fall, Winter, & Spring. In a word, the trees are to be so close together in each clump as for the tops, in a little while, to appear as if they proceeded from one trunk — they can always be thinned if found too thick. Those clumps wch. are already planted (if alive) may be thickened in the manner I have described, and with the same kind of trees; provided they do not stand in too formal a point of view, one to the other. — The evergreens must be removed when they can be taken up with a compact & solid body of frozen earth to the Roots, otherwise the labour will be lost, and another year will pass away without accomplishing my design; as abundant experience has incontestibly proved. — The flowering evergreen Ivy, I want them to plant thick around the Ice house, upper side — not of the tallest kind, but of an even height: — This should be taken up as above; & to insure its thriving, as well as barely living, there ought, I conceive, to be a bed of its natural soil prepared two or three feet deep, & as wide as the transplantation (six or eight feet at least) is intended. The like at the N^{o}. East of the same lawn, by the other wall. And if beyond that Hah! Hah! — between it & the Path leading from the Bars to the wild cherry tree in the Hollow, was pretty thickly strewed with them (of the lower sort) & intermixed freely with the bush honey suckle of the woods, it would in my opinion, have a pleasing effect. Besides these

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things & keeping the Gardens (my small, as well as the others) Lawns, Shrubberies, & ovals clean & free from weeds & grass, I would have what is called the Vineyard Inclosure cleansed of all the trash that is in it, and got in perfect order for fruit trees, kitchen vegitables of various kinds, experimental grasses, and for other purposes. — Perhaps after the trash and grubs are taken out, a good plowing with a strong team, where there is nothing growing, may be an essential preparatory operation for the work that is to follow. — The old ditch & bank which splits this inclosure in two is to be levelled, & the trees, except here & there one, taken away; in these I do not comprehend fruit trees; after these things are accomplished, or in weather when they cannot be employed usefully in either of the works before enumerated, these (Negro) hands may be employed in cutting wood, or in the other work with the Mansion House gang.— I would have the Gardener also, with these people, if the Autumn is a proper season for it, if not, without fail in the Spring, – plant cuttings of the weeping willow, yellow willow, or Lombardy Poplar, prefering the first & last mentioned, at the distance of a foot or 18 inches apart from the smith's shop, quite as the Post & Rail fence runs, around both them enclosures; and the Vineyard inclosure; also that lately sown in Lucern from the Stercarary to the wire fence: that by entwining them as they grow up I may have a substitute for the fences that are now there. — To do this, is of the utmost importance to my interest; as it also is in a more essential degree, to supply by hedges of this, or some other kind *all* my other fences; as well the exterior ones as those which separate the different fields from one another — I have labored to effect this latter point for years — I have pressed it, & pressed it again — but strange to tell! the season has either been suffered to pass away before it is set about; or, it has either been set about improperly; or, no care has been taken afterwards to preserve & nourish the young plants so as to fit them for the purpose they were intended. Let me therefore in the strongest terms possible, call your attention to this business, as one than which nothing is nearer, both to my interest, and wishes; first, because it is indispensably necessary to save timber & labor; and secondly, because it is ornamental to the Farm, & reputable to the Farmer. If you want Honey locust seed, or any thing else from hence to enable you to effect these, I will send them. — About the Mansion House (and indeed in other cross fences, where Hogs cannot come) I think the weeping willow & Lombardy poplar, which are quick of growth, is to be preferred. — Save much of the Cedar Berries, and (after washing, & rubbing off the glutinous coating around the seed) sow them in every place where you think they can be established to advantage. This might be done even, where you put the

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cuttings above mentioned (at the Plantations) as a more permanent fence than the other; which may yield, as the Cedars grow up and are planted.

Let the hands at the Mansion House Grub *well*, & perfectly prepare the old clover lot at the Mansion House. for whatever you may incline to put into it, preparatory for grass, with which it is to be laid down. When I say grub *well*, I mean that everything wch is not to remain as trees, should be taken up by the roots; so as that the Plow may meet with no interruption, and the field lye perfectly smooth for the scythe. — Let this, I earnestly request, be received as a general & positive direction; for I seriously assure you that I had rather have *one acre* cleared in this manner, than four in the common mode; especially in *all* grounds designed for grass; & for the reasons which I have often mentioned to you. It is a great, & very disagreeable eye-sore to me, as well as a real injury in the loss of labor & the crop (ultimately) and the destruction of scythes, to have foul meadows. — After this is done by the Mansion House people, let them begin at the Wharf, or rather at what is called hell hole, and Grub as has been cleared all the undergrowth, trimming the large, from that place to the cross fence which runs down from the spring to the wire fence, that I may, when the wet spots are made dry, & without plowing or breaking the ground more than a harrow would do, lay it down in grass. — And when these two objects are accomplished, if nothing else more desirable should occur, to set them about, they might be employed in grubbing & preparing the ground I once (as you knew) contemplated as a corn field for the Muddy hole people at the Mansion House.

It is my wish that no hogs may be put up for Porke that is not of sufficient size and age. I had rather have a little Porke that is good, than much bad.

I am persuaded your exertion to get out your wheat, will be commensurate to the necessity; that gathering of Corn (as soon as it can be with safety) may follow before the frosts may render it pernicious to run Carts over the Wheat, that is amongst it. Delay no time in getting up, threshing out, and measuring your Buck Wheat that I may know what is made. — Nor in digging up the Potatoes at Dogue Run. — And I am persuaded you will begin your Autumn plowing as soon as circumstances will permit. Remember that the season is now approaching fast when frosts will put a stop to this business.

The second visto which I mentioned to you is but a secondary object, and yet I am anxious to know over what ground it will pass; but this may be done by a line of stakes in an avenue not more than six feet wide.

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The sooner the old Quarter is pulled down the better Davis[1] may then do up the wall, and he ought, in time, to do the other Jobs I mentioned to you — to wit — the chimney in the Neck — the chimney at French's — & that at Bishop's house, the Vault (burying place) also wants repair. — After these he will, as late as the weather will permit, proceed in painting; first finishing the Quarter, then the four Garden houses — then the smoke house & store — then the old spinning house, wash house, & coach house with red roofs as the others have. After doing this work, or when obliged to quit it he will join the carpenters. This Nucleus may do immediately; or as soon as all the Cedars, locusts, and other valuable wood where I am has been clearing, can be stripped of its limbs, & brought to, & secured in, or at the Barn.

As it is proposed that the hands at Muddy hole should obtain their corn ground at Dogue Run, the parts of it that now are, or probably will be wet in the Spring, ought without loss of time to be ditched; that they may be thoroughly grubbed this fall, or in the winter; and in the Middle Meadow there are two places, I conceive that will want main ditches, besides smaller cross ditches, viz. — the arm of the swamp running up towards the Spring, & the other arm leading to the outer fence. — What Ditching may be wanting in the mill swamp above the present corn field therein, I know not; one main ditch, however, will certainly be necessary, & more than probably one or two cross ones — But in this case, as in every other, it is my express desire that no more may be attempted than what can be compleatly & effectually executed.

As I have already furnished you with a memorandum of the work marked out for the carpenters, I need not, at this time, add anything on that head; except a wish that the well may be compleated agreeably to the model, that I may know whether it will answer or not, and if it was not mentioned in my last, that the Qr may be taken down.

Endeavor to provide Oyster shells in the course of this winter, that, in case I should resolve on it, there may be no let, or delay in building a Barn, or treading floor at Dogue run, to be in readiness for the next wheat in crop. I met with a nephew of mine — Colo Willm Augustine Washington[2] — at George Town, who promised to engage some persons, if he could, to carry shells to Mount Vernon for me; — if this should happen, but do not depend upon it, you must take what are brought, although you may have entered into other engagements; as it will be

[1] Thomas Davis, who appears as mason and painter.

[2] Son of General Washington's half-brother, Augustine Washington.

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on my account he sends them; — they must be paid for on delivery; I do not suppose they will exceed 16/8 or 18/ the hundred bushels, but if they are engaged for me they must be taken if they do exceed this price.

As I can get Iron as cheap, if not cheaper here than it is obtained from Alexandria, send me the sizes of the Bars, plates, &c^a, which you would have compose a Tonn, and I will send it from here before the frosts set in.

Mrs. Washington requested the Gardener's wife, & she readily undertook it, to superintend, under your general direction, the care of the spinners. This will also lessen the minutiæ of your business, and enable you to attend closer to the great, & important parts of it. Put her in a good, & regular mode, & keep her to the exercise of it. — An allowance will be made her for the trouble this business will occasion. — Tell the Gardener, it is my desire that he should raise chestnut trees from the nuts of those which grow on the front Lawn.

Although it is last mentioned, it is foremost in my thoughts, to desire you will be particularly attentive to my negros in their sickness; and to order every overseer *positively* to be so likewise; for I am sorry to observe that the generality of them view these poor creatures in scarcely any other light than they do a draught horse or ox; neglecting them as much when they are unable to work; instead of comforting & nursing them when they lye on a sick bed. I lost more negros last winter than I had done in 12 or 15 years before, put them altogether. — If their disorders are not common, and the mode of treating them plain, simple, & well understood, send for Doct^r Craik in time. In the last stage of the complaint it is unavailing to do it. It is incurring an expense for nothing.

I shall now briefly say, that the trust I have reposed in you is great, & my confidence that you will faithfully discharge it, is commensurate thereto. — I am persuaded of your abilities, industry & integrity; — cautioning you only, against undertaking more than you can execute *well*, under almost any circumstances; and against (but this I have no cause to suspect) being absent from your business; as example, be it good or bad, will be followed by all those who look up to you. — Keep every one in their places, & to their duty; relaxation from, or neglect in small matters, lead to like attempts in matters of greater magnitude; and are often trials in the under-overseers to see how far they durst go. — Have all the tools collected from the scattered situation in which they are, and all that are not in use, put securely away; — the loss, or abuse of Tools, though nothing to the overseers, when they can ask more and obtain them, is a very heavy expence to those who have them to furnish and are to be at the expence of providing them.

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I beseech you to be very attentive to the fires, keeping none in the yard except the one in your own room, and another in the kitchen — the latter to be under the particular care of Frank & his wife. Let the Gates be locked. The Gravel may be dropped at the back door of the Garden, as in any event, I believe, it must be wheeled in hand barrows. The same may, possibly be done by the gravel for the Pine labyrinths, — that is, come in on the back side of them.

I remain your friend &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

P. S. Let me know when the Major[1] left Mt. Vernon, and how he was at the time.

III

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

PHILADELPHIA, 28 October, 1792

MR. WHITING.

By yesterdays Post I received a letter from you without date, but suppose from the contents it must have left Mount Vernon on Wednesday last.

The letter to Mrs Fanny Washington must be sent to me, because the purpose of it cannot be answered by sending it to her below.

The Mansion House surplus hands may be disposed of as you shall, upon a full view of all circumstances, conceive best; and the mule cart (instead of the oxe cart) may be retained, with the single horse cart also at that place. — Sinah may also remain there until her mother gets up again, although it is my intention to substitute Anna in her place, as an assistant to Kitty. Sinah and Patt may strengthen the Plantation which stands in most need of their aid.

The scarcity of timber in the Neck for fences, & the distance it is to draw at other places, are evils I have long foreseen, and have endeavored to guard against; but for reasons which I mentioned to you in one of my late letters it never has been accomplished. I hope, however, as I have, in as strong terms as I knew how to use, impressed the necessity of raising live Hedges upon you, that I shall no longer have cause to complain of neglect on this score. — Anything in the shape of a live hedge is desirable; — and almost anything for partition fences (where there are no hogs) will suffice. — Mr. Bartram,[2] the Botanist, whom I have seen since my return to this city, is of opinion that it was

[1] Maj. George A. Washington.

[2] William Bartram.

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the spring & summer's droughts that prevented the Cedar berries from vegitating; and that they may yet be expected; do not therefore let the ground where they were sown be disturbed without accurately examining the Berries to see if there be any hopes of their coming up. — He also says that when Cedars are plashed & laid down, that if the limbs next the ground are covered properly they will take root & send out a number of new shoots. This will be worth trying, if upon examination of the Cedar hedge rows in the Neck, you should think it advisable to lay them down.

It is not to be wondered that the Field N° 7 at the River Plantation should want a new Post & Rail fence when it is seen what kind my people make (in spite of all I can do to prevent it) that is, Posts when morticed that a strong man would break across his knee, & rails so long, & so weak, as to warp, & be unable to bear the weight of a child in getting over them. This custom I hope you will get the better of.

The two meadows at Dogue run, that is, the middle & upper one, contain by actual measurement 51¾ acres — the middle one 31¼ — and the wood between, if opened by a strait line from one Indenture of the field to the other, will add 8¼ acres thereto, but to do this ought not to be attempted until the present ground is compleatly grubbed, ditched (where necessary) & put into perfect order for the plow & smooth laying for grass — for I repeat it again, that I had rather have one acre in this order, than five in a slovenly way; which is not only disadvantageous in many points of view, but is a very great eye sore to me.

I suppose it was owing to the hurry & distress in which Mrs. Fanny Washington was at the time she left Mount Vernon that a little wine &c: were not left out for extraordinary occasions; because I know it was intended — but not for sick negros, unless it might be in particular cases which rendered it indispensably necessary; for Doc: Craik never practiced anything of this kind when Mrs. Washington & myself were at home, or even suggested it as necessary: — Nor was it my intention to leave it for the purpose of entertaining travellers, because there is a striking impropriety in travellers making use of it as a house of convenience, knowing, as they certainly must do, that neither my family, nor the Major's is there, & when it is far removed from the Post, or any other Road. And if people were led there by curiosity, as soon as that was satisfied, they would retire, without expecting, under the circumstance just mentioned, to be invited to lodge, dine, or spend their time there. — However, as it may happen that characters to whom one would wish to shew civility, and others, that may have a line from me (as was the case the other day with the Hon[ble] Judge Cushing) may call there, I shall by a vessel which will leave this according to the master's acc:

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on thursday next, send you a little Wine, Tea & Coffee, along with the Iron & somethings which will accompany it. — When I recommended care of and attention to my Negros in sickness, it was that the first stage of, & the whole progress through the disorders with which they might be siezed (if more than a slight indisposition) should be closely watched, & timely applications, & remedies be administered; especially in Pleurisies, & all inflammatory fevers accompanied with pain, when a few days neglect, or want of bleeding, might render the ailment incurable. In such cases sweeten'd Teas, broths, and (according to the nature of the complaint, & the Doct^rs prescription) sometimes a little wine may be necessary to nourish & restore the patient; and these I am perfectly willing to allow, when it is really requisite. My fear is, as I expressed to you in a former letter, that the under-overseers are so unfeeling — in short viewing the negros in no other light than as a better kind of Cattle, the moment they cease to work, they cease their care of them.

I am very glad to hear that you think your young & soft corn is out of danger; and wish upon further trial this may prove to be the fact, as I have been apprehensive of considerable loss from the backwardness of it.

You say in your letter, that the Ferry People have got out all their wheat, and yet, by the Report of last week only 59½ bush^ls was sent to mill, and by the Report of the preceeding week 182; If these two quantities with what was got out for seed, is all the crop that N° 1 at French's yielded, it is (if I recollect rightly what that was) a miserable turnout indeed, far short of the lowest calculation that had been made of it. I wish you would, always, when the contents of a field is known, enter it in the weekly report & let it come on, that I may be early advised.

I perceive by the Report that you have been hauling the Buck wheat from Mansion House to Muddy hole. I had no conception of this, but supposed you would have drawn it to the Brick yard, or some other naked piece of ground & there threshed & cleaned it, putting the grain in the Green H^e loft, & retaining the straw for litter. I wish to know the quantity of the grain it has yielded, & what the appearance of grass is where the Buck wheat grew.

I wish you would make old Jack and Frank, at their leisure hours, especially the latter, who I think must have many of them, open all the springs that lye under the Hill, from the Bog (inclusive) by the spring House onwards to the wharf and let them, & the usual spring, be thrown into one curr^t or channel, and carried on a level or as nearly [so as possible] so as for the water to run along the hillside until it is brought into that line which I was opening from the east front of the House

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(in a line with the Doors) to the River. — If any aid from the Ditchers is wanting to accomplish this, it may be given, but I do not mean that any other ditch should be dug, when it can be avoided, than such as are used for side land meadows, and these you know are simple & small indeed.

I shall make inquiry after linnen, and if I can get what is wanting upon reasonable terms, will send it by Captn Cahart; who, as I have before said, talks of sailing on thursday next. If I should not do this you will be informed thereof by the next post.

I have resolved to build a Barn & treading floor at Dogue Run Plantation, & to do it as soon as other more pressing work will permit, at any rate for the wheat of next harvest. In my last, I sent you a Bill of such scantling as I proposed to buy. Now I give you a general Bill, and a Plan of the building, with such explanations and directions as I think Thos Green (to whom after you have perused it, it must be given) can be at no loss in the execution; and therefore shall add nothing more in this letter than to desire you will engage the scantling marked to be purchased, provided shells & the number of shingles which may be deficient, which cannot be many as (for want of calculation) 100,000 were got for the Piaza and, I believe, less than 4,000 used. This small demand might, I should suppose, be easily procured at Alexandria. In general, I shall depend upon you to provide what is wanted and to see that everything is carried on properly.

I am your friend & well wisher,
G. Washington.

IV

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 4 November, 1792

Mr. Whiting

I was very glad to receive your letter of the 31st. ultº because I was afraid from the account given me of your spitting blood, by my nephews George & Lawrence Washington, that you would hardly have been able to have written at all. And it is my request that you will not, by attempting more than you are able to undergo, with safety & convenience, injure yourself, & thereby render me a disservice. For if this should happen under present circumstances, my affairs in the absence of both the Major & myself will be thrown into a disagreeable situation. I had rather therefore hear that you had nursed than exposed yourself. And the things which I sent from this place (I mean the Wine, Tea, Coffee & Sugar) & such other matters as you may lay in by the Doctrs direc-

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tions for the use of the sick, I desire you will make use of, as your own personal occasions may require.

I have written, as you will see by the enclosed, long letters, both to Thos Green and the Gardener; in hopes to impress them with the necessity, & to stimulate them to ye practice of proper exertions during mine, & the absence of my nephew. The letters are left open for your perusal & delivery; it is unnecessary therefore for me, in this letter, to repeat the contents of either of the others.

By the Plan of the Plan of the Barn & treading floor for Dogue run, which I sent you in one of my last letters you will readily perceive by the mode in which the treading floor of 2½ Inch^s^ square stuff is laid, what I meant by progressive lengths from 12 to 20 feet. — The inner part of the double sections, next the Octagon, is 12 feet only; the outer part is 20; consequently, every piece increases in length as it approaches the exterior line in a progressive ratio.

The old horses may be disposed of as you shall judge best for my interest. I am well aware that an old horse adds more to the expence than to the profit of a Farm.

I am very sorry to find that my prospect of a wheaten crop is lessening. I shall be anxious to learn the final result of its yield, and wish to hear how y^r^ corn turns out upon being stripped of the shuck, and how your Potatoes yield; as I perceive you have been digging the latter, & husking the former? As it is proposed to cultivate field N° 4 at Dogue Run next year in Potatoes, would it not have been better if the Crop of this Root which grows there, could be well secured against damage & thefts, to let them remain at that place? for I question if many more will be made than what will be required for that field. Eight bushels, or thereabouts, is usually allowed to an acre when planted in drills 3 feet apart. Of course 72 acres will take near 600 bushels.

I am told by some of the Farmers in the vicinity of this City, that if the Apricot Potatoes are planted early, they will come off in time for wheat; if so, and the ground be well worked during the growth of them, it must be in excellent preparation for the seed.

I send you under cover with this a little of the double eared wheat. Plant it in drills as soon as you get it, somewhere in the Vineyard, where the soil is, or can readily be made good. It is worth trying what it can be brought to.

Let the Gardener put all the seeds of the sugar maple in the ground this Fall; but not to cover them more than very slightly indeed with earth. What kind of preparation, and what kind of a Crop do you mean to put the clover lot (front of the house) into, in order to prepare it for grass? Potatoes would be the best, but I do not expect you will have enough

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for Dogue Run & this place too. Let me again request that everything that is not intended to remain, & live in that enclosure may be effectually eradicated; for reasons which I have often enumerated. When this inclosure is prepared for Grass, let all the Brick bats in the Road which formerly led through it, be picked up & brought off, and let that part of it, towards the decline of the Hill, which is naked & bare, be broke up, improved, & sown, to give it a better appearance as the house is approached. And it would be a pleasing thing to me if this entire Inclosure, from the present mowing ground on the height, *quite* down to the Marsh, & wet ground of H— Hole; from the mouth up to Richard's house, could be most effectually grubbed & cleared (except such clumps or single trees, as one would wish to leave for ornament). What the quantity of it may be, I am unable to say; but if you conceive that the House gang, with such aids as you can derive from River Plantation, where I think the people, during the winter, can have very little to do, and from the Ferry & French's, where they cannot have much, I should be glad to have it undertaken; since the idea of clearing for corn, for Muddy hole, without the Gates at Mansion house is relinquished. As the home house people (the industrious part of them at least) might want ground for their truck patches, they might, for this purpose, cultivate what would be cleared. But I would have the ground from the cross fence by the spring, quite round by the wharf, first grubbed, before this (above mentioned) is attempted.

It would be difficult for me, if I was ever so well disposed, to procure the full quantity of clover seed mentioned in your mem^{m}; as it is (from such information as I have received) both scarce & dear in these parts, — but while I am on this subject, I beg that whatever you do sow (if covered at all) may be very slightly covered. Harrowing clover seed in, in the vicinity of this city is quite dis-used, and I never saw better clover anywhere than is about it. Five or six lbs. of seed, if they can depend upon its goodness, is all they allow to an acre, and in no case more than 10 lbs., or as many pints. I mention these things for your government; & that, from experience they find no better season for sowing than towards the last of Winter, or opening of the Spring, on Winter grain, leaving it to the Snow, or Frosts to bring the seeds.

I do not discover by your letters, or the Reports that your Porkers are yet up. It is high time this was done, and I desire that no Hogs, except such as are of sufficient age, & size be fattened. I had rather have a little good, than much bad Porke.

By your last week's report, I perceive 80 bushels of wheat was sent from River Plantation to the Mill and 79 only received at it — Detect always, these differences as soon as they happen, & it will explain mis-

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takes, and check many abuses which otherwise would be committed. And I am sorry to find that scarcely any report comes to hand without mentioning the death of several sheep. If the overseers begin thus early to report deaths, what may I not expect to receive between this & May?

I think you had better turn Sam & George over to the Gardener, that their work may appear in his Report. And Davis & Nuclus in like manner to Green. Sims also, if you think he had better remain with the Carpenters. This will simplify the Mansion House report greatly, and let me see more clearly what that gang are employed in. At present that head of the report is swelled greatly, and nothing hardly appears to be done by the people comprehended under it. If Peter does *any* work at all, it is in the gardening line. He therefore had better be turned over to him, though I believe he will do nothing that he can avoid — of labor.

Supply Green & the Gardener with Paper, that they may have no excuse for not giving in their Reports, & see that they accompany your own every week.

I am your friend and servant,

G. Washington.

P. S. Doll at the Ferry must be taught to knit, and *made* to do a sufficient day's work of it. Otherwise (if suffered to be idle) many more will walk in her footsteps. Lame Peter, if nobody else will, must teach her, and she must be brought to the house for that purpose.

Tell house Frank I expect he will lay up a more plentious store of the black common Walnut than he usually does. Nor ought he to spend his time wholly in idleness.[1]

V

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 14 November, 1792

Mr Whiting,

Your letter of the 9th came to my hands last night, and though I am much hurried, will briefly observe, that I had rather repair my seins, and fish myself, than hire the landing with the Negros. If a good price could be obtained for the Landing without the Negros, and an express prohibition of waggons coming thither, I should like, & would prefer that. — But at any rate repair, & keep the seins dry and out of the way

[1] A letter to Whiting dated Philadelphia, November 11, 1792, is printed in Sparks's Writings of Washington, xii. 354–358.

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of Mice, that you may have an alternative. In the meanwhile, give it out, and make it as public as you can, that the landing alone, or landing and Boat, (with the prohibition above) is to be Rented; but that the person renting is to furnish me with a certain quantity of Shad & Herring, to be specified, in the early part of the Season — or if the Boat is reserved, I could easily catch what fish I should want at the landing by Bishop's House; which used to be, and no doubt still is, a good fishery. If after giving this notice, and enquiring what Col° Mason used to receive for his *best* landing, and what others, on both sides of the River get for theirs, you should have an offer from a person of good character, & in whom confidence could be placed, similar to what is given for the best, I would advise you to take it, and either secure the fish wanted for my own use from them, or receive the Boat, & catch for yourself at the Mansion House.

It will no doubt occur to you, when you are making enquiry into the Rent received by Col° Mason & others, whether the Landings are furnished with convenient & secure houses, as mine is, for curing and preserving the Fish; and make the difference in the price if they are not, which these are entitled to.

It is not in my power to fix a Rent or hire for the Landing, because I do not know the usual price of the best with the consequences mine have, and this I must take, or not Rent. Take care, if you should hire it, to stipulate that the person hiring shall have nothing to do with the shore after the shad & Herring season is over — nor with the Houses beyond a limited time; otherwise, I might sustain unexpected inconveniences.

I presume it would be better for me to take £25 for the Stallion than have him to winter, & therefore consent to its being done.

Among other reasons for not hiring my hands with the shore is, that I do not want to take them so long from the ground I wish to get in prime order in, and between the old clover lot and H— Hole.

I am your friend & well wisher,

G. Washington.

VI

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 25 November, 1792

Mr. Whiting,

Your letter of the 21st. instant enclosing the Reports of the preceeding week was received yesterday; but the Sheriff's acc^{t} of taxes was not sent though mentioned, among the papers which were sent to me.

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As you think (as I do also) that the new part of the old clover lot at the Mansion House had better be in Potatoes, Perhaps it would be well to apply those you have to this purpose; & instead of cultivating field N° 4 at Dogue run in this article, let it lay over; and in lieu thereof, fallow (with Buck wheat for manure) N° 1 at that place for wheat. This is the rotation I had marked out for that plantation before you suggested Potatoes for N° 4, next year. — By this alternative the last mentioned field will, as was intended, come into corn in 1794; succeeding N° 3, which will be in that article next year; and succeeded by N° 5 the year following; that is, in 1795, and so on, bringing them all on with corn in the order of their numbers. And this considering you have not a sufficiency of Potatoes for both purposes (and I find it too expensive, and too much unlike a Farmer to be always upon the purchase of my seeds) and by the *double* dressing of Green manure N° 1 may be got into fine order for wheat, if you can prepare and sow it with Buck wheat early in the Spring, to be plowed in before harvest when seed enough is ripe to bring forward a second crop for plowing in timuously for wheat seeding. I feel more inclination for the adoption of this plan, than I do for planting, No 4 at Dogue run with the Potatoes you have; especially as the quantity on hand are inadequate to the demand of that field, & because they are at the Mansion house in readiness for the other purpose. If more than sufficient for which (allowing about 8 bushels to the acre) the residue, instead of Turnips, may be planted in the old part of the same (clover) lot, or elsewhere as you may conceive best. Besides the reasons I have just mentioned, there are others which influence me to this change (which, as I do not perceive by the Reports that any work has yet been done in N° 4, can be made without any loss of labor) and these are, that No 1. is running very much into *furrow gullies*, which will, in a little time, if not stopped, be of magnitude; and very injurious to it; but by being contiguous to the corn fields, you have the means now at hand, to fill & smooth them for the plow with very little labor, wch might not, & certainly would not, be the case another year after the corn stalks (than which nothing can be better calculated for filling these gullies) are removed and destroyed; — & by altering the fence between the said N° 1 & the meadow (in the manner made known to you) it will place things as they ought to be without delay; — and will moreover give N° 4 a year's more rest, which will be no disservice to it; whilst every thing in the rotation line will work more systematically by means of it. — There is another thing equally necessary, wanting in this field; and that is, assistance to the poor & washed parts of it; — for these can receive no benefit from Buck wheat, because none will grow on them: & to recover

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them before they get *quite* lost, is prudent & essential; as well for appearance as profit. — The hedge row along the old race will be to be cleared, & the bank levelled: — in doing the first, leave here & there a tree, or clump, for shade & ornament.

If Plants of the Drum head & cattle cabbage can be raised in time, you might, perhaps, find some part of the addition to the old clover lot very proper for them; & as they would require to be well cultivated, very proper also for the grass which is (as soon as the new part of the ground is fully reclaimed & cleansed) to follow.

I am very willing, nay desirous, that part of the vineyard Inclosure should be appropriated to raising *any & all* kind of plants fit for hedging, or to repair hedges. Those of the most valuable & scarcer kind of plants for this purpose, may receive nourishment in my little Garden; — as the Firze, for instance. — But I am of opinion that all such hedges as are to be raised from the seed, for instance, Cedar Honey locust, White thorn, Sycamore, &c^{a}, &c^{a}, had better be sown in the places where they are to remain, having the ground *well* prepared previous to the reception of it, and well attended to afterwards, for I have been very unsuccessful in all my transplantations.

The quantity of grain received into the mill weekly; — the quantity of meal, flour, Bran, &c^{a}, delivered from it; — & the quantity and kind of Flour that is packed in the course of it, & actually there; is all the report I want; that I may see at one view what *goes in*, what *comes out*, and what is *actually in the mill;* barraled up of different sorts of flour; for I presume, as well to avoid dust, as petty robberies, the flour is packed up as fast as it is ground, & that the Bran is brought away. This being the case, there can be no difficulty, nor trouble in making the Report, as I do not want the wheat (after it gets into the Garner) a second time measured, nor (supposing as above) anything said of the unpacked flour.

If your growing wheat is cut off, are you not able to discover by what insect it is done, so as to describe it? Keep an attentive eye towards it, and let me know from time to time how this disaster progresses, and what the general appearance of your different fields is, and promises to be.

I wish to know as soon as you can conveniently ascertain it, what the quantity of Buck wheat is, that you have made; what gr^{d} you mean to sow with it; and what quantity it will take to seed it (including N° 1 at Dogue run): — and if your own stock sh^{d} fall short, enquire at what price it could be obtained, delivered at Alexandria, & let me know the result. Let me know also, as soon as your corn is measured, the total quantity made; what each field produced; and how much has

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been used, up to the period of rendering me the acc: of the new corn.

I perceive by the last report that 8 sheep are missing; but that it is not known whether taken from Dogue Run or the Ferry & French's. This confirms what I observed to you in my last, or one of my last letters, viz: that the overseers know very little of what relates to their own stock; giving in the number from the *old reports* instead of from *actual weekly* counting; by which means half my stock may be stolen, or eaten, before they are missed: — whereas, a weekly, or even a more frequent count of the sheep & inspection of the Hogs (articles most likely to be depredated upon) would prevent, or if not prevent, enable them to pursue while the scent was hot these atrocious villainies; and either bring them to light, or so alarm the perpetrators of them, as to make them less frequent. As the overseers, I believe, conduct matters, a sheep, or Hog or two, may every week, be taken without suspicion of it for months. An enquiry then comes too late; and I shall have to submit to one robbery after the other, until I shall have nothing left to be robbed of.

I see alterations have been made in the wheel, or wheels of the well, by the Quarter. How does it work now; what quantity of water will it draw up in a given time; & what' force is required to do it? that is to say, can the children, or weak people about the Quarter, draw for themselves.

Mr Washington expected two barrels of *good* shad would have come round with the things which were sent from Mount Vernon; but as this did not happen, take the first opportunity of forwarding them to this place; & I believe Captn Ellwood is, at this moment, or soon will be, at Alexandria.

It is now, I believe, ten or 12 months ago, since I desired that ten or 12 shoats might be put into a Stye, as soon as they were weaned, & well fed; to see what they could be brought to at a year old, (keeping an exact acc: of the expence) but whether it was ever done, or what the result of it was, I know not. I wish however that directions of this kind may be always duly attended. Few things will bear delay, but those of experiment worst of all; as it defeats the ascertaining of facts which might be of infinite importance; as in this very instance; for as the case now is, I am raising Hogs to a certain age for others, not for myself; whereas if this method should succeed, a stye by a house could not be robbed, & fewer sows would raise more hogs; & I believe, at infinite less expence.

I am your friend, & well wisher,

G. Washington.

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VII

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

PHILADELPHIA, 2 December, 1792

Mr WHITING,

Your letter of the 22^d^ of Novr enclosing the Sheriff's account has been duly received; but no letter nor Report was received from you yesterday, as usual; which makes me fear that you are sick, or that some accident has happened; as I have never missed before, receiving on Saturday the letter and reports which you send to Alexandria on Wednesday. I am always anxious to hear once a week from home; & to be informed by the letter & Reports how my people are, and how my business is going on; & I am more desirous of it *now* when it remains to be told what the crops of wheat, corn, & other things will turn out, than common.

You were perfectly right in discharging Jones. He always appeared to me to be incapable of the management of a Plantation from his want of capacity; but for his indolent or wilful neglects there can be no excuse; and he would meet with no more than his deserts if he was made to pay for the damage my wheat fields have sustained; for he had sufficient warning from myself, before I left home, to guard him against this evil. It is to such inattention, & want of execution; together with the opportunities that are given to my negros, that robberies have got to the height they are. If some of the nights in which these overseers are frolicking at the expence of my business, & to the destruction of my horses, were spent in watching the Barns, visiting the negro quarters at unexpected hours, waylaying the roads, or contriving some devise by which the receivers of stolen goods might be entrapped & the facts proved upon them; it would be no more than the performance of a duty which I have a right to expect for the wages they draw from me; and it w^d^ redound much more to their own credit and reputation as good & faithful overseers than running about — I wish, however, that the season may not be too far advanced for you to get a person to supply the place of Jones that will, in anywise, be competent to such a trust as must devolve on him, in the management of so important a Plantation.

I thought you had made it the particular duty of old Matt to attend to the Fences?

By Post of the 18th ult^o^ I sent you Tea & other spoons, for the use of the house; & expected that *they*, the Tea, Coffee, Sugar, & Wine would

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have been at Mount Vernon before the day on which you say Judge Cushing called at that place.

Wheat & flour are rising fast, & must have a high price during the Winter & Spring; I again desire, therefore, that none of mine may be sold without particular directions from me; but keep me advised of the Alexandria prices of the superfine, fine, &c^{a}, that I may be able to decide on the time for disposal. In the meanwhile, let the miller exert himself to get *all* the wheat manufactured as soon as he can, that it may be ready when a price shall offer that would induce me to part with it. Wheat is now at 8/4, & flour forty odd shillings & rising. In the mill Reports, the weight of the wheat ought always to be mentioned as well as the quantity received there; without this there can be no accurate acc^{t} of this business kept with the miller — and that he should receive no more Toll wheat & corn than what is mentioned in the weekly returns, is really unaccountable. The Toll of my own Corn, which is ground there, amounts to nearly the whole of his credit: and of wheat, rarely more than a bushel or two is brought to the credit of the mill.

I have seen no account in any of the Reports of the number of bricks at Dogue Run. I desired in a letter sometime ago that these might be counted, & assorted; that if they fell short of what were wanting for the Barn intended to be built at that place, the earth might be taken from the foundation of it this fall, to ameliorate by the Spring. That you may never forget directions that are given, it would be well to extract them from my letters, and place them in a pocket memorandum book that they may be easily & frequently resorted to; without this, they may, when a letter is laid by, go out of your mind, to my disappointment; and I would have nothing left undone which is required to be done, without being informed of it, & the reasons assigned; that I may judge of their weight. The Springs under the hill, which I requested should be opened, that I might, whilst they were at their *lowest*, see what water could be collected from the whole of them, cannot be done well when the weather is cold and freezing; nor will it ascertain the fact I wanted to know, after the Autumn and Winter Rains have filled the earth with water; for then Springs may appear that would be entirely dry in the Summer; & that is the season I should want the water. Speaking of this, I had rather the water from these Springs should be carried *round* any little risings wch may be between the most westerly ones (which are worth opening) and that by the Dairy, than to have a deep Ditch cut *through* them. — In short, I want the water carried on its level to the front of the Mansion house, as it is done in watered Meadows; that I may, if I should hereafter want to water any, or all of that ground, or to make a pond on the level directly

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in front along the visto that was opened in a line between the two doors, that so much of the work may be done to my hands. — Before I left home, I desired you to make out another visto on the west front of the Mansion house, merely to see over what ground it would go, that I might thereby be enabled to decide whether to open it or not; but as you have mentioned nothing of it in any of your letters, I suppose it is not yet done.

As I keep no copies of letters wch I write to you, & always write in great haste (one thing or another always pressing upon me) it is more than probable I often repeat things over & over again to you; but this I have preferred doing to remaining in suspence of having it done at all — especially as you will consider it as a strong evidence that things *so repeated* are such as I am anxious about. — In one of my last letters, I think I desired (I know I intended to do it) that you would, after you had finally designated the Mansion house gang, keep them steadily at work at that place, suffering them on *no* occasion (unless very unimergent ones) to be sent to any of the Plantations to work; — for besides loosing much time in marching & counter marching, it weakens the exertion, & destroys the ambition of the different overseers to excel one another in the good condition of their respective plantations, when by extranious force they are relieved from difficulties which, more than probable, their own idleness has been the cause of. I can conceive nothing, except Ditching (which is a kind of trade,) that the hands of every plantation are not competent to, & should be made to execute. Hedging, setting out cuttings for it, Planting, or sowing the seeds according to the nature of them, &c^a^, &c^a^, as well as other things is to be done by them; under (where skill, & attention is necessary) the immediate eye of the Overseers. And as I have often, & often declared, this business of hedging must not be considered in the light of a secondary or trifling, or an occasional thing; but, on the contrary, as one of the first magnitude, & to be entered upon with as much serious intention to execute it well, as to prepare for planting corn, or sewing wheat, and the [?][1] which I am *more* anxious to accomplish.

I now send you Mr. Lambert's Pamphlet,[2] with the observations of Mr Peters upon it, to whom it was lent, & who I think one of the most judicious farmers in this part of the country. If there are any hints in the Pamphlet worth improving on, you will not, I am persuaded, suffer them

[1] Word omitted in manuscript.

[2] The allusion is doubtless to A Letter on the Construction and Use of the improved Foot Plough, By an Essex Farmer, London, 1784, of which there is a copy in the Washington Collection in the Boston Athenæum.

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to escape you. Sinking the point of the beam below the parrallel line of the spit, or share, is a very material deviation from the common mode of setting a plough; and certainly ought to be tried by the rules & principle he has laid down. And this I conceive may be done with one of the bar shear plows which are now in use, as well as by a plow in all respects like the plate.

I am your friend and well wisher

G. WASHINGTON.

P. S. Perhaps you may not know, that if the Thursday's Post (which leaves Alexand[a] before day) is missed, no letter, if sent to the office even half an hour afterwards, will reach this place before Tuesday afternoon. Tuesday's post from that place reaches this on Thursdays; Thursday's comes in on Saturdays, and Saturday's not until Tuesdays, on account of Sundays intervening. You will see by this the necessity of sending up your Reports in time always on Wednesdays. It is more convenient for me to receive them on Saturdays than any other day; because between that & the departure of the Post on Monday, which gets into Alexandria on Wednesdays I can write with less interruption than at any other time.

VIII

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

PHILADELPHIA, 9 December, 1792

MR. WHITING

Your letter of the 28th of Nov[r] which ought to have been here the first day of this month, did not arrive until the 4th; — that of the 5th came yesterday, at the usual time.

I thought I had, in a former letter, desired that all the large Cedars in the Lucern lot might be left standing; as they could, at any time, be thinned after I had seen them, free from other things. This is the footing I would have them remain on at present; the young ones, as has been mentioned to you are to be taken up so soon as they can be removed with a large block of frozen earth; and planted from the stile downwards, thick, so as to make a formidable hedge. Let all the trees, large or small (unless very large indeed) that are taken out of either the lucern, or old clover lots, be grubbed up by the roots. It will, I am sensible, render this clearing more tedious; but it will be the means of saving much labour hereafter; besides giving a more agreeable appearance to the ground in the first instance. I will endeavor to procure seeds from the honey locust, & send you, but I question whether I shall

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get many, if any, as there are very few pods on the trees in the neighborhood of this City, this year. I entirely approve, as I have mentioned to you in one or two letters lately, of establishing large nurseries of every kind of plant that is fit for hedges; but then, I would do it (of the common plants) more for the purpose of repairing, than for raising hedges by transplanting the plants in the first instance, from these Nurseries. — For, as you know, many thousands of the honey locust were transplanted from the Vineyard to the Ferry & French's, under the care of Mr Bloxham; whom, one would have thought, would have known how to manage them: — but where are they now? — Indeed this question might be asked with respect to the Honey locust seeds which were planted there & elsewhere; and both be answered, justly perhaps, by saying that the ground was not properly prepared for either, nor the plants attended to after they were removed, or had come up from the seeds. Indeed I am so anxious to get these hedges reared as soon as possible, that I would spare no expence of labor, or pains to facilitate the measure by trying both methods, with everything you can devise as fit for it.

By the time this letter will have got to your hands, I expect 655 lbs. of clover seed at 1/5 pr lb. will be in Alexandria (from New York) for me, consigned to Mr Porter; to whom, if you should not do it to the Captn, the freight (not more I suppose than 8/ or 10/) must be paid. The seed, as it is furnished by a person who is careful in the choice, I hope will prove good: the distribution of it, together with that which you have I shall leave to yourself; but request, if harrowed at all, it may be done with nothing heavier than a light brush, as I am well persuaded that the thinness of my clover proceeds, as much as anything, from the seeds being buried too deep.

Have you made any use of the Plough I sent from this place, & with three horses? I hope both the old clover lot, & the Brick yard lot will be well prepared for the crops, & seeds which are to be put into them. And if you could get some of the true Plaster of Paris or Gypsum, and sow the Lawns on both sides of the Mansion house, it would be of service; as they begin to want dressing: about 5 or 6 bushels to the acre is the usual allowance. Put long litter against the cellar windows; Frank knows how, & should be made to do it, as well as other things; otherwise he will be ruined by idleness. And can Lucy find sufficient employment in the Kitchen? It was expected her leizure hours, of which I conceive she must have very many from cooking, would be employed in knitting, of which both Peter & Sarah do too little. I expected Dinah was one of those who would have been sent to one of the Plantations: — whether she remains at the Mansion house, or not, it

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is my desire that when Kitty is unable to attend the Dairy alone, that Anna may be the assistant. The other, besides idling away half the day under that pretence, never failed, I am well convinced, to take a pretty ample toll of both milk & butter.

I hope the overseer you have got from Boggess' will answer your expectations; but I have no opinion of any recommendation from that person; and besides, a stayed elderly man, for such an important plantation as Dogue run would have been to be preferred to a young one, although the latter should be a married man. But I am sensible anyone would be better than Jones, and that the season was too far advanced to look for many to chuse from. When do you expect the successor of Garner? If he does not come over before Christmas, he may not be able to do it before Spring, on account of Interruption by Ice.

As soon as your Corn is all measured, and the Grain all threshed, give me an acc^{t} of the *whole* crop in one view; and what each field has produced of the several species; — viz., of Corn, Wheat, Buckwheat, Oats, Potatoes, &c^{a} — and as your own apprehensions of a short crop of corn seems to be great, I beg that every possible œconomy may be attended to in the use of it; and to prevent waste & embezzlement; as the same spirits which attack my Wheat, Hogs, & Sheep, will not spare the Corn, if means can be found to get at it; and this is often given by the overseer's entrusting the keys of the Corn. houses to those who want grain for their work horses, &c^{a} Do not bestow *too* much corn on your fatting Hogs, unless it can be applied to no other use; I mean that which is soft, for it will not keep long without turning bitter, yellow, & becoming rotten: — and if laid in bulk, will (I know from experience) be utterly ruined. For every purpose therefore to which soft Corn can be applied usefully, & œconomically, let it be & be the first consumed. I do not, by calling for this *general* return of *all* the crops, mean that the individual ones, or parts of them, should go unreported as usual. My object is, that I may have the whole in one view, without resorting to the weekly ones.

I do not know what quantity of wheat is yet to go to the mill but wish it may not fall short of your expectation of 5000 bushels in the whole for market. It appears to me that the miller must have been very inattentive to his duty to have manufactured only 102 barr^{ls} of flour, besides 15 bar^{ls} of midlings & 19 of ship stuff out of 2387½ bushels of wheat which has been delivered into the mill. I wish he may not have forgot what is usual for all millers to do, & what I am sure he must have done himself, and that is, to grind of nights, as well as days when the water, & seasons will admit. A little time more & the frosts will stop the mill, and in a little time after the frosts are over, the

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droughts will stop it, & my grain will remain unground. He has, it must be acknowledged a fine time of it. Whether he works at night, or not, I hope particular charge will be given him respecting fire. The loss of the mill, & its contents, would be too heavy for me to support; and I find the accident of fires is already begun. The loss sustained by which, & how it happened at the Hounds Kennels ought to have been more particularly detailed than by the simple mention of it in the report, as if it was a thing of course.

I did not expect that Buck wheat could be had short of London. I wished to know whether it could be had from thence, & at what price, delivered in Alexandria; that I might be enabled to determine (if more than you have should be required) whether it would be best to buy there, or send it from here. For this reason it is, I have asked once or twice what you have made; — as soon as the quantity is ascertained, let me know it — what ground you propose to sow with it, & how much seed (more than you have) is wanting.

If it is the Hessian fly that has injured your wheat the insect will be found between the blade and the stem, at the lower joint. The clumps as marked by the Gardener are very well designed, but if there had been *more* trees in them, they w^d^ not have been the worse for it.

I presume Davis has painted the windows & cornice of the Green house & New Quarters white. I directed him so to do. Let me know what painting he has yet to do, & the quantity of paints on hand. What does the Gardner's wife in her report mean by Trousers? She is not making them longer than common breeches I presume. This w^d^ be a great consumpt^n^ of cloth.

If you will send me the size, & length of the well rope, I will endeavor to have a proper one made, & sent to you.

You ask directions from me, respecting your conduct in the building of my poor nephew, Major Geo: A. Washington's House. From every acct. we receive, his disorder is at a crisis, and must soon (if that is not the case already) change for the better, or terminate in his speedy dissolution: & as the latter is most likely to happen, I think you had better not (until further orders) procure any more scantling; especially such as must be cut to waste. It may be proper for Gunner to continue throwing up Brick earth; & for the Major's two men to be preparing plank for the floors; because these (especially the latter) cannot be lost. A very few weeks (before the end of the ensuing hollidays) will enable him, or his friends to decide more accurately on the measures necessary to be pursued.

I am your well wisher & friend,

— G. WASHINGTON.

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P. S. In the Reports, let the quantity of superfine flour be distinguished from the fine that the quantity of every kind may be known & seen at one view.

IX

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 16 December, 1792

Mr Whiting

Your letter of the 12th with its enclosures came duly to hand, and under cover with this letter you will receive Invoice & Bill of Lading for something which went from hence yesterday.

I thought it best to send you, ready prepared, the Plaster of Paris from hence. March or April will be time enough to spread it (at the rate of 5 or 6 bush^ls^ to the acre) on the Lawns before each door; if there be more than enough for this purpose spread the remainder on the Lucern, or new clover lot (poorest parts of it) as far as it will go. It ought to be done when it is drizzling, at any rate when the atmosphere is moist & giving, & when there is very little wind; otherwise the fine particles of the Gypsom will evaporate, blow away, & be lost. All the honey locust seeds I could get before the vessel sailed, are sent; if more are to be had I will send them. — The fruit trees wch accompany them may be planted where the Gardener shall think it best they sh^d^ stand; & desire him to be careful of the seeds you got from Mr. Hunter; taking care to preserve the names of them, that the plants may be thereby known.

If (or whenever) you can obtain a good price for the midlings or ship-stuff in Alexandria, I would have you sell them to raise Cash for such purposes as indispensably call for it; but I earnestly exhort you to buy nothing you can either make within yourselves, or can do well without. The practice of running to stores, &c^a^ for everything that is wanting, or thought to be wanting, is the most ruinous custom that can be adopted, and has proved the destruction of many a man before he was aware of the pernicious consequences. There is no Proverb in the whole catalogue of them more true, than that a penny saved, is a penny got. I well know that many things must be bought, such for instance as you have enumerated in your letter; but I know also, that, expedients may be hit upon, & things (though perhaps not quite as handsome) done within ourselves, that would ease the expences of any estate very considerably. Before the navigation is closed it might be prudent to make this sale, or to have the ship-stuff and midlings stored in Alexandria in readiness for it; otherwise you will be unable to do it,

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or have it to waggon, which will be not only a drawback from the price, but may be attended with much inconvenience.

I observed to you in my last, that I thought the miller was very negligent & inattentive to his duty in not having more wheat manufactured than what appeared by the Report of the preceeding week; and I now desire you will let him know that I am by no means well pleased at the delay. I fear he makes so large a portion of flour superfine, as to endanger, or at least to impoverish the fine. This will not be good policy for either kind: — and I perceive he makes the wheat weigh only 58 lbs p.r Bushel. I wish you would now & then see a load tried. 58 is less than I have heard of any wheats weighing this year. Tell Davenport it is my desire that he would immediately try with 100 bushels of wheat (carefully measured, and as it is received at the mill) what quantity of superfine, fine, midlings, shipstuff and Bran, will come from it. This 100 bushels of wheat (after it is measured & weighed) is to pass, as usual, through the mill screen & Fan. My object you will readily perceive is to compare the prices of the wheat before and after it is manufactured, together, that I may be enabled to form a precise judgment of the value of each: He must therefore be very careful that no mistake is made, & the experiment such as he can be responsible for. It is for this reason I have directed the wheat to be measured & weighed before it goes through the mill operations for cleaning. A similar experiment to this was made last year, but I want another & to have it done without delay, & with great exactness.

If Isaac had his deserts he w.d receive severe punishment for the House, Tools, & seasoned stuff which has been burned by his carelessness. He must have left the fire in a very unjustifiable situation, or have been a fine time absent from it, for such an accident to have happened before it was too late to have extinguished it. I wish you to inform him, that I sustain injury enough by their idleness — they need not add to it by their carelessness. The present work-shop (Barn) will do very well; at least 'till there is more leizure for altering that, or erecting another.

I am sorry to find your crop of corn is likely to fall so short of expectation: — I hope however, that great care will be taken of what is made; — & that every advantageous use will be made of the soft corn. It will not with all the care that can be taken of it, keep long, & if you lay it in heaps it will inevitably spoil, & be fit for no use in a very short time.

I am not less concerned to find that I am for ever, sustaining loss in my stock of sheep (particularly). I not only approve of your killing those Dogs which have been the occasion of the late loss, & of the thin-

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ning of the Plantations of others, but give it as a positive order, that after saying what dog, or dogs shall remain, if any negro presumes under any pretence whatsoever, to preserve, or bring one into the family, that he shall be severely punished, and the dog hanged. I was obliged to adopt this practise whilst I resided at home, and from the same motives, that is, for the preservation of my Sheep and Hogs; but I observed when I was at home last that a new set of dogs was rearing up, & I intended to have spoke about them, but one thing or another always prevented it. It is not for any good purpose Negros raise or keep dogs; but to aid them in their night robberies; for it is astonish[ing] to see the command under which their dogs are. I would no more allow the Overseers than I would the negros, to keep Dogs. One, or at most two on a Plantation is enough. The pretences for keeping more will be various, & urgent, but I will not allow more than the above notwithstanding.

I hope your new Overseer will turn out well. His age (although he now has, or soon may get a wife) is much against him for a large concern in my estimation; but the season made it almost Hobson's choice, him or none. I have engaged an elderly man who may probably be with you on Sunday next to look after the home house gang. He is an Irishman, & not long from that country. According to his own, and the accounts given of him by others, he is well practiced in both farming and grazing. He is old enough to be steady, & to have had much experience in both these branches. Though old, & clumsey with all, he promises that activity shall not be wanting, nor obedience to any directions you may give him. I have agreed to allow him seventy dollars for the ensuing year, & have told him that further encouragement, either in an augmentation of wages, or removal to a better place, will depend altogether upon his own conduct and good behaviour. If he is such a man as is represented, he may be useful to me; having it is said a perfect knowledge in Horses, and stock of all kinds. I should have preferred, if the Major had occupied the room over the kitchen as a store, to have put his bed in that; but this being the case, he must go into the house opposite to the store; as the Servants' Hall must be kept for that purpose unappropriated to any other uses. — I have informed Mr. Butler (that is his name) that sobriety, industry & honesty, are such indispensable qualifications in my eyes, that he will remain but a short time with me, if he is found deficient of either. And I request you, not only in his case, but with all the other overseers likewise, to pass over no faults without noticing and admonishing them against the commission of the like or similar ones; for in this, as in every thing else, it is easier to prevent evils than to apply remedies after they have

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happened. One fault overlooked begets another, that a third, and so on; whereas a check in the first instance might prevent a repetition, or at any rate cause circumspection.

I thought I had desired you, before I left home, to make some enquiry respecting the person who lives in my house in Alexandria, & to rent it upon the best terms you could to him or any other; but as you have never mentioned the matter in any of your letters, I presume I intended to do so, but did not — and therefore now request it may be done.

I would have you open the second visto 20 feet wide, as far as muddy hole branch, and let me know whether the hill on the other side of it is high or low; and whether it will require much work to open it to the full width 'till you pass it; for as to opening it beyond the hill, I conceive it to be as unnecessary, as it was in the first visto, after you descend into ye flat beyond it.

If proper care and attention has been paid to Cilla's child, it is all that humanity requires, whatever may be the consequence; — these I would have bestowed on all. — What is Boatswain's complaint? I find he is still in the house, as Charles also is. — Let me know the quantity of water you are likely to draw together, from the different springs below the Lucern lot, and inform me what numbers of the fields will be united at the Ferry & French's plantations, and what will be the numbers of them when this is done; without this knowledge I shall be at a loss when you are speaking of the different fields how to distinguish them.

If Mr Hartshorn does not take the stud horse, nor you should not have disposed of him to any other, deliver him to Mr Robert Lewis, or his order if he should send for him.

I remain your friend & well wisher,

G. WASHINGTON.

X

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

PHILADELPHIA, 23 December, 1792

MR. WHITING,

Your letter of the 19th instant enclosing the weekly reports, has been duly received.

By Mr James Butler who left this City on friday last, I wrote you a few lines enclosing the agreement I had entered into with him. I request that the Smith's Book may be put into his hands, and a regular account taken every night of what they have done in the day; and that he will see they do as much as they ought. — Let an account be raised

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in that Book or some other for each Plantation, and every thing done for it as regularly charged to it, as if it had been done for one of the neighbors who was to pay therefore. A practice of this sort answers two purposes — first, to see that the smiths do their duty; and secondly, as a check upon the Plantations who ought to account for what is received from thence, as well as for everything else, that is furnished them in the course of the year, as soon as it shall have expired. It is my desire also that Mr Butler will pay some attention to the conduct of the Gardener, and the hands who are at work with him; so far as to see that they are not idle; for, though I will not charge them with idleness, I cannot forbear saying, and I wish you to tell the Gardener so (provided you shall think there is cause for it) that the matters entrusted to him appear to me to progress amazingly slow. I had no conception that there were grubs enough in the vineyard enclosure to have employed them as many days as are reported; & sure I am that levelling the Bank ought to have taken a very little time. If it is found that the hands with the gardener are not usefully (I mean industriously) employed I shall withdraw them; as I did not give them to him for *parade*, to be *idle*, or to keep him in idleness.

Mr. Butler says he has been much accustomed to Hedging. I have told him how extremely anxious I am on this head; and I request you will aid him all in your power to rear them speedily. He is very fond of the French furze, and has no doubt of succeeding with the thorn — if, therefore, the berries of these are still on the trees, let them be gathered; & with everything else that can be thought of, tried without more loss of time than is required for the proper season.

Anthony's Toe should be examined and if it requires it, something should be done to it, otherwise, as usual, it will serve him as a pretence to be in the house half ye Winter. I have no objection to Sinah's remaining as part of the Mansion house gang; but I have strong ones for the reasons mentioned in a late letter, to her being employed in, or about the Dairy. — The reason which you assign however, for returning her there, has no weight with me; for it is not my intention henceforward, that *any* of the House gang shall be employed in Fencing at the Plantations — there is no more propriety in employing them in the Post and Rail fences at Dogue run or the Ferry, than there would be in any other sort of Fencing: Let every Plantation do their own work, they are sufficiently strong for it, and have no right to look for more aid than is to be derived from the Ditchers in that article. It would seem to me as if the progress in getting & securing the Corn at the River Plantation was extremely slow. One would not judge from this circumstance that the crop of this Grain would prove so short.

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If you could, by means of Mr Hartshorn, or any of the merchants in Alexandria who have dealings in Londonn, procure the deficient quantity of Buck wheat at 3/, or even 3/6 delivered at Mount Vernon, I would have you do it. Otherwise you must apply what you have to the best purposes your own judgment shall direct, for I could send none from hence at the highest of those prices.

It certainly would be to my advantage to buy Majr Harrison's Land adjoining mine, if it could be had on reasonable terms; but for *no other reason* than that which you have mentioned; but from the appearance of the new building which I saw on the land when I was last at home, I suspect that reason will not apply; that is, from this circumstance I apprehend he has given leases on the land, in which case I should not be relieved from my present inconvenience by the purchase; as the riddance of bad neighbors would be the only object I could have in view. If you can, by indirect enquiries (so conducted as not to alarm the Pools) ascertain this fact & let me know the result, it would enable me to judge better of this matter.

The Peach stones which were sent to you are from Georgia — desire the Gardener to pay proper attention to them.

I do not regard the temporary fall in the prices of wheat & flour; — as there is no radical cause for it, but, on the other hand the calls which occasioned the rise are still existing the prices, I will engage, will be up again; and more than probable be higher than ever before March. All the flour therefore that you can get safely stored (before the Navigation is closed) in Alexandria, will be ready for the first exports in the Spring.

It is observed by the weekly reports that the sewers make only six shirts a week, and the last week Carolina (without being sick) made only five; — Mrs Washington says their usual task was to make nine with shoulder straps, & good sewing: — tell them therefore from me, that what *has* been done, *shall* be done by fair or foul means; & they had better make choice of the first, for their own reputation, & for the sake of peace & quietness, otherwise they will be sent to the several Plantations & be placed as common laborers under the overseers thereat. Their work ought to be well examined, or it will be most shamefully executed, whether little or much of it be done. And it is said, the same attention ought to be given to Peter (& I suppose to Sarah likewise) or the stockings will be knit too small for those for whom they are intended; such being the idleness, & deceit of those people.

I am your friend and well wisher,

G. Washington.

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XI

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 30 December, 1792

Mr. Whiting,

I have duly received your letters of the 21st and 26th instts, and am a little surprized to find by the last that Mr James Butler had not reached Mount Vernon before the date of it. He left this city on the 21st., and according to the usual course, & time required for the stages to run, he ought to have been in Alexandria on Monday last, the 24th of this month.

Notwithstanding the reduced number of hands at Mansion house, if Mr Butler answers the description which is given of him, he may be useful to me on many accounts; & may ease you a good deal of the particular attention which, otherwise, you would find it necessary to give to the various concerns about it. Amongst which, none I think call louder for it than the Smith's; who from a variety of instances wch fell within my own observation whilst I was at home, I take to be two very idle fellows. A daily account (which ought regularly to be) taken of their work, would, alone, go a great way towards checking their idleness; but besides this, being always about the House (except at Haymaking & Harvest) & not far from them, he might have a pretty constant eye both to them, and to the people who are at work with the Gardener; some of whom I know to be as lazy and as deceitful as any in the world (Sam particularly). My horses too (in the management of which he professes to have skill) might derive much benefit from a careful attention to them; not only to those which work, but to the young ones, and to the breeding mares: — for I have long suspected that Peter under pretence of riding about the Plantations to look after the mares, mules, &c, is in pursuit of other objects; either of traffic or amusement, more advancive of his own pleasures than my benefit. It is not, otherwise to be conceived, that with the number of mares I have, five & twenty of which were bought for the express purpose of breeding, though now considerably reduced from that purpose alone, should produce not more than six or eight colts a year. This I say will hardly be believed by any person who has ever been in a similar practice. The evil stands much in need of a remedy, & I request if Mr Butler should ever reach you, that he may be told, it is my desire he would endeavor to apply one. I moreover conceive (being an experimental farmer) that he will be better able to carry your directions into effect (especially in Hay-making, Hedging and the like, in his own way) than one of the common overseers of the Country: — and in addition to these, as he writes a tolerable good hand

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& has a tolerable good knowledge of accounts, you might derive aid from him in that way; when I was able to look after my own business, it was a custom to keep as regular accounts with each of my Plantations as if the Articles delivered from the store, from the Smith's shop, done by the Carpenters, &c^{a}, &c^{a}, had gone to, or been done for, Mr Peak or any other from whom the value was to be received. This under your general Superintendence (without aid) I knew would not be in your power to render without neglecting other parts of your duty of more consequence; and therefore I never required it in the extent above mentioned; nor expected it. But if Butler comes to you, and merits the character given of him, an essay towards it may be made. My great fear respecting him is, that he will be found deficient in point of activity. But as I have in a former letter desired that admonition, or something else, may be administered to the first, and to every neglect, it is needless to repeat it in this place. He is to have his victuals cooked for him; and as he is a man who (from the accounts given of him) has seen better days than his present appearance indicates, I should suppose, if you find his deportment & behavior decent & proper, there can be no objection to his eating with you: — but in this, do what is most agreeable to your own inclination, as it is not my intention to impose anyone upon you, in this way, contrary thereto.

All such work as you have enumerated I think is the duty of every overseer to render; and if he is a man of an industrious turn he will do it, whether he is compelled by articles, or not; — On the other hand, if he is of an indolent cast (such as Jones was) all the articles in the world would not enforce the measure longer than he, himself, was under the observation of an overlooker — and probably, to avoid working himself, (the Negros knowing it to be his duty to do so, by agreement) he would suffer them to be idle, to bribe them against a discovery of his own idleness. For these reasons I have always had doubts (where there is a large gang of hands to overlook) of the propriety of attempting to *compell* by articles an overseer to do more *work* than his own inclination would naturally prompt him to do, voluntarily. — Indeed, where there are a number of hands, his time, probably, w^{d} be better employed in seeing them well engaged than in working himself, especially if all are not within his full view at the time.

I have not a proper recollection of the ground between the Spring house and the oozey ground about the place where the hound kennel stood, or, you still mistake my design; & I am led to the latter opinion, by your having begun the drain by, or from the Spring house. — My intention was to have begun the drain from the *lowest* Spring at the foot of the Bank most westerly; — that is, nearest the wharf, & to have

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carried the Water along that, *on its level* to the front of the Mansion house, as hath been described in former letters; and to let the higher ones into that drain, as may be seen by the rough sketch enclosed. I always expected, & you will find it so mentioned in one of my letters, that the water so united, would be to be conveyed across the sunken spot (east of &) by the Spring before you could get it to the avenue in front of the house; but I had no idea of there being other hollows west of the Spring house as difficult as you represent them to be; for as to cutting through banks which are liable to cave in, I had no idea. — After this explanation of my meaning, if the difficulties which you represent should still oppose themselves, I w^d have the work suspended until I came home; which I presume to hope, will be in the Spring.

Ascertain as near as you can how much red led (ground in oil) it will take to complete the painting the roofs of the old spinning house, Smoke House, Wash house & Coach house (adjoining) together with the four Garden houses (if not already done) — also white led to finish what was begun, and not compleated; — and oil for the whole; informing me thereof; that I may be enabled to decide whether I shall send them or not. — Let me know also whether the Roof of the Piaza leaks since the new shingling has been put on. — You speak of the quantity of lime which it has taken to repair the Overseers house in the Neck. It is occasioned in a great measure by the profuse use of it by Davis, & the *unnecessary* strength which he gives to the mortar; in which he ought to be corrected. Of stone lime; & the lime made from Oyster shells, the quantity differs, but the proportion of each are well ascertained for different kinds of work; for here again, mortar is made stronger, or weaker, according to the nature of it. Rules for all these might easily be obtained, and observed. Another bad practice which he is in ought to be corrected, and that is, laying his mortar too thick in the joints. This hurts the look of a building, rather diminishes than adds to the strength of it, and consumes much lime.

If, as you suppose is the case, the miller spends more time than he ought to do in his dwelling house, it is justice due to me, to inform *him* of it; and to add, that if the practice is continued your duty will require that I should be informed of it. The slow progress made by him in manufacturing my wheat in such an open & mild fall and winter as we have had, is, if there was water, the strongest evidence that can be given of his indolence, and the bad use that he has made of so favorable a season.

This mild and open weather has been a great relief to the corn & fodder. Advantage I hope has been taken of it to Husband both. But the last Report speaks of an amazing consumption (in a short time) of

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soft corn at the River Plantation. I wish to hear that your overseers are fixed, & well in their Giers.

I did not expect that the Plow which went from this place would be employed otherwise than in breaking up ground in the fall of the year; I am afraid this work is backward if but *now* you are beginning to plow, for the 1st time the old clover lot at the Mansion house; when the brick yard & Lucern lots are also to plow, & when the former of them ought to be sown in the early part of the Spring; as well for the advantage of the clover, as for that of the oats with which it is sown.

Speaking of sowing Clover, let me request that such a machine as is described in Mr Bordley's pamphlet,[1] be prepared, and the clover seed sown therewith. My clover seed has never been regularly, or well sown, notwithstanding it has been lavished upon the ground; — some parts of which having none, and other parts surcharged. Less, if distributed over the ground, will do; in some of my letters I have given you the quantities bestowed on an acre in the vicinity of this city, where it is as thick as the best Farmer would require it to be.

Has Doll at the Ferry mixed her work with that of the out-hands? If not, what does she employ herself with? I have no report on this head. If she knits or sews, her work ought to be noticed in that line & care taken that she renders a sufficiency of it. Let the stud horse be delivered to Mr Robt Lewis's order, as Mr Hartshorn did not comply with his agreement. I am &c.

Go Washington.

XII

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 6 January, 1793

Mr. Whiting.

Your letter of the 2d instant with its enclosures came to hand yesterday, and I am glad to find by it that Mr James Butler had arrived safe, for I began to apprehend that he might have fallen sick on the Road, as he had not reached Mount Vernon at the date of your former letter of the 26th Ult.

If this person performs all the duties I have suggested to you as proper for him to be employed in, with intelligence & zeal, I shall excuse him readily from manual labor. And as you will soon discover of

[1] The allusion is probably to John Beale Bordley's Summary View of the Courses of Crops, in the Husbandry of England and Maryland, Philadelphia, 1784, of which there is a copy in the Washington Collection in the Boston Athenæum.

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what turn of mind he is, whether inclined to industry, or to indulgence; whether his knowledge of Farming is real or pretended only (from the clearness & precision with which he may discourse with you on topics relating to it); whether his dispositions are good or bad; and whether he has a head capable of arrangements or not. I should be glad to be informed, when you shall have formed a judgment of them yourself. His character as handed to me stands exceedingly fair on the score of sobriety & honesty, by those with whom he has lived in this country; and the enclosed certificate (which deposite along with his agreement) testifies to his conduct in Ireland. Mr Keating is a clergyman of respectable character, & Major Butler[1] (who appears on the Back of the certificate) is one of the Senators in Congress. My apprehensions of James Butler's fitness, proceed from a doubt that he may want activity; & my only reason for so doubting, is founded on his clumsy appearance and age: and again, that he will be at a loss in the management of Negros, as their idleness & deceit, if he is not sufficiently cautioned against them, will most assuredly impose upon him. I have told him that he must stir early & late, as I expect my people will work from daybreaking until it is dusk in the evening; and, that the only way to keep them at work without severity, or wrangling is always to be with them.

You will see by the enclosed to Thomas Green (which seal before you send it to him) on what footing I have placed his continuance, or discharge; and I do hereby authorize you to act accordingly. I need not observe to you, however, that it is necessary before the latter takes place to consider how the business can be carried on without him, or some other white-man; and where, & on what terms, such an one can be had; for I am sure none of my Negro carpenters are adequate to the framing, & executing such a Barn as I am about to build at D: Run.

Speaking of this Barn, let me know when it is probable it will be set about — whether the scantling (oak excepted) and Plank is actually engaged — and when to be expected? Never having been fully possessed of the poor Major's view (if he ever contemplated his disorder as fatal) in the building, I am absolutely at a loss what to say to you respecting the materials for it. My *own judgment* is decidedly against expending his money for this purpose, in the hopeless state of recovery in which he is represented by his Physicians, and all who have seen him to be. — On the other hand, *as he seems* so sollicitous to have it carried on, he must either think differently of his disorder from others, or his object is unknown to me. Under this view of the subject my advice to you is, to purchase such parts of the scantling only as are most essential

[1] Pierce Butler (1744–1822), Senator from South Carolina.

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& which will be first wanting by the workmen in carrying on the building, & this, without cutting it to waste; but by no means to hurry the work until matters are brought more to a crisis & certainty. I could not before he left Mount Vernon, tell him that his case was (by every one) thought desperate; but advised him (except what could be done by his own people) to let the matter rest till the Spring, and then he should have the aid of all my people — as well Carpenters as Bricklayers, to hasten it on.

If there was an absolute necessity for refraining from Fishing with my own People, or Postponing my Hedging operations another year, I should not hesitate a moment in giving up the first; for I would make every thing yield to the latter; but I do not see the thing in this light. I expect the Hedging and every thing belonging thereto (except ditching where necessary) whether done this year, next year, or at any time thereafter, will be performed at each Plantation by the hands belonging to it. And that the proper time for this work is now, and in all weather, when the earth can be moved, between this and the budding of Spring. In a ride I took yesterday, I saw thousands of the cuttings of willow setting out; and upon enquiry was told it was the best season to do it: — if it suits one sort of cuttings, more than probable it will suit another; I therefore request this work may not be delayed a moment. It is not like fencing, grubbing, &c[a] that may be executed at all seasons of the year. For this reason I should have derived more satisfaction from reading the reports to have found that the hands of the Ferry &c[a], & the hands of Muddy hole had been employed in preparing the ground along their cross fences for the reception of cuttings, and seeds (if you have any to put in) than in grubbing places which could be done as well hereafter for the crops which are to follow, or even to have omitted them if they could not as now. If under these ideas you can carry on Fishing (with my own people) and Hedging both, it will be most agreeable to me; but if one only can be done, I had rather rent the Landing for what it will fetch, & stick to Hedging. In the first case, that is doing both, it is very probable M[r] James Butler will be a proper person to superintend the Fishery, as I presume *all* his hands must go to that business; with aid from other quarters.

I should be glad to know how far you have advanced in your clearing at the Mansion house? The point between the Road leading to the wharf, & Hell-hole, ought to be well grubbed, cleaned, smoothed, & well sprinkled with Timothy. I mean all that part which lyes without the fence of the old clover lot, quite up to the vineyard Inclosure: the same also on the other side of the road, between that and the cross fence by the Vault & old hound kennel.

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If the wool is all spun up, in what manner do you mean to employ the spinners? They must not be idle; — nor ought the sewers to have been so when they were out of thread: — If they can find no other work, let them join the outdoor hands. Myrtilla & Delia had better, I conceive do this, altogether, as their will be enough without them for all the purposes of Spinning & Sewing.

More than an hundred bushels of Buckwheat will I should suppose be nearly or quite adequate to all your wants. If it is sown in good season, and the ground is well prepared, three pecks to the acre will be enough, of seed that is fresh & good.

If you think the wheat in N° 2 at Muddy hole, will not be too much injured by turning the young mules on it, I do not object to the measure; and with respect to the young Jack, it is my earnest wish that he may be fed high — winter & summer — to see what size he can be made to grow.

As I have promised the stud horse to Mr. Robert Lewis, I would not have him disposed of otherwise. I shall write to him by this opportunity to send for the horse.

I suppose Mr. Hooe[1] receives my flour upon the same terms he stores other goods; No other I have a right to expect; but I conceive that he ought to insure it against embezzlement, or waste, occasioned by improper usage in tossing it about. However, if you store upon the same terms as others do, I can expect no more.

When you are well informed of the conditions on which Majr Harrison lets his Land to Pool &ca, I shall be better able to decide upon the propriety of becoming the purchaser of it. My opinion of its being under lease was occasioned by the new building I discovered on it, but this was no more than conjectural evidence of the fact.

I remain your friend & well wisher,

Go. Washington.

XIII

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 13 January, 1793

Mr. Whiting

Your letter of the 9th instant with the several reports thereon, came duly to hand; & to such parts as require it, I shall reply.

I never had it in contemplation to withdraw the hands from the River, or any other Plantation to aid at the Mansion house, if their work should

[1] Robert T. Hooe of Alexandria, Virginia.

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be required at home: therefore, I find no difficulty in releasing the River force from this service, if there is *really* work enough to employ them at home; which is indeed very probable, as they have spent all the fall, & half the winter in getting in their Corn: — a thing hardly ever heard of before in the worst of weather, much less in such as we have had, and which perhaps never was seen before. If there was any way of making such a rascal as Garner[1] pay for such conduct, no punishment would be too great for him. I suppose he never turned out of mornings until the sun had warmed the Earth; — and if *he* did not, the *negros* would not: — and if you do watch the motions of such people (now & then) in the mornings, it will, more than probably be the case with the rest who are on standing wages; & who feel no interest in the crop, whether it be great or small. For in this case principle, and a regard for reputation, are the only motives to stimulate industry, and unfortunately, too few of that class of (common) overseers, are overburthened with either of those.

I am perfectly sensible of the scarcity of timber at the River Plantation, and the distance it is to draw at some others; and this principally (but aided by many others) is the reason why for many years back, I have been laboring but in vain to substitute live, instead of dead fences; and which I will no longer, under any pretences whatsoever, delay doing. My frequent and long absences from home prevented my attending to the business personally; and no recommendation, nor indeed orders, could draw the attention of those to whom I entrusted my affairs in the manner it ought — for the seasons were either suffered to pass away before the measure was thought of by them, or, the work executed in such a manner as to produce no good effect. Now, as I mean to make Hedging a *business* and a *primary one*, and when I add that I cannot be more disappointed, or disobliged by anything, than in neglecting the season, and the means to accomplish the measure; I shall hope to be relieved in a few years from the great consumption of timber which such a quantity of Fencing as I have, will occasion; and the consequent transportation of the Rails to such a variety of cross fences as there are, but which, in the first instances at least, might be made of any sort, or kind of hedge that would turn Horses, Cattle & Sheep; — Hogs not being admitted.

It would be folly to place cuttings of either willow or Lombardy Poplar in grounds they will not grow; and you & the Gardener, on the spot, must be the best judge of these. Institute therefore what you may think best in their places. I look upon either, & both of these

[1] William Garner, overseer of the River Plantation.

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trees to be excellent for rearing a hedge quick; but conceive they ought to be fronted, or backed, with some other plant that is more stubborn, & durable too, if they can be had; in order to make a lasting, & formidable hedge.

You propose a change in the course of the Fence from the back of the young clover lot to the river, but I do not understand on what line, or how you propose to run it. My idea was not to alter the fence of the brick yard lot, unless to draw it as much up the hill (just above Green's house) as it could be done to be out of the view of the house; — and then from the N° East Corner thereof, to run such a fence as you seem to have in contemplation (below the summit of the hill also, so as to be hid from view) until it reached the hollow by Boatswain's house, thence to the outer fence in the nearest direction. I meant moreover, to have run another fence from the N° West Corner of the new Clover lot, by the road at the turn and gully, until it should strike the outer fence near the gate by Richard's house, which would have thrown all the intermediate ground into one Inclosure, to be divided hereafter at pleasure, into smaller lots if necessary. This would leave all the Hill sides, the broken grounds, and swamps below, which contain most grass, for a common pasture: and the way to get into it might be by a continuation of the lane, by the new quarter, and back of the smith's shop to the head of the hollow by the wild cherry tree; and which would be ye road to the old fish house landing without passing through Gates, or bars, or lot itself. The reason why I had not mentioned this matter to you before was, that I conceived work enough had been cut out already, without enumerating more; but as you seem to look forward, on account of hedging, &c, I mention these ideas without being tenacious of them. My object in clearing the grounds *outside* of the pasture, along the Road from the Gum Spring, was, that you might see the Mansion house as soon as you should enter the little old field beyond it.

I have no objection to your pursuing your own judgment as to the time fittest for plowing the Brick yard enclosure, provided the grain and grass seeds are sewn therein as early as possible. I wish both were *now* in the ground; and hope every exertion possible has been made this mild and open weather to forward your plowing generally, for it is highly probable that February and March may be unfit for this business; in which case, and not embracing the fine weather you have had, the business and your crops consequently, will be exceedingly backward.

Although you may sow the grass seeds at the Mansion House yourself, it is my wish, nevertheless, that a machine (described by Mr. Bordley[1])

[1] See p. 139, above.

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may be made to sow it at the other places; for in unskilful hands the seed is wasted, and the grounds not productive, on account of the irregularity in the sowing it. It is my wish that the buckwheat, sowed for manure, could be got into the ground as early as possible after the frosts are over, that when the first growth therefrom has ripened seed enough to stock the ground a second time, it may be again plowed in, which will afford a second dressing before it is seeded with grain.

Mr. Butler's ideas may require correction, and to be assimilated a little more to the nature of our climate and soil; but I by no means disapprove of the idea of trying the efficacy of the mud which may be extracted from Hell hole, if he can contrive to get it up. I do not mean on large scale; this would be expensive; but if the attempt was made on a few square rods of the poorest ground in the adjacent lot, with different quantities on each, the experiment might, and unquestionably would, ascertain a fact which may be of great importance to know, and as experiments of this sort can be made at a small expence, it is wonderful and inexcusable they are not oftener attempted. And though it may be imprudent to risk a whole field of turnips for the purpose of folding upon (until the land can be brought into better order) yet it would certainly be right to practice this upon a small scale at first; and advance by degrees and according to the utility and the advantages which are found to flow from it. Mr. Young[1] (of Suffolk in England) who unquestionably understands the *principles* of farming as well as any man in England, and who has had as much practical knowledge, has given it as his *decided* opinion that the stock of every farm ought to be supported by the fallows. By fallows (for he reprobates the idea of naked Fallows) he means Turnips, Cabbage, Beans, Clover and such like, as are adapted to the soil, and which are part of his rotation crops. His great desiderata is, that large crops cannot be raised without large stocks of cattle and sheep. Nor large stocks of these without the fallows above mentioned; which are the *best* if not the *only* proper preparation for crops of grain. To get fully into a practice of this sort, in this country must be more than the work of a year, two or three, but if it is never begun, it can never be executed. Turnips (where the land is fit for it) folded on, and clover, seems to be his plan.

As there appears to be more difficulty in carrying the water to the visto in front of the Mansion House than I had conceived, the work may be suspended until my arrival. But what is the reason that Davenport[2] will not make the experiment I directed with 100 bushels of wheat? If it is

[1] Arthur Young. Cf. pp. 95, 96, above.

[2] Joseph Davenport, a miller.

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delayed, the object I had in view cannot be answered by it, which was, to ascertain whether it would be best, and most for my interest, to sell my wheat in the grain, or after it was manufactured. He certainly must be a very indolent man! There is no doubt in my mind but that both wheat and flour will be as high before the middle of March as it has been yet, or more so; — a continuation of the cause (and in a degree better known than it was) of the rise in the prices of these articles will not loose its effect — but as the sales of mine will depend in some measure upon the cash in Alexandria, it is my desire that you will keep me pretty regularly informed of the Alexandria prices, that I may govern myself accordingly.

I will by the first vessel to Alexandria send oil and paint agreeable to your memorandum. The Pillars of the Piaza and other parts of the Mansion house must be examined and repaired before they are painted — after which I will have both sides of it and ends painted and sanded — as well as the Pillars. I requested the Major to have a sufficient quantity of white and fine sand brought from below for this purpose (if what I had was insufficient) but whether it ever was done or not I am unable to say; for in too many cases it has happened that the directions given in letters (when not immediately executed) are laid by and never thought of more, unless I have renewed them. — When you receive the paints I shall send from hence, the Cornice of the salt and smoke houses may be painted white in the manner you have suggested.

By the last weeks report you have been grubbing in the old meadow at D. Run. — Which meadow is it that you call the old? If it be that by the overseer's house, I hope all that was left unfinished at the former clearing of it will be now compleated, except such trees as ought to be left for shade and ornament near the house; — and all the trash entirely removed from it. By the same weeks report, from Muddy hole, a blank for the q^{ty} of Buckwheat is left. It is better not to touch a subject than to leave it unfinished.

Let Mr. Crow[1] know that I view with a very evil eye the frequent reports made by him of sheep dying. When they are destroyed by Dogs it is more to be regretted than avoided perhaps — but frequent *natural deaths* is a very strong evidence to my mind of the want of care, or something worse, as the sheep are culled every year, and the old ones drawn out.

I wish you well, and am your friend,

G^{o} WASHINGTON.

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[1] Owen Crow, an overseer.

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P. S. Jany 14. 1793. I beg that the mill may not be idle for want of wheat. The sooner indeed the residue of the Crop can be delivered there the better, and less waste will be sustained. Let me know how many stacks remain to be got out at the River Plantat^{n} — What you suppose they will yield — and how much wheat you conceive is in the Barn at the Ferry and French's.

XIV

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

PHILADELPHIA, 20 January, 1793.

Mr WHITING,

Your letter dated the 16th instant, enclosing the Reports of the preceeding week, came duly to hand. — and the parts requiring it, will be duly noticed.

Enclosed you have a list of Paints, Oil, &c^{a} which left this yesterday morning, and may, possibly, be at Alexandria (if the Vessel is not detained at Norfolk where she is to call) nearly as soon as this letter may reach Mount Vernon.

It might be well, if there is nothing to prevent it that I am unacquainted with, for Davis to finish the Painting mentioned in your last, without delay; that this work may be accomplished before the season shall arrive for making, or laying Bricks. — The Paint by advice of the maker of it, is put into small kegs, that it may not waste by drying; and it is proper whenever one of them is opened, to stick to that work until the contents therein are all used, for the same reason.

You will see by the inclosed Invoice, that two ropes for the well by the Quarter are sent — that is, one of hair, and the other of Herba: — use whichever is best, and take good care of the other and of the old one also.

I hope every attention has, and will be paid to the meat, otherwise the warm weather may taint and spoil it.

How does the wheat stand this open weather, and look? — as an interesting period for it is coming on, give me notice from time to time of the changes it may undergo: — and embrace the best season, and weather for sowing clover on such of the Wheat fields as are intended to receive it. Let it be done by the machine mentioned in Mr Bordley's Pamphlet,[1] and at the rate mentioned in some of my letters to you formerly.

I should not incline to hire white Carpenters; and I know not where

[1] See p. 139 note, above.

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those of another description are to be had: — and if to be had, numbers would afford little aid if they are not well attended to; and where a person is to be found that would do this, is yet more difficult than the other. — If the number I have would work as men ought to do, the buildings you describe as wanting would require no great time to erect. — I wished Richard's house was removed to Muddy hole, for I think the one in which Davy now lives is dangerous. This I expected would have been amongst the first things done after I left home. — I hope too that the gates will be put up as soon as they can be with convenience; and furnished with such latches as are to the white, and other gates on the Road; and not such as is on that which opens into the fields at the Ferry; which was a plague to all that entered it. — My object, in keeping the Carpenters as much together as the nature of the work would admit, was that they might be under Greens own eyes, and thereby kept to their duty: — but if he skulks from work himself, and is not attentive to theirs, they may as well be anywhere else as with him.

In my last, if I recollect rightly, or in some late letter to you, I gave it as my opinion that materials for the major's building should be laid in as fast as the work could be carried on, without waste; — and if it was not so understood by you, I now repeat it. — By this mode of proceeding, the house will meet no delay; nor will materials be provided unnecessarily. In the meanwhile, his situation and views will more and more unfold themselves.

I have six quarts of Honey locusts seeds, which by mistake, did not get on board Capt.ⁿ Ellwood in time; but they shall be sent by the next vessel — or by Post in season for Spring sowing: (the ground in the meanwhile to be well prepared for them). If there is more of the French Furze seeds to be had in Alexandria, and you have any good reason to suppose it not bad, I would advise you to provide more of it, notwithstanding I have just sent to Ireland by the advice of Mr. James Butler, for 30 or 40 lbs. of it. — And if, upon enquiry of any of the merchants in Alexandria, who may have shipping of their own, coming from England, you could import at a proper season, the English thorn, I would have you engage ten or 12,000 of them. — Do not, however, let this prevent Mr. Butler from making experiments with the Berries of the white thorn in this country; — nor suspend any other projects (for hedging) which you may have in contemplation: — the manner of doing these things I leave to you. — To get them done is the interesting part to me. — A slight watling, where there are no Hogs, would, I should conceive, answer all the purposes of preservation; — and if done with split stakes, can not last less than 4 or 5 years. — Dunging, if you have means to do it, will certainly facilitate the growth of the plants; and I should recom-

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mend it accordingly. I very much question whether the seeds of the Honey locusts which were put into the ground last spring and are not yet up, will ever vegitate (because the ground was not properly prepared for them) but if hope remains, I am willing to trust to the issue of it; especially as I have no prospect of obtaining a large supply of them.

Enclosed you have some seeds of the (blew) Maliga grape, which give to the Gardener. — Those sent last were of the white kind — in other respects the same.

If you can do without the fence that runs from N° 1 (Dogue Run) to the Mill Race I would not have it moved; — because I prefer grass lots of 20 or 25 acres to those of double the size, notwithstanding the expence of fencing — and this for a variety of reasons wch will readily occur to you; whether for mowing or grafting, or both alternately — and would have the Ditches which divide them planted with willow (either the weeping, yellow, or even those common in the swamps) for hedges, as hath been frequently mentioned; the ground being first well hoed and cleansed for the reception of them; — otherwise the labour and the plants (as was the case last year) will be thrown away: for plants will come to nothing if choaked and stifled with grass and weeds.

I am persuaded (as I observed to you in my last) that fencing at the River Plantation will be an expensive and labourious job: — and if it shall be thought safe to entrust N° 4 to the security of water fences I shall not object to one of the Carpenters assisting Mr Stuart in building a Batteau for the erection of them: — but I have great doubts on this h^d^ — and if Hogs cannot be kept from them, I am sure they will not give security to the crop that may be in it. — The shores are very shoal. The fences must be very extensive to reach beyond low water mark after a day or two of n° west winds, and if they do this, the high tides occasioned by easterly winds, are apt to over set them; and if this does not happen, Ice in the winter scarcely fail to carry them off. — However, after giving this information I leave you to your own judgment.

The Cedars between N° 3 and 4 might be plashed — laying them as the ditch runs — and cedar berries previously sown between the present growing trees, to fill the Spaces. — a hedge of this sort against every thing but Hogs, is as formidable, and perhaps as lasting a fence as can be made.

If you can manufacture such sein twine as will compleatly answer the purpose, it will, assuredly, be a very desirable thing; for there is, certainly, no proverb more true "than that a penny saved is a penny got." And as it holds good in one thing as well as another, I wish you would keep it always in view. — Do what, upon fair calculation, shall

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appear best with the shorts at the mill, and I shall be satisfied with your decision on the occasion.

Should there come a freezing spell, employ much force, and all your exertion to stock the Ice-house, if but partially. — I am very well pleased at your furnishing Dr. Stuart[1] with a plow for the use of the Estate on York River; as it is my wish to aid it in every shape I can.

Your treatment of Charlotte was very proper — and if she, or any other of the servants will not do their duty by fair means, or are incompetent, correction (as the only alternative) must be administered.

Although I desired that the Ditch which was intended to conduct the water from the Springs under the Hill to the visto in front of the Mansion house might be suspended until I should be able to view the ground; I would, nevertheless, wish to have the Springs opened; first to see what quantity of water they will afford; — and secondly, that it may be let off in its natural course, by small drains, so as to lay the boggy or springy ground which absorbs the water, dry and smooth. — It being my wish that all the ground, quite from the River bank up to that which has been sown with Lucern, should be laid down with grass seeds of some kind or other, most congenial to the nature of the soil, and the shade under which much of it, I presume, must grow. — The same I would have done all round, from this Inclosure, by the wharf to the line of locusts which run down through the Vineyard, as soon as the ground is in order for it. — Nay, quite up to the other fence when grubbed and in readiness, notwithstanding it is a common at present, and should remain so. — I remain

Your friend and well wisher

G° Washington.

XV

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 27 January, 1793.

Mr Whiting.

Your letter of the 23^d, and Reports came to hand at the usual time.

It is a little extraordinary that Davenport should delay making the experiment I directed so long as he did; and then to do it in so unsatisfactory a manner; when he knew, or might have known, that my object in making it was to ascertain whether my interest would be most promoted by manufacturing the wheat, or selling it in the grain. — I fear he is too lazy to give the necessary attention to the business which is entrusted to him; — for it was my full expectation that he would have

[1] Dr. David Stuart.

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mixed the common and white wheat by some uniform proportion together, through the whole manufactury of them; as they do at the Brandy Wine and other mills in this State; where, it is the opinion of the millers, that superfine flour, of the first quality, cannot be made without *some* white wheat — To do this would have given him a little trouble; — and trouble, I presume, is what he is not over fond of. — The price, as well as quantity of shorts and Bran, ought to be inserted in the account to give it accuracy and fairness: — and this price ought to be regulated by their proportionate value to corn and oats, in feeding the work horses. — After the danger of having the navigation of the Creek interrupted by Ice, is over, it might not be amiss to save me the expence of storage of this article flour in Alexandria. — as it can, when sold, be sent from the mill in the first instance.

I am concerned to find that the crop of wheat is likely, ultimately, to fall so much below expectation; — and it is singular that all the stacks, latterly, though equal in size and appearance, should be so unequal in their yield, when compared with those which were first got out, in August and September. — Disappointment in the wheaten crop I did not — I must own — expect. — My apprehension, that the Indian Corn Crop would fall shorts of the calculation, was always great, even before the frost, and more so afterwards. — You will, I am persuaded, have every care possible taken of it; and the Bran, which will be a valuable aid to it.

I do not disapprove your sowing the new ground at Dogue run with oats (in such quantity to the acre as you may judge best) along with the clover. — It will, unquestionably, add to the profit which is to be derived from the ground; and I think the Clover is always better when sown with grain that will protect it (in its infant state) from the sun, and preserve it against weeds, than when it is sown quite alone. — When you speak of Clover for this ground, I presume you mean to mix Timothy with it — this, in my opinion ought uniformly to be the case; except where it is sown for the purpose of seed. — I do not care by what means, or in what way, the grass seeds are sown, so as that it is done with regularity; and the quantity alotted, bestowed to the Acre. — To mix it well with sand, or dry earth (sand is best) and the quantity of seed designed to the acre given to a bushel — say rather — a bushel when mixed; and this sown by stakes where there be no regular furrows, is the best way I have ever tried; — for where the seedsman walks by stakes, and has been accustomed to sow wheat at the rate of a bushel to the acre, there can be no mistake in this mode — but he must possess more skill than falls to the lot of our common overseers who can sow the naked seed regularly, and in due proportions: and without furrows or stakes no man living can do it well, unless it be by chance.

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It will be highly pleasing to me if the swamps at the Ferry and French's could be so well prepared, as to be laid down this spring in Oats and grasses. — But if the roots, grubs, &c^{a}, cannot be radically killed, I had rather wait longer to accomplish this, than to lay the gr^{d} to grass prematurely.— For there is no greater eye sore to me than to see foul meadows; — nor indeed is there anything more distructive to scythes — or more wasteful to the grass, than to be cutting amongst stumps and succours wch spring from them. — Let this plantation, hence forward be called "Union Farm, or Plantation" instead of "Ferry and French's."

It would be well to mix your old and new Buck wheat together, before sowing. — In that case, if any of the former is damaged, it will, by a due, and proportionate mixture, fall equally on all the ground; otherwise it might be injurious to a part to be wholly deprived; but you have time enough before it is seeded, to see whether it will vegitate.

I have no objection to the fence round the vineyard having Thorn and Honey locust both for the security of it; as it must be proof against *human* as well as *brute* intruders; or I shall never be able to partake of the fruits that are within the Inclosure.

As it does not appear by your letter that any addition has been made to the sand I had many years ago brought from Point Comfort; and as that will not be enough to sand the houses which formerly had a Coat, I wish you would engage 20 or 25 bushels more to be brought up from the same or some other place, where that which is white and fine can be had. — The Norfolk Packet may, possibly, be engaged to do this.

The quantity of Hemp and Tow spun in the week, by the spinners, ought to appear in the Reports; that it may be seen how they go on: — otherwise the Report of this matter amounts to nothing — and a general account of this work ought to be kept — that when it is delivered out again, there may be an accordance between the *receipts* and *delivery*; unless this is done there is no check.

What is the matter with Old Frank, that he is always (almost) on the sick list? — I am inclined to believe that he finds the House too comfortable to quit, or he would not be so often, and so long in it at a time. — and Boatswain I see too last week was returned as a Jobber at Dogue run Plantation. —I do not wish to see any of the Ditchers, or House People employed at the Plantations, as each certainly has force enough of its own, to do all that is required of them, except ditching.

I wish you may not find N° 4 and 5 at the River Plantation, very unproductive fields; and very injurious to break, unless it is done with judgment. — My intention was to keep them for common pasture; — To have endeavoured to stop the gullies; and to have prevented the washed places from getting worse by covering them with straw; and to have

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sown the seeds of the common locust thereon, — or something that would (in a few years) have cloathed it with a growth that would have proved a remedy for the present evil. — That field is very apt to wash — at present it is very much gullied — and if uncommon attention is not paid to it in the working and in laying it down it will be unfit hereafter for grass even except in a few spots.

I am your friend and servant,

G° WASHINGTON.

XVI

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

PHILADELPHIA, 3 February, 1793.

MR WHITING,

Your letter of the 25th of Jany came duly to hand; but the usual one, containing the Reports, is not yet arrived; detained, as is supposed with the Mail, by Ice in the Susquehanna.

Under cover with this letter you will receive some beans which Mrs Washington desires may be given to the Gardener; — also Panicum or Guinea Corn, from the Island of Jamaica, which may be planted merely to see the uses it can be applied to; — and the white bent grass with the description of it by Mr Hawkins[1] (one of the Senators, who had it from Mr Bassett[2] of Delaware State, another of the Senate). If the acc^t of it be just, it must be a valuable grass; — I therefore desire it may be sowed in drills, and to the best advantage for the purpose of seed. — *These things*, which are intended for experiments, or to raise as much seed from, as can be, sh^d never be put in fields, or meadows; for there (if not forgot) they are neglected; or swallowed up in the fate of all things within the Inclosures that contain them. — This has been the case of the Chicorium (from Mr Young) and a grass which sold for two Guineas a quart in England, and presented to me. — And the same, or some other fate equally as bad has attended a great many curious seeds which have been given to and sent home, by me at different times — but of which I have heard nothing more; either from the inattention which was given to them in the first instance; — neglect in the cultivation; — or not watching the period of their seeding, and gathering y^m without waste. — The intention of the little garden by the salt house &c^a, was to receive such things as required but a small space for their cultivation. —

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[1] Benjamin Hawkins (1754–1816), Senator from North Carolina.

[2] Richard Bassett.

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and what is called the Vineyard Inclosure was designed for other articles of experiment, or for seed which required still greater space before they were adopted upon a large scale; yet, the plants which are deposited there are, generally, so over-run with grass and weeds as to be destroyed before a judgment can be formed of their utility. — This I know, has absolutely been the case with many things which have been given to me as curiosities, or for their value. — From the fancy grass (of which I have (being told that both horse and cattle are fond of it) a high opinion) I have been urging for years (it being more than five since I sowed it myself) the saving of seed; yet, it is almost in statu quo, because the necessary measures have not been taken to propagate and save the seed, and because it will not, I believe, be overcome by any thing else — whilst other things not so hardy have been eradicated by the grass and weeds.—I now desire that all these things may be attended to by the Gardener and those who are with him, aided, if necessary, by the house gang. — I will enquire if orchard grass seed is to be had here and will send some; but I must entreat you to save me, as much as possible from the necessity of purchasing seeds; for the doing it is an intolerable expence. — I once was in the habit of saving a great deal of this and other seeds annually; and this habit might easily have been continued, if measures had been taken in time for it.

I am sorry to hear that you have so sick a family. — In all cases that require it, let the Doctor be sent for in time. — As I do not know what boy (before I get home) would be best to send to the mill, the measure may be suspended until I arrive. — If the miller would be attentive (in time) to the wants of the mill, there is certainly intercourse enough between the Mansion house and it, to obtain supplies without special messengers; — and I know no right he has to be sending my people on any other business.

I have no doubt at all, of wheat and flours bearing a good price this spring; — the causes that occasioned the rise in these articles still exist, and in a greater degree; but that I may know when the price offered comes up to my ideas, keep me regularly advised of the Alexandria rates — the price here of superfine flour is 42/, and that of fine 39/ p^{r} Barr^{l} of 196 lbs. — Wheat 8/6 p^{r} Bush^{l}

It appears to me, that it is scarcely necessary to put Tom Davis to the saw so late in the season; the time is not far off when Brick laying, preparing the foundation — &c^{a} must necessarily take him from it. — Therefore, as as he is better acquainted with the business than any of my people — I should conceive he had better employ the interval in finishing the painting, unless you think (house) Frank could do it equally well.—In that case, as it will probably be the last of March before I

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shall be at home, for a few days, he might be as advantageously occupied in that business as in any other.

Speaking of laying bricks (by which I mean the foundation for the Barn at Dogue Run) it reminds me of asking again, if the Bricks at that place have been assorted and counted; that the deficiency of the wanted number, if any, might have had the earth thrown up, from the foundation of the building, in time to be ameliorated by the frosts of the winter.— Directions will forever escape you, unless you keep a pocket memorandum book to refresh the memory; — and questions asked (in my letters) will often go unanswered unless when you are about to write, the letter *is then*, not only read over, but all the parts, as you read on, is noted, either on a piece of waste paper, or a slate which require to be touched upon in your answer.

I hope the delivery to and the application of nails, by the Carpenters, will undergo a pretty strict comparative scrutiny, without expressing any suspicion, unless cause shall be given for it. — I cannot conceive how it is possible that 6000 twelve penny nails could be used in the Corn house at River Plant^{n}, but of one thing I have no great doubt, and that is, if they can be applied to other uses, or converted into cash, rum, or other things, there will be no scruple in doing it.

I can conceive no latch (sufficient to answer the purpose, and not always out of sorts) more simple or cheaper than those to the white gates unornamented, which is unnecessary. — A thin plate of Iron, kept in place by an old Iron hoop (of which I presume hundreds could be got in Alexandria for a mere song) and staple for it to catch in, is, in my opinion, as cheap as any thing that (will not always be a plague) can be devised. — The advantage of this latch is, that let the Gate swag as it may, it always catches. — The top of the flat Iron ought to shew, that strangers may know how to open it on either side, but there is not the least occasion for the round like that at the Gum spring, nor of the curl like those at the White Gates; nor is there any occasion to make the flat part longer, or stiffer, than is necessary for the spring. — Most other kind of latches after the gates settle are not only insecure but exceedingly troublesome; — instance that at the ferry, which was vexing to every one who went in — I was obliged always to dismount either to open or shut it. — However, if you know of any other kind more simple than the above, equally secure, and which will not be troublesome to open, I have no object^{n} to the adoption.

It would be proper I conceive, as the house people are under the care of Mr Butler, to entrust Will (overseer as he is called) in preference to Davis, with the command of the Boat, and such other out of sight jobs, as may occur, and require confidence; and, as they do not agree, to let

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them interfere as little as can be avoided, with each other. — The latter is high spirited, and in the instance you mention was disobedient to the other, whom he ought to have respected on two accts — namely, being his uncle, and having been an overseer. The former (Will) unless he feels hurt in being superseded in his Overseership, is entitled to more confidence; — though, I believe, both of them will drink.

Sarah Flatfoot (you call her Light foot) has been accustomed to receive a pair of shoes, stockings, a country cloth Petticoat, and a Oznabrig shift, all ready made annually, and it is not meant to discontinue yr. You will therefore furnish them to her.

As the matter has been mentioned to Mr Chichester, I now wish you would see him yourself on the subject of Major Harrison's land; and find out if you can from him, the circumstances under which it is — whether he seems to have any inclination to become the purchaser of it. — At what price pr acre, or otherwise, it was offered to him; — and for what he thinks it could be bought; —Intimating what you conceive to be my motives for making it, if made at all by me.

If the mail should arrive before this letter is closed, and I have time, I will acknowledge the receipt of it; if not, and nothing requires to be noticed sooner, I shall delay writing until this day week as usual. I am your friend &c.

Go WASHINGTON.

XVII

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

PHILADELPHIA, 10 February 1793

Mr WHITING.

Your letter of the 30th ult, enclosing the reports of the preceeding week is at hand; but the one which ought to have been here yesterday is not yet arrived: — the Mail having again met with some interruption from Ice in the Susquehanna, or some other cause unknown to me.

The Major was permitted to cut Cord Wood from the laps of the trees which had been felled for rails, either for burning Bricks or other purposes; — But it is not unlikely that his Overseer (Taylor) may cord it for sale, if he is not watched; for it is established as a maxim in my mind, that a man who will do wrong to another in one instance, knowingly, will have no scruple in doing it in every instance where it can be done without being liable to discovery. — And with respect to his keeping a horse, no matter whether, (as I suppose he will say, at his own expense) it is on his own provender, or that of his employer, it is my express request that you will, immediately upon the receipt of this letter, inform

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him (unless he can shew a written permission for the purpose, which I am sure he is not able to do) that if the horse, or mare, or any other animal he is not allowed to keep, is not instantly sent away, that I will, as soon as I reach Mount Vernon, not only turn him off the Plantation but cause him to be sued for a breach of covenant; — and for his knavery; — for it is not less so, than would be the opening of ye Maj^r^ desk, and taking his money: — nay, in my estimation the crime is greater; because a man who will defraud another who confides in him, is surely a greater villain than one who robs boldly, at the risque of his life. — You may assure Mr. Taylor in the strongest language you can devise; — you may even read this part of my letter to him; — that no pretence of verbal permission to keep a horse will avail him; for I know from various conversations with the Major on this subject, that it is next to impossible he ever sh^d^ have given such leave; — and I again add, that the pretext (if it should be offered), of feeding him at his own expence, will not way one moment.

I am very glad you directed Davenport to run his shorts and Bran through the mill a second time. — It is my wish to make the most, possible, of my wheat. — He ought, as a miller, to have known and done this without direction; — and the pretext of not going out to learn it from others, is idle. — I will warrant that his trips to Alexandria have afforded him abundant opportunity to be informed how matters are carried on at Ricketts Mill, which, I suppose, must be conducted to as good an advantage as at any of the Mills above the Blew-Ridge.

Seeing no account in the Reports of getting out and delivering wheat in the mill, I must again desire, in strong terms, that the mill may never stand a moment she can work, for want of wheat. — You are not to be told that the stream on which it stands is a very inconstant one; and, if the weather should turn dry, that the wheat will remain unground.

I should have no objection to a streightened Road from Manley's bridge onwards, towards the Mill-run; — nor to taking off part of No. 7 French's, and adding it to N° 1 opposite; provided, what is taken from the former, is capable of cultivation; otherwise, one field would be diminished in this respect, and the other not increas'd; — and this, at least in part, if I recollect rightly must be the case near the bridge, where the road is much worn down; — gullied, — and I suppose the ground impoverished. — However, I leave the matter to you; — on the spot, who can judge better than I can from recollection; — what is best to be done: — and authorize you to do it accordingly.

The plashing of cedars in the Neck, I was sure would answer, from what I had seen done at Mr Bartram's. — I have no objection to your filling the vacancies with transplanted ones, if you have confidence

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they will live; — without this the plants will be lost; and time and labor will be thrown away: you were very unsuccessful last year in transplanting ever-greens; and I have been so in all years; until I adopted the method wch has often been mentioned: — However, in this also, I leave you to your own judgment. The seed (if you have it) may be sown notwithstanding; inasmuch as it affords two chances instead of one, without loosing time which is precious. There is no doubt of your plashed cedars living, if you have not cut too deep in the kirf.[1] — Remember that the glutinous or oily substance which surrounds the Cedar berries must be rubbed off, without which they will never come up.

If Tom Davis's shoulder (the hurt of which it is highly probable did not come as he relates) prevents his working, or even painting, which requires little exertion, I hope you will make him remain with, and instruct Frank as much as he can in mixing and laying on paint. — I wish to have this work accomplished with as little delay as may be.

Thomas Green has written to me begging (having no money with which to buy it, nor the means of bringing it home if he had) that I would let him have three or four barrels of corn — As it may save him from a pretext of running about in search of it, I desire you will let him have corn to that amount; as his real and weekly wants may require: — charging him for it at the current prices, to be allowed at settlement.

How long did the ground remain covered with the snow which was falling when you wrote on the 30th ult^o^? — What effect does it appear to have had? — and how does the wheat look at this time? I am your friend and well wisher.

G^o^ Washington.

XVIII

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 17 February, 1793

Mr. Whiting.

It has again happened that, the mail which ought to have been in yesterday, from the southward, and wch will (it is persumed) bring a letter from you with the reports of the last week, is not yet arrived; — but your letter of the 5th inst^t^, covering the Reports of the week preceeding that, is at hand.

As I see no great prospect of procuring orchard grass seeds in this

[1] The word "kerf" means the "place at which a tree or branch is or has been cut across; the cut end or surface either on a felled or pruned tree" (Oxford Dictionary).

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place, if you cannot obtain it in your own Neighborhood, sow the ground whenever it is in order, and the season fit, (below the Lucern lot) with such other seeds as you shall think best; and I shall be satisfied therewith, — or cultivate it, if better.

With respect to lime, I scarcely know what to say to you on the subject; and yet no time is to be lost in having the matter ascertained. — Enquire on what terms the builders in Alexandria obtain it? — from whence? — and the cost of the quantity? for it will never do to purchase at the rate you have given for this article in retail. — Nor indeed will it do to suffer Davis, and his attendance, to use it in the lavish manner he practices; — 1st in proportioning of it to the sand; — and 2d in the thickness of the mortar joints. — He has been accustomed to use shell lime, and will not make the proper allowance for the difference in strength, between that and stone lime. — Before he enters upon the business of Bricklaying next spring, I wish you would learn from some skilful and candid workman in Alexandria, the proportions of sand and lime he uses for different kinds of work; — and whether a thick, thin, or midling joint of Morter is best. — In *this place* the modern buildings have a thin joint. — I shall by this days Post write to Colo Washington[1] of Westmoreland County, reminding him of his promise to use his endeavors to have shells sent up to me; and to know what prospect there is of his success. — I will also enquire on what terms it could be sent from Rhode Island, or Boston; but do not slacken your enquiries; nor prevent your giving me the result of them, as soon as possibly you can.

I readily consent to the lot (in the River Farm) being first seeded with Turnips, and folded with sheep after the English method, before it is laid down in clover. — And I beg that fields No 4 and 5 at that place, may, (as you have promised to do) have every possible attention paid to them; — 1st to recover them, as far as it is in your power, from their present gullied state; — and 2dly to lay them down, as to prevent this evil, in future.

I know nothing of Mr Hampson's acct (which is herewith returned) but if ye Major acknowledged it to be just, or you have any reason to believe it is so, it must be paid as soon as you are in Cash (from the sales of the ship-stuff or otherwise) to pay it. — The shingles sent by Mr Newton to Mount Vernon have long since been paid for at this place, to the order of Mr Cowper, of whom they were had.

I am sorry to hear that the Itch is among the Negros in the Neck;

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[1] William Augustine Washington, General Washington's nephew, has already been mentioned (p. 110, above).

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and hope you have provided a remedy 'ere this. — If it was caught in the way you describe, and justice could be done, Garner ought to pay for it. — I am not less concerned to hear that a disorder has got among the sheep at Union Farm. I hope every endeavor will be used to put a stop to it; as I really loose a great many of this valuable species of Stock. — I wish you would give each Overseer *positive orders* to report to *every* lamb that falls, and *every* one that dies; that I may be able to form a just opinion of the care and attention they pay to this business. — The custom of striking a balance between the number yearned [?] and deceased in the week will not satisfy me. — By this mode of reporting, there may appear an encrease of *one* lamb *only* in a week, when 20 have fallen; if 19 of those twenty have died. — True it is that such a report shews the actual increase or decrease, but it gives no idea of what *ought* to be either, and seems calculated for the express purpose of concealing their own want of care in the preservation of the Lambs.

It would, I conceive, have been better to have entrusted the cutting out of the Linnen to the Gardeners wife than to Caroline; who, was never celebrated for her honesty; and who, it is believed, would not be restrained by scruples of conscience, from taking a large toll, if she thought it could be done with impunity.

A very heavy fall of snow happened at this place on Monday night last; but the constant rain of last night and this day will, it is feared, carry it all off; under the unfavorable circumstances of high freshes and gullied fields, by the sudden dissolution there of — Wishing you well, I remain your friend.

Gº Washington.

XIX

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 24 February, 1793

Mr Whiting,

Your letters of the 13th and 17th inst: have come duly to hand, but the one, which in your last, you promised to write on the 20th (that is on the Wednesday following) is not yet received.

I have some idea that Tobacco, after being a certain time in the Warehouses (besides being subject to an annual or monthly tax) is liable also to be sold by public vendue. — Inform yourself with precision on these points, and let me know the result; and for what the Tobacco would sell. — Mr. Watson some time ago wanted to buy it.

I do not think it would answer to lay the foundation of the New Barn

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at Dogue run with round stone; and if it would, the carting of them from Muddy hole and Bricks from the Mansion (where they are always in demand) would be more expensive than making them on the Spot; from the earth taken from the foundation of the building, as heretofore directed. — Set therefore about making, at that place.

Davis ought not to be placed among the hands at the Fishery, if (overseer) Will is there; — nor indeed on any other account, as the Brick work of the Barn ought to be hastened as much as possible: — for no building was ever more wanting, both for convenience, and to prevent the loss which I am sure is sustained by theft from the grain in the open yards. — With this admonition, joined to a desire that the hands which can be best spared (that is with the least interruption to the most pressing and important work) may be employed at the landing. The allotment of them therefore rests altogether with yourself; as you can decide better on the spot than I can at a distance, who ought, and who ought not to compose the fishing gang.

If the season and circumstances (for I do not know whether you mean to remove the Houses at Union Farm on Rollers, or after taking them to pieces) will permit you to set about it immediately, there is nothing, the accomplishment of which will be more pleasing to me, than the concentration of the houses at the place allotted on Union Farm. — I regretted exceedingly, that the slothfulness of my carpenters would not enable me to effect this last autumn, whilst the ground was firm. — If you can do it this Spring without breaking in too much upon other things, it will be highly pleasing to me.

Unless you have received, or may receive any directions from Mrs. Fanny Washington respecting the building my deceased nephew was carrying on, it is my opinion that an entire suspension of it had better take place: — and with respect to the conduct of the overseer there, it is my wish and desire that you would attend to him as much as to any of my own. — And, in addition to what was mentioned in one of my last letters to you concerning him, if he should be detected in any knavish pranks, I will make the country too warm for him to remain in.

Your accounts of Davenport's sloth, impress me more strongly with the idea of his laziness. I therefore request you to tell him, from me, that I expect the season will not be suffered to slip away, and my wheat left unground; — but on the contrary, that he will work of nights, as well as in the day, as all merchant mills do; and which he himself must have done, before he fell into the idle habits he has acquired since he has basked in the sun-shine of my mill.

Harrison's land is bounded on two sides by mine — and I have little doubt is fed with timber from it; — but unless I could no with certainty

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that it is unincumbered with leases, I would not be concerned with it. — If this fact can be ascertained, let me know it.

How far have you advanced the grubbing below the old clover lot? — I am anxious for the progress of this work, but not at the expence of any other of more importance.

The correction you gave Ben, for his assault on Sambo, was just and proper. — It is my earnest desire that quarrels may be stopped, or punishment of both parties follow; unless it shall appear *clearly* that one only is to blame; and the other forced into [it] from self-defence.

If the chicorium is really and bona fide a weed, it had better be exterminated before it sheds its seed; but from (what you call) the Carolina Grass, and all others in my small Garden by the Salt House — in the Vineyard Inclosure — and elsewhere, save what seeds you can: — and if you have enough of the Fancy grass to seed the shady parts of the ground below the Lucerne lot, and should prefer laying it to grass this Spring, to cultivating it, for the purpose of getting it in better order against another year, sow this ground with that kind of seed; as I think it will grow well in a shade and appears to be a handy and durable grass; of consequence, if horses and cattle are fond of it, the cultivation must be valuable.

I would never have parted with the horse Sampson had I thought another would have been called for. — To buy and sell at one hundred p^{r} C^{t} loss, is a very unproductive business: — nor would I breed from a Horse if I could obtain colts from the Jacks: — but it is to be feared that the same causes which impede the one, would apply to the other. — However, rather than not make the experiment, if a well-formed, and good blooded horse of proper age and size could be had reasonably, I would buy him: — and if such is in your view inform me of it, with sufficient description of him, and the price; but make no positive bargain until I am advised thereof. I remain your friend and well wisher

G^{o} Washington.

XX

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 3 March, 1793

Mr. Whiting,

I have now two letters of yours before me to acknowledge the receipt of — viz — the 20th and 27th of last month.

The price of lime in Alexandria is so extremely high, that every practicable attempt ought to be made to procure shells — One of which may

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be, by hiring a vessel by the day, and sending it to my Nephew Colº Washington, in Westmoreland, near Mattox Creek with the enclosed letter. — I persuade myself if this be done he will not only furnish the shells, but aid in loading the vessel. — It is left open for your perusal, to be sent or not, as occasion may require. — Seal before sending it if it be forwarded at all.

I am in sentiment with you that such Bricks as my people make will never shew a thin, neat, and regular morter joint; and that the uneveness of the yard is *one* cause of it; — and that another cause is — not beating and tempering the clay sufficiently: remedies for both these are simple and easy; and I hope in the Bricks that are to be made they will be applied. — Make more bricks than are immediately wanting for the Barn; because they may be wanted for some other purpose, and because there must be a certain number to form the kiln for burning.

I informed you in my last, that unless Mrs. F. Washington desired the building to be carried on, that my opinion was, it ought to be stopped: — of course as she has also requested the discontinuance of the work, it must be no longer persecuted. — Let all the work that has been done, and the materials which have been provided for carrying it on, be preserved in security for further decision on this matter. — And let the two carpenters (Gabriel and Reuben) belonging to that Estate, if not other wise disposed of by the orders of their mistress, join mine under Green; and an account taken of the time it happens, that the said Estate may be paid for the hire of them.

I am as apprehensive as you can be, that Green never will overcome his propensity to drink; that it is this which occasions his frequent sicknesses; absences from work; — and poverty. — And I am convinced, moreover, that it answers no purpose to admonish him. — But if the work in hand cannot be carried on without a head to execute it, and no other presents in whom confidence can be placed, there is no alternative but to keep him; unless he should get too bad to be longer borne with; — and even then, a house so framed as the Dogue run Barn is intended to be, ought not to be entrusted to my negro carpenters or any other bungler.

I hope *all* your Gates will be fixed before I come home, provided the ground is in such a state as to admit of being *well* rammed, but not otherwise; for it would be lost labor, and a continual plague if the posts should yield to the weight of the gate, or work loose in any other manner, if the earth around them is not dry enough to bear *very hard* ramming.

Have you got the second visto so much opened as to be able to form any opinion of the view, and how it will appear from the House?

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Hampson's account must be paid as soon as you are in Cash from the sales of your shipstuff, &c.

Has the last spell of freezing weather (the ground being uncovered, and very wet) hurt the wheat? — If it escaped damage then, I hope there is no great danger to be apprehended from frosts after this. — I see no account yet of Ice being stored: Snow well rammed would have been better than letting the house go empty.

I am very sorry to hear that so likely a young fellow as Matilda's Ben should addict himself to such courses as he is pursuing. — If he should be guilty of any atrocious crime, that would affect his life; he might be given up to the Civil authority for tryal; but for such offences as most of his color are guilty of, you had better try further correction; accompanied with admonition and advice. — The two latter sometimes succeed when the first has failed. — He, his father and mother (who I dare say are his receivers) may be told in explicit language, that if a stop is not put to his rogueries, and other villanies by fair means and shortly; that I will ship him off (as I did Waggoner Jack) for the West Indias, where he will have no opportunity of playing such pranks as he is at present engaged in.

The first time you see Mr. Hartshorn, ask if there now is, or soon will be, any thing due from me to the Potomac Company; — and request him to send the acct. of it to me. — I remain your friend and well wisher.

Go. Washington.

XXI

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 10 March, 1793

Mr. Whiting.

I was very sorry to find by a letter which I received from Doct. Craik yesterday, that your old complaint had returned upon you again. — I sincerely wish that it may go off easily, and that you may have no more returns. — One means of preventing which, is to take care of yourself. — That is to attempt no more than the Doctor thinks you can accomplish without injury to your health; — for you may be perfectly assured, that I not only do not desire you to attempt more than you can execute with ease and safety, but that it is my particular and earnest request that you would not; — both on your own account and mine. — A little nursing, with gentle exercise, may restore you to a good state of health. — To attempt more may destroy it altogether, and place my business in a very unfavorable situation.

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By this time, you must have seen enough into Mr. Butler's character, to determine whether, or not, he possesses skill, industry and integrity. — If your impressions of him are favorable throw a good deal of your own duties on him; — and in case they are not, save yourself notwithstanding, by making the Overseers come to you for, instead of your going to them with, orders respecting the Farms. — Although you may not be able to see to the execution of matters knowing what ought to be done, you can direct the Overseers as well as if you were actually on the Farms, and this I should greatly prefer to your running any hazard by a premature exertion.

Having nothing particular to write upon, I shall only observe that on the 7th instant I put on board Captn Ellwood for Alexandria, addressed to the care of Mr Porter of that place, 13 quarts of Honey locust seeds; of which I pray you to cause the best use to be made this Spring.

If at any time you should be too much indisposed to take the weekly reports, and on the usual day to transmit them, let Mr Butler do it; as I am disappointed always when they do not come to hand. — I wish you the perfect restoration of your health and am, your well wisher and friend.

Go Washington.

XXII

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 24 March, 1793

Mr. Whiting,

I have received your letters of the 18th, and 20th, instant, and am very glad to find by them that you have got about again. — Be careful not to do any thing that may occasion your disorder to return. — It is not my wish that exertions in my business should bring on a relapse. — Pursue the Doctors advice with respect to the quantum of exercise proper for you; — and avoid night rides, which are very pernicious, even to a man in health.

I shall leave this on Wednesday next, so as to be at Georgetown on the Monday following (the first of April); and if not detained there on business, shall be at Mount Vernon the day after. — I shall take Osborne and the two Postilions with me; and eight horses; the last of which you will provide for in the best manner you can under the want of oats. — One bed will be sufficient for the two Postilions; but they will make use of two, if two are in the room; for which reason let one of them be taken away and deposited in the Garret of the Great-House.

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The Maltese Jack should be advertised for covering — on the same terms as last year — the other, if his performances last year are approved, I shall keep for my own Mares. — The advertisements ought, by good right, to be in the Baltimore, Annapolis, Alexandria, Fredericksburgh, and Winchester Gazettes. — If I should, on my way down meet with a stud horse that I think would answer the purpose you want, I will buy him. — In that case he ought to be advertised for covering also, and not to remain a dead charge upon me.

If you sow clover seed on no other field than N° 7 at Dogue Run, it was unnecessary and wrong to run me to the expence of purchasing as much as I did: — as it will grow worse, if not yet spoiled, before another season. — It is high time that the Sp^g sowing was over.

You say Mrs. Washington's carpenters have been at work with Green since the 11th of the month, but in his report of the 17th he takes no notice at all of them. — and Mr Butler's Plantation reports are such as I can neither make head or tale of. — In some no acc^t^ at all is given of the Stock; and in none is there any mention of the increase or decrease. — I return them — wishing, if they can be made more intelligible and correct, that it may be done: for my reason for calling for these reports is not for the mere curiosity, or gratification of the moment; — but that I may see into, and be informed of the State of things at any past period, by having recourse to them hereafter; as they are all preserved.

I wish you would employ a few hands in opening the visto, before I reach home, that I may be able to form an opinion thereof, immediately upon my arrival. — I would not have the Gate Posts put in, until the ground is in perfect order for it. — Nothing I presume is done towards removing the Houses at Union Farm as nothing is said about them.

As I shall be at home so soon I shall add nothing more in this letter, than my best wishes for the perfect restoration of your health, and that I am,

Your friend,

G° Washington.

XXIII

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 21 April, 1793

Mr. Whiting.

On Wednesday last I arrived in this City to dinner, without meeting any interruption or accident on the Road. — and this day received your letter of the 17th. instant, with all the Reports of the two preceeding

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weeks, except those of the Gardeners and Spinners; neither of which, for either week, were enclosed.

I did not suppose that this was the season for demanding payment of taxes of any kind. I may be mistaken however; but as I do sincerely believe the under sheriffs in Virginia to be among the greatest rascals in the world; it is my desire that you will get their demands from them in writing, and lay these before some gentlemen well acquainted with these matters; and know from him, first, when they have a right to destrain for the levies; — for until that time you may with-hold payment, so as to give yourself time to provide the Tobacco or money; — 2dly, whether the quantity of Tob^{o} demanded by them is just; — 3dly, whether they have a right to fix 3^{d} or any other cash price by way of commutation; — and 4^{thly}, to know if you cannot discharge their just claims, to get the Tobacco for less than 3^{d} p^{r} lb.

Let me know if the scantling is delivered according to the Bill I sent, and what the price of it is; — also whether any oyster shells have been received; — the quantity and price; — and your prospect for more? — these should be paid for as delivered, to encourage the shippers to repeat their voyages.

The middlings and ship stuff may be sold to answer the money calls which you will have upon you: — but I entreat that these may be as few as you can possibly make them; — for I acknowledge, altho' I have no doubt of the justness of the acc^{t} you handed to Mr Dandridge, that the am^{t} was beyond what I expected to see in so short a time; — but as I had not the particular articles to refer to, it was not in my power to form an accurate Judgment of the necessity for them, — but there is one rule — and a golden one it is — that nothing should be bo^{t} that can be made, or done without. — People are often ruined before they are aware of the danger, by buying everything they think they want; conceiving them to be trifles, without adverting to a Scotch adage — than which nothing in nature is more true — "that many mickles make a muckle." — I am more pointed in giving this sentiment, because I perceive many things were yet to be got at the Instance of Green, from the Stores in Alexandria. — He will not care what cost I am run to for carpenter's tools.

If it is that part of the ground, in the little swamp at Union farm, adjoining where the Overseers house is to be, that you have sown in oats, and mean to lay down with Clover (if you can get the seed) I shall be much mistaken if it produces either; as I take it to be as poor as any on the farm; and standing as much in need of Buck Wheat, or some thing else as a restorative. — The sides of the Swamp below it, are, in my opinion, in much better condition to produce Oats and Grass

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than that; — but it is my earnest desire that the spot in the lower meadow at the Mill, between the Race and the old bed of the Run (in Potatoes last year) should be laid down in Clover and Timothy, or timothy alone this Spring; that the whole of that meadow may become mowing ground as soon as possible: — and the Square above (in Corn last year) so prepared, as to be fit for mowing the succeeding year.

I wish to know precisely, what ground you have sown, or mean to sow with Clover, or Clover and Timothy this Spring. — And, as I do not believe it was done before I left home I desire you will have the Ox eye window in the Green house, so secured as to guard against another robbery of that loft. — The same with respect to the Corn loft, for that I know (intending several times to speak about it, but forgot to do so) is in the same situation as when the corn was stolen from it. — I wish also to know the quantity of Clover Seed that has been given to each field, or lot, which has been sown there with the past winter or present Spring: and here I cannot help expressing, that, I felt both mortification and vexation, to find an ignorant Negro sowing these seeds contrary to my reiterated direction to have them mixed with sand, or dry earth. — The consequence of not doing it will be, I expect, that the fields will either be loaded with, or so barren of seed, as to be wasteful in the one case, or unproductive and useless in the other: — whereas, if the quantity of seed intended for half an acre had been put into half a bushel, and that half bushel filled with sand or earth as above, and well mixed; the same cast that would have sowed wheat (which he was used to) would exactly have answered for the Grass seed: — and, if this admixture of them had been made by the Overseer, there could have been no embezzlement of the seed when so mixed. — Without it, is there any reason to hope that the seeds were more secure in the hands of a Negro seedsman, suspected of being a rogue, than it was under a good lock? — I am thus explicit, on this occasion, because I would have it clearly understood, that when I do give positive directions, in any case what so ever, they are not to be dispensed with.

As soon as all your wheat is sent to the Mill, inform me of the whole amount, and what each field has produced. — And when the Fishery is closed, let me know the result and profit of it. — lay in suff: for my own people.

I am extremely anxious that the Honey locust seed that I sent hope [home?] this Spring should be put into the ground, either where the plants are to stand — or into a Nursery. Not doing this will be the loss of a year, and too many of these have passed of already, unprofitably for this purpose — I am absolutely against further delay. — It would be a formidable outside fence from the Mill quite round to and by Peaks;

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and nothing would be more agreeable to me than to see such an one growing there.

I did intend, but believe I forgot to desire, that at your next sheep shearing, three things might be attended to with great care. — first, to cull every sheep, Ram, Wether and Ewe, that should appear old and unthrifty, to be used in Harvest, or disposed to the Butchers before Autumn: —Keeping them where they could be got in good condition by that period. — This, it is to be hoped, would prevent such frequent reports of their death, and support a healthy flock. — Secondly, to chuse a sufficient number of the best formed, and best wooled ram lambs to breed from. — And thirdly, to separate at this time the Rams from the Ewes (for I found them running together last summer) and keep them apart until Michaelmas. — To these a fourth thing might be added, and that is, to keep the ewe lambs of last year from Rams this, unless they are well grown, and not to be injured by going to them.

I am glad to find you have begun to plant corn — I wish it was all in the gr^d for I have generally found (although there are exceptions to it) that early planting turns out best: — and as soon as circumstances will admit, it might perhaps be as well to commence planting your potatoes at the Mans^n House.

It did not occur to me to direct, when I ordered the frame for Dogue run Barn to be got, — or rather, as my people knew I had often directed it before, I thought it unnecessary to repeat — that the stocks were to be hewed on two sides only, because the slats, for bridges and other purposes, would be extremely useful. Now, I suppose it is too late to do it to much effect; — yet, it may be done, so far as the case will admit.

Are the Jennie's with foal? and how many mule colts is it supposed I shall have this Spring. — Let there be a regular Register of all the Mares that go to the Jacks, and to the stud horse this spring; and handed to me when the season is over.

As it may not occur to me again in time, I now desire that the fleeces may be well washed before they are taken from the Sheep; otherwise I shall have a large part of the wool stolen if washed after it is sheared. I desire also that each overseer may be made responsible by attending to it himself, for the safe delivery of it to you — and it is my request that, as it is brought in, it shall be weighed, and an account thereof together with the number of fleeces from each Farm sent to me immediately.

Enclosed is an open letter for Mrs. Fanny Washington's overseer, which I wish you to deliver and have an eye to the Plantation, now and then, when you may be going to the River Plantation.

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I hope you continue to gain health and strength. — but do not let these tempt you to do things which may bring on a return of your disorder. I wish you well, and am, your friend,

G° Washington.

XXIV

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 28 April, 1793.

Mr Whiting,

Your letter of the 24th inst^t with the weekly reports, except Greens, which was not among them, came to hand yesterday.

With respect to the Sheriff's acc^t, given in by Ch^s Turner, it is my desire now (and was so expressed in my last) that you would enquire of some person well acquainted with the taxes, whether the rates there charged are the legal ones? and by what authority, if the Parish tax was levied in Tob°, he has converted it into 4/2 cash? — If it is an arbitrary act of his own, and you can discharge this tax by purchasing Tob° on more advantageous terms than he has charged it — or, if he is not warranted in making such a charge, I will not pay it, because I am resolved not to submit to the impositions of such sort of people.

Upon the back of each clerk's note, I have directed what is to be done with them. — Those which are to be paid by me, you are to settle for at 12/6 p^r C^t; unless you shall be advised by those who are well knowing to these matters that they have a right to the Tobacco. — This, I am sure, was the law formerly, and I have no reason to believe it is altered since, but have more reason to suspect these or some of them have been paid before: — for it is very unusual for the clerks and sheriffs to let their fees lye over two or three years, when there is a regular collection for them every year, or officers whose business it is so to do. —.I wish also to know how it comes to pass that in Fairfax Parish I am charged for 376 acres of Land seperately. — I do not, unless I was at home and could have recourse to my Papers, know the agregate quantity of my land in that Parish — but sure I am, I have no seperate tract in it of 376 acres.

I am very glad to find you have obtained a temporary supply of lime: but if you could get the shells (even at 25/p^r Bush^l) it would make that article come much cheaper than buying shell lime at 9^d. I think I have been told that one bushel of stone lime will go as far as three bushels of that made from shells — but the quantity of either which it will take to lay a thousand Bricks, is more than I am able to inform. — This knowledge

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you must learn from a comparison of different accounts, to be obtained from the Bricklayers in Alexandria; — as also the difference between the two kinds of lime; and the proportion of each to sand; and make Davis conform strictly to it: without which he will (as he always has done) put a great deal more lime than is necessary. — I once made an experiment of this sort (in the wall which runs from the Stercorary to the Ice house) but have forgot the proportions, in the different parts of that wall but recollect well that in some parts thereof there was considerably more sand than usual, therein. — When you know the kind of lime you are to use, and how much of it in the laying of a 1000 Bricks will take, you can be at no loss for the total required; as the Plan gives the number of Bricks which the building will take. — Of shells you need be under no fear of an overstock; — but of lime, if it grows worse by keeping, I would not procure much more than is sufficient for that work. — The foundation of which I should be glad (now you have got lime) to hear was begun; I mean the Brick work; that no delay may happen to the Carpenter's work; the first of which that will be wanting, is the pieces for the sleepers of the lower floor to rest on; and next, the windows. — I request that, in laying out the foundation you will be present, and attend to the directions I have given; for I shall be mortified if any mistake happens: — and I wish also, that particular attention may be paid to fastening the bars in the cills of the windows; — and that the ends of these window cills may be worked into the pillers of the wall: — for on these two things the security of that apartment (with a good door and lock) absolutely depends.

I am very glad to hear you have got part of the scantling; and of a good kind; and that you expect the rest without delay. — Will you have shingles enough? Almost any kind will do for the top; as it will be pretty taunt, and when drawing to a point will require narrow ones.

Is all the Peoples cloaths made that Charlotte should be out of work? — The spinning in this case, or indeed in any case, ought to go on expeditiously; to provide for the Fall cloathing.

Mr. Washington informs me that her overseer (Taylor) has applied for a Cart against Harvest; — and requests that I would give such orders as I shall think proper concerning it. — a cart of some sort I suppose is necessary; — but as I know there is a pair of truck wheels belonging to the Plantation, a proper body put to them by her own people (an acct of the time they are about it to be rendered and deducted) might suffice; as the wheat will not be to be drawn far. — The Corn ground at this Plantation must be kept clean and well worked, that it may be laid in wheat in August.

I perceive by the Report from the River Plantation that some of the

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hands were engaged in gathering and sowing Cedar berries — which I was glad of — but if the gum, or glutinous substance was not rubbed of before sowing, the time and labor spent in this business will have been all lost.

The late stormy weather has I fear, not only checked your fishing, but in all probability has put an entire stop to it — as the season is now far spent.

It was not my opinion when I left Mr Vernon that the coach mare was with foal — but I yielded it to that of others. — Let her be put to Traveller.

The Gardener applied to me, and seemed earnestly to wish, that he might be removed from the House he now lives in, to that in which Mr Butler sleeps, on acct of its having a room to lodge in above (which a decent woman would require) and another below to cook in, with a floor unsusceptible of fire. — Had this request been made before Mr Butler went into it, I should have yielded to it without hesitation — as well for the accommodation of the woman, as for that of Mrs Washington when she comes home, for she (the Gardener's wife) would be more at hand there, to receive her directions, and to do what might be required of her about the house, than she could be at the other house; — and I wish, even under this circumstance, the thing to take place. — If Butler does not incline to go to the House where the Gardener at present lives in — (which by the bye is a very proper situation for an Overseer to be, to keep order and quiet in the family) he might have shoemaker Wills old apartment scoured up, and made a little decent, and go into that, as he wants nothing more than a place to sleep in — whereas the Gardener and his wife require for eating, washing and lodging more than one Room, to be decent, which the woman seems to be. — There is a very good room over the kitchen where Fairfax (your predecessor) used to lodge — but as the Major occupied it as a store room, I would not, if the things belonging to that estate are still in it, have them removed, lest it should be considered as a slight.

In looking over the last weekly report that has been forwarded to me, I perceive the allowance of meal to Muddy hole is increased one peck, Union Farm, and River farm two pecks each, — and Dogue Run Farm three Pecks: — whether this addition, with what goes to their absent hands is sufficient, I will not undertake to decide; — but in most explicit language I desire they may have a plenty; for I will not have my feelings again hurt with complaints of this sort, — nor lye under the imputation of starving my negros and thereby driving them to the necessity of thieving to supply the deficiency. — To prevent waste or embezzlement is the only inducement to allowancing of them at all — for if,

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instead of a peck they could eat a bushel of meal a week fairly, and required it, I would not with-hold or begrudge it them.

Mention every now and then how the wheat comes on and looks — Oats, Buck Wh^t and the new sown grass also. I remain your friend and well wisher

G^o WASHINGTON.

XXV

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

PHILADELPHIA, 5 May, 1793.

Mr WHITING,

Since my last I have rec^d your letters of the 26th of April and 1st of this month.

I did not entertain the most distant suspicion of your having charged any thing in the acct. exhibited to Mr. Dandridge but what you had actually paid for my use. — For if I could suppose you capable of such a violation of the principles of honesty, and so lost to the trust reposed in you, my confidence in you would depart, and I should think my concerns very unsafe in your hands. — I only meant to guard you against an error which is but too common, and the ill effects of which, oftentimes not foreseen, before they are severely felt; I mean that of not avoiding the purchase of *things*, that can be done without, or made within oneself. "A penny saved, is a penny got" — from experience I know, that no under overseer I have ever yet had, nor any of my black people who have not the paying for the articles they call for, can be impressed, (as it respects me) with these ideas. On the contrary, things are seldom taken care of by them, when they are lost, broke, or injured with impunity; and are replaced, or renewed, by asking for more. — For these reasons as far as it is consistent with *just* propriety, make the overseers, Green and others, who have the sub-management of parts of my business, responsible for whatever is committed to their care; and whenever they apply for a new thing, that you will be satisfied of the necessity there is for granting it; — if to supply a worn thing, to see the condition of, and to take in the old one. — Unless this care and attention is used, you will be greatly imposed upon yourself, and *I* shall feel the evil of it. — I am perfectly satisfied that as much is made by saving (or nearly so) as there is by the Crops; that is, by attention to the crops when made, stocks of all sorts; working cattle; Plantation utensils; Tools; fences; and though last, not least, to the Negros: — first by seeing that they have every thing that is proper for them, and next, that they be prevented, as far as vigilance can accom-

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plish it, all irregularities and improper conduct. And this oftentimes is easier to effect by watchfulness and admonition, than by severity; — and certainly must be more agreeable to every feeling mind in the practice of them. — Speaking of accts., and finding some articles of my deceased nephews mixed with mine; I request that, although they are, or may be, paid with my money, yet that they may be kept entirely distinct from my accounts.

I cannot say that the Rams were not seperated (as they ought to have been) from the ewes at shearing time last year, but from my own view I can (I think at Union Farm) say I saw Rams with my sheep in the month of August last. — Whether my own, or belonging to others, I know not. The last would be worse than the first, as I believe my sheep are above mediocrity, when most others are below it. — As I am constantly loosing sheep I wish this year, you would cull them closer. — The flock would be benefitted thereby, whilst I might get something for the refuse; instead of the frequent reports of their deaths. — And I wish you would reprehend the overseers severely for suffering the sheep under their respective care, to get so foul as I saw some when I was at home, particularly at Dogue run Farm. — It is impossible for a sheep to be in a thriving condition when he is carrying six or eight pounds at his tale. And how a man who has them entrusted to his care, and must have a sight of this sort every day before his eyes can avoid being struck with the propriety and necessity of easing them of this load, is what I have often wondered at.

Having sheep at five different places it has often occurred to my mind whether for a certain part of the year — say from shearing time or before until the first of December (or until the end of the period for folding them), they were, except the Rams, brought into one flock — distinguishing before hand those of the seperate farms by conspicuous marks made by tar, or red lead in different parts, and placed under the care of a trusty negro, if there be such an one, whose sole business it should be to look after and fold them every night in hurdles made light and removed with the sheep from farm to farm; as the food at each would be eaten by them, and become scant. — I think I should get my fields dunged sooner and better by this means (with other common assistance) than by any other. — Shifting their walks frequently would certainly be serviceable to the sheep, if so great a number together would not be injurious; — especially as thefts, and other depredations might be committed without the knowledge of their keeper; for I know not the negro among all mine, whose capacity, integrity, and attention could be relied on for such a trust as this. — I do no more than suggest the idea for consideration; when you have

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given it consideration let me know the result of your thoughts on the occasion.

I was afraid the heavy rains and long easterly winds would prove injurious to the fruit, and probably to the grain, if they should continue; but I did not expect to find that I was to loose calves by it;— four of wch I find by the River Farm Report are dead. — This, and looking over the other Reports, and finding thereby the small number of calves I have, leads me to apprehend that there is some defect in the management of this part of my stock; for it is inconceivable that out of 300 head of cattle I should have but about 30 calves, as appears by the last week's report. This must proceed from the want of, or from old and debilitated Bulls. Let me know whether the fruit (of different kinds) is injured by the easterly winds which have blown so constantly; — and whether the wheat &ca. appear to have received any hurt. — The Oats, Buck wheat and grass will, I hope, be benefitted by the Rains, and it would give me pleasure to hear that your White thorn, Willow, Poplar and other cuttings were coming on well? — Does the last and present years planting of Honey locust seed come up well — and is there any appearance of the Cedar berries, Furze seed, Lucern, &c., &c., coming up and answering expectation? and is your corn coming up — or likely to rot in the ground with the wet weather we have had?

The outer fence — from the mill to the Tumbling Dam should be secured as well as the nature of the thing will admit. — That it is bad, I will readily grant. — and that the man (John Fairfax) under whose superintendence it was erected, ought to be charged with all the timber and labor expended thereon, I will as readily allow; but to think of what ought to be is unavailing, when there is no remedy but to make good deficiency's, and avoid future errors.

I have again written to Col^o^ Willm Washington respecting oyster shells, but would not have you, on that acc^t^, slaken your endeavors to procure them, as I cannot procure too many of them *before* they are burnt. — Lime might spoil, Shells will not.

I approve much of your setting Davis about the Brick work of the Barn, and hope he will carry it on expeditiously, that there may be no interruption to the carpenters.

I am well satisfied, by engaging the Scantling of the Alexandria merchants, that I pay 10 or 15 p^r^ c^t^ more than I should do at the mills. — The advantage of doing it is, that one gets it by a Bill without waste; — and you have some one to report to for damages in case of disappointment, for it is well known that the skippers of shallops, of whom one might engage it, pay no sort of regard to their engagements unless

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there interest is promoted thereby; — so that any contract entered into with them, is only binding on yourself. — If, however, I should, after seeing how I go on with the Barn at Dogue run, resolve to build another at the River farm, and you can get the scantling on better (and as secure) terms than the last, it will be very pleasing to me you should do it.

I would not have you proceed to Loudoun with a view to see Major Harrison, and to talk to him concerning his Land. — If he is disposed to sell on such terms as I can afford to buy, I shall get the Land; as I have already empowered Mr Lewis to buy it; but this need not be mentioned — an attempt through another channel would induce him to enhance his price, from a supposition that I was very keen to bargain, and his ideas of its worth is already too high, from what I have heard through that channel before mentioned.[1]

Let me know what quantity of Clover seed you will want, that I may decide in time whether it will be best to purchase here, or in Alexandria; — but is there no way of avoiding this expence by having the seed, or part of what is wanting, yourself?

I consent to your placing a temporary gate at the foot of the lane at Mansion house, as mentioned by you; though it is an awkward place to fix one. — My idea is, but this will require more time, to continue that lane from the corner of the new clover lot until it strikes the fence in the hollow by, or north of, the other Gate. — In that case only the present gates would be to be opened in approaching the House; and a gate out of that lane would open into the great Pasture; and secure the Garden, Lawn, &c^a, in the manner proposed in your letter. — A gate at the lower side of the Vineyard inclosure between that and the Lucern lot, or a sett of bars, appear to me to be as necessary for security of the Gardens, Lawns, &c^a, as at the other end — as Hogs are always

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[1] "I would not have you seek (at least apparently) Major Harrison; but if you should, or could conveniently fall in with him soon, and without forcing the conversation, talk with him again on the subject of his land adjoining me, and extract anything farther from him on the subject thereof that might be useful to me, I should be glad to know it. The enclosed letter to me from Mr. Chichester, the only person (except Thomas Mason, his son in law, who also has *poor* tenanted land adjoining Harrisons) that can in my opinion step forward as a competitor, shows his ideas of the value of it; — but altho' this may be the *intrinsic* worth, yet, circumstances considered, I would give more for it, if it is unincumbered with leases, than the sum therein ment^d, or would give by way of Exchange lands in Kentucky for it" (Washington to Robert Lewis, March 7, 1793, quoted in Conway's George Washington and Mount Vernon, p. lx).

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thereabouts, and Horses and Cattle can come along the shoar, that way.

If you intimated to Mrs. F. Washington the inconvenience it would be to the business of my Farms to have two horses at this busy season taken away for any length of time, it is to be hoped, after she gets to Berkeley, they will be sent down; — but if this circumstance was not known to her, it is not likely that this will happen.

I hope as Frank can have little to do in the House, you will make him go on with the painting; under strong injunction to be careful of that, and the Oil.

Do you not get paid for the cask when you sell middlings and ship stuff? it always used to be a custom to do this. — Enquire whether this is not the case now.

Desire the Gardener to be very attentive to the Seeds and Plants which, at different times, I have sent to him, to sow and cultivate. — and to raise what seed he can from them, especially from the S^{t} foin in the little garden.

I remain with best wishes for the continuance of your health, and am your friend,

G^{o} Washington.

P. S. When your fishing is completed, let the seins be throroughly dried and packed away securely from Rats and mice. Were they to be thoroughly repaired, they would be the better for it.

XXVI

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 12 May, 1793

Mr Whiting.

Your letter of the 8th with the Reports came duly to hand.

From the constant easterly winds which have blown ever since I left Mount Vernon, I expected the Fishery would end poorly, and therefore am not disappointed at your report on this head.

The clerks' notes, which I return, must be paid; That from the Clerk of the District Court at Dumfries, I presume, comes against me as executor of Col^{o} Colvil;[1] but that you may be sure of it, the first time you go to Alexandria, shew it to Mr. Keith, who will be able to decide whether the whole, any part, or no part, is on that account. — If it is, the amount ought to be charged to that Estate; — as also a note from

[1] Col. Thomas Colvil.

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that same place sent to me some time ago "continuances against Stuart &c 90 lbs Tob°" and Fairfax clerk's note 80 lbs. Tob° "Recording Colvil's Estate acct." If Mr. Keith should require these, in order to introduce them into the general settlement let him have them. — What has been the issue of the suit against Pool? I recollect to have heard that he was bro^t before the Court for something, — and the Payment of 60 lbs. of Tob° agreeably to the enclosed note is, I hear, all I am likely to *get* by it, that I know of.

I know of no seperate tract of land that my deceased Nephew Major Washington had in Fairfax Parish — and I am much mistaken indeed if that where his Plantation is, has not always been included in the tract of which it is part. — But I know of no remedy until I shall have leizure to examine my Papers, and to correct many abuses which my peculiar situation has involved me in.

Let there be a half bushel, no matter how rough, 4 boards nailed together will be as good as the best, made for the morter maker; and, when you have ascertained from the best information, what is the best proportions of lime and sand, order the Person who mixes them by no means to depart from it. — From my own observation little or no attention has been paid to this hitherto, which, added to the self will, and conceitedness of Tom Davis, has been the occasion of an unnecessary use of lime. — I would wish to know the exact quantity of Lime that is used in the building at Dogue run, as it will be a guide in future: and to come at this will be very easy — as you know what was bought and can measure what remains, when the work is compleated. — Confine your purchase hence forward to shells, because they will receive no injury; whilst Lime would spoil by keeping.

I will send you a pair of scales capable of weighing 200 lbs. — But what is become of the scales which were in the store? — These for their size were as good as could be made. — Let me know what weights there are belonging to them. — For weighing yarn, wool to the Spinners, &c^a, &c^a, none, surely can be better than those.

Medicines shall also be sent: — I cannot get clover seed either at this place or New York under eight Dollars a bushel that can be warranted, but if that in Alexandria is European seed, I would not be concerned with it; unless you are allowed to prove it. — More than probable it is old, if it has escaped the heat of the ships Hold.

Whensoever the Superfine flour is delivered remember that as much (or wheat to make it) be reserved as will suffice till the new comes in.

I am glad to hear that the Grain and grass look well. — inform me regularly how they come on. — and do not suffer them to interfere with each other in cutting. — The fields of Clover in the vicinity of this City,

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exceed any thing of the kind I ever saw for luxuriency — I am not less pleased to find by your acc^{t}, that the plants and cuttings which have been set out for the purpose of hedges are taking well; and am anxious to hear whether the Cedar berries are likely to vegitate. — What appearance does the plashed Cedars make? — Has many of them died?

If it is indispensably necessary to get a new cart for Mr Washington's Plantation, I must direct it accordingly; — but as it is uncertain what will be done with it after the present year, no expence that can well be avoided ought to be incurred on that place; — especially in this instance of a new Cart, as the wheat w^{d} be to be brought but a little way even if it comes to the old treading yard. — If the cart must be had, one for oxen is preferable; and if I have any to spare they may go there and welcome.

From what little I saw of Mr Butlar when I was at home, I fear he is not calculated for my business, or any other that requires activity and spirit. — If upon further trial he should give stronger evidences of this, it may not be amiss to inform him in time that my purposes are not likely to be answered by his services; and therefore it will be prudent for him to look out, against another year, for some other place; — Nay, if he does not fulfil his agreement, it must be done sooner. Let the exchange between him and the Gardener take place (if it has not already happened) immediately.

Has any Mares been brought to the Jack, or stud horse, besides my own? — and in that case what number? — If the horse is in good order, it might not be amiss to shew him in Alexandria at Court, on Monday the 20th inst^{t}; it being Whit-Monday also. — Let me know if the mare I left at home is in foal or not.

It is with extreme vexation I find my orders, which were given in the most explicit and unequivocal manner, that the complaints of my Negros of the want of bread, are still suspended in their execution, or evaded as they have been to the utter defeat of my intentions! which were prompted by motives of Justice in the first place — and to avoid in the second, the imputation of with-holding the needful support from them; thereby driving them to, or at least affording a pretence, for the commission of thefts.

Mrs Washington desires you will direct old Doll to distil a good deal of Rose and Mint water, &c^{a}; and we wish to know whether the Linnen for the People is all made up?

Was the Globe and Saddle sent from Mount Vernon to Alexandria? they are not yet come to this place.

I remain your friend and well wisher,

G^{o} Washington.

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XXVII

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 19 May, 1793.

Mr Whiting,

Your letters of the 10th and 15th are both received; and it gives me pleasure to find by them that appearances for good crops are still favorable. — I hope they will continue. — The Hessian fly is among the wheat in these parts, and doing much injury to it.

When I directed Frank to be employed in prosecuting the painting, it was under an idea, and from what I thought my recollection had furnished, that there remained part of what I had requested to be done, yet unfinished; — particularly the tops of the necessaries and two Garden houses; for if these were done when I was at home, I own I have been under a mistake. — By a recurrence to my former letters respecting this business, you will see what it was I wanted done; and if it be done, I desire no further proceeding in that way at present; as the Mansion house and offices both (if I mistake not) want some repairs before they can be painted, and at any rate more skill than Frank possesses to do them properly.

I do not think locust pins would do for fastning the treading floor. 1st because I think they would work loose, and in that case endanger the legs of the horses. — 2dly because perforating the Joists in so many places, and so near together, might weaken them too much (if the holes were bored deep, and unless this was done the 2½ inch square pieces would soon work loose) — and thirdly because it would be extremely tedious to make the pins and bore the number of holes that would be required. — Spikes will unquestionably come high, as will the nails also, but these expences are incidental to the work, and not to be avoided; — but to make the expence as easy as you can, do not entrust too many nails at a time with the workmen; — but compare there calls for, with the application of them (which will be no difficult matter) and thereby check both waste and embezzlement. — the last of which is most to be apprehended. — If by taking whole barrels (I mean buying by the barrel) you can get the sorts you want cheaper, it is better to do so, as they will be wanting for other purposes.

If, after returning the shells which have been borrowed, you should, with what will be left, make your whole stock on hand 1000 bush^ls^, I conceive it will be enough; provided the information you have received of the quantity which will lay a thous^d^ bricks, be just.

I think you did very right in putting Reuben along with Davis, as

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the Brick work will require to be first done; — but, I wish you to tell Neuclus, as from me, that if his pride is not a sufficient stimulus to excite him to industry, and admonition has no effect upon him, that I have directed you to have him severely punished and placed under one of the Overseers as a common hoe Negro.

I am satisfied from what you have said, that it would not be proper to bring all my sheep into one flock, and so to be penned; — and if you think drawing off two score of the latter, and most indifferent lambs is proper, it may be done, but not till they are weaned, or *actually* seperated with their mothers from the rest of the flock; — for unless one of these is done, I am sure, that so far from havg. 40 of the worst disposed of, I shall have that number of the choicest taken, if from the flock at large, — so well am I acquainted with the practices and contrivances of the Butchers; — and the inattention and carelessness of the Overseers, to whom they may go, if taken away as they are wanted. — I had rather not part with one, unless this apprehension of mine is fully, and compleatly guarded against. — All the declining sheep of every sort might be disposed of, after they can, by good pasture and attention, be got in order for it. In a word, I wish every possible care may be used to improve the breed of my sheep; and to keep them in a thriving and healthy state. — The same with regard to my Cattle; and there is no measure so likely to effect this as by a judicious choice of the subjects that are bred from. — It is owing to this that Bakewell[1] and others, are indebted for the remarkable quality and sales of their cattle and sheep; — the like attention would produce the like effect in this, as well as in other Countries. — I am fully persuaded, if some of my *best cows* were selected, and put to (what is called) the Callico Bull, and all the calves which took their shape and appearance from him set apart for Breeders, (for I am told his make is exactly that which Bakewell prefers and aims at getting,) that I should, in a few years have a very valuable breed of Cattle. — Such conduct will apply equally to sheep. — The quantity of either species of stock — that is Cattle and sheep — ought, in my opinion, to depend wholly upon the support which can be provided — and that, the more you have of both with an eye to this consideration, the more you may have, as they do, in themselves, afford the means, by the manure they make.

If for the sake of making a little butter (for which I shall get scarcely anything) my calves are starved, and die; it may be compared to stopping the spigot, and opening the faucit, — that is to say, I shall get two or three shillings by butter, — and loose 20 or 30/ by the death, or in-

[1] Robert Bakewell (1725–1795).

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jury done to my calves. Milk sufficient should be left for them, — or a substitute provided; otherwise, I need not look forward either to the increase or improvement of my Stock.

Not a moment should be lost, after the Wool is taken from the Sheeps' backs, in having it spun and wove, that it may be made up in time for the negros clothing: — and Grey should be told that if he does not weave it as fast as it is carried to him, that he shall not only loose my custom, but, must look out for some other tenement; — because this, and not the Rent, was the inducement for placing him there. — However, speaking of the Rent, let me enquire whether he pays it regularly or not.

I have no intention of Renting any of my fishing landings for a term of years, — consequently, have no objection to your providing a new, and repairing the old sein, against another season — and approve of your laying in a number of Fish Barrels agreeably to your suggestion; especially if you can buy them at what you suppose, which will be much better than making of them by my coopers.

If Mr. Butler is the kind of man you describe him to be, he certainly can be of no use to me; — and sure I am, there is no obligation upon me to retain him from charitable motives; when he ought rather to be punished as an impostor: for he well knew the services he had to perform, and which he promised to fulfil with zeal, activity, and intelligence. — A stirring, lively and spirited man, who will act steadily and firmly, being necessary; I authorise you to get one if you should part with Butler;[1] for it is indispensably necessary that a stop should be put to that spirit of thieving and house breaking which has got to such a height among my People, or their associates. — As one step towards the accomplishment of which, I desire you will absolutely forbid the slaves of others resorting to the Mansion house; — such only excepted as have wives or husbands there, or such as you may particularly license from a knowledge of their being honest and well disposed. All others, after sufficient forewarning, punish whensoever you shall find them transgressing these orders.

It is high time, in my opinion, that you were planting the Potatoes at Mansion house; — and rather than suffer the ground to get grassy, or wait for the return of the Horses which were lent Mrs Fanny Washington (an event quite uncertain, as she was at Dr. Stuarts' the 9th instant waiting for her brother-in-law, who might not come at all) I think you had better get a sufficient number of Plows from the Plantations, and cause it to be got in order without delay.

[1] Butler remained on the plantation till October, 1794.

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My mind is impressed with many things, which you have been required to give answers to, which have never been received; — and this will forever be the case if you depend upon the mere reading a letter over when you set down to answer it; without first noting on a slate or a piece of waste paper, every point as you come to it, that requires to be touched upon; crossing it when complied with; — or to stand uncrossed if you are unable to give an answer at that moment, until you can do it at another time. Among these things is one of a very interesting nature to me — namely, an exact experiment and worth of an hundred bushels of wheat when manufactured, compared with the price of it in grain — that I might decide therefrom whether it would have been best to sell my wheat or manufacture it into flour, before it was too late to decide. — After frequently writing and pressing this matter, I at length got an imperfect statement made from light wheat; but was promised a more perfect one, but which has never been recd; although it is months since it was promised. — I mention this as one instance, because, if 100 bushels had, in time, have given me the same evidence of the fact, which I fear the whole quantity of my crops has done or will do, I should have sold my wheat in grain; which would I presume have commanded a dollar pr. Bushl. at any time; and this on 4009½ bushls. wch. I perceive has been delivered at the mill, would have amounted to in Virg. Curry. £1202 . 8 . 0; whereas the quantity of flour made from it, viz 283 barls. of superfine, and 317 of fine, the first at 33/ and the other at 31/, which I believe, is the highest that has been given, comes to no more than £988.6 — difference £214.2 — Now, if the middlings, ship stuffs, shorts and bran does not amount to this difference, all short of it is loss; besides lying out of my money — the hazard of selling the flour, and risk of its souring if I cannot dispose of it to advantage before the warm weather sets in. I have selected this as an important instance of suffering things to escape. I could enumerate many more of no other or greater moment than as they would have gratified me; not being able to see things myself. But the reason why I mention this, (as I am fully satisfied you have every disposition in the world to comply with my wishes) is merely to let you see that it is by trusting too much to your memory, that these things happen. I am persuaded no instance has happened of your asking me a question by letter — or applying for directions without receiving an answer. The reason is, that whenever I set down to write you, I read your letter, or letters carefully over, and as soon as I come to a part that requires to be noticed, I take a short note on the cover of a letter, or piece of waste paper; — then read on to the next, noting that in like manner; — and so on until I have got through the whole letter and reports. Then in writing my letter to you,

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as soon as I have finished what I have to say on one of these notes, I draw my pen through it and proceed to another, and another, until the whole is done — crossing each as I go on, by which means if I am called off twenty times whilst I am writing, I can never with these notes before me finished, or unfinished, omit any thing I wanted to say; and they serve me also, as I keep no copies of letters I write to you, as Memorandums of what has been written if I should have occasion at any time to refer to them.

I wish you well. Y^r friend,

G^o Washington.

XXVIII

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 26 May, 1793.

Mr Whiting,

Your letters of the 17th and 22^d inst^t came duly to hand.

Scales with such weights as you have required, will be sent to you by the first vessel bound to Alexandria: — and as there is reason to apprehend a rise in the price of Iron, I propose to send you a tonn thereof by the same opportunity; let me know therefore, as soon as this is received, the sorts which will suit you best. — I shall also send the spike nails which will be wanted for the new Barn, from hence: — 1st because I can, it is supposed, get them cheaper; — and 2dly, because they may be had of any size; — and I am told not less than 6 inches will do as each piece will be seperate from the other and more apt (being narrow, only 2½ inches square) to work loose on that account. — When you write to me as above, let me know the price of 8^d 10^d 12^d and 20^d nails in Alexandria as they are sold by the Cask and by the lb; that I may decide on the propriety of sending them from hence, or buying them there; and the sorts you may want. If they go from hence I shall send whole casks, although I want to know how they are sold by the pound; — that being the way by which they are sold here; — and necessary for me to know, that I may be enabled to form a comparison of the prices.

When you receive the Scales and W^ts I request that the latter (especially the small ones) may always be under lock when not in use; — otherwise, in six months, you will not have one. — The Scales in the store whilst I attended to them formerly, were well supplied with weights.

My last letter gave you my ideas respecting Frank's painting so fully that I have nothing to add on that head in this.

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I am almost certain that the morter with which the Bricks at the Barn at Union Farm, and all my other works was not composed of more than ⅓ lime; however, if good judges and practical workmen say it ought (of shells) to be half, I would have it so ordered. — It is to be observed, however, that the lime is of no other use than to cement the particles of sand together; — and these again to the Stone or Brick. — It is the Sand therefore, and not the lime, that forms the strength: more therefore than is just sufficient to answer this purpose is not only wasted, but is a real disadvantage as you will often see in work; by the morters falling out for want of cohesion. Much depends upon the goodness of the sand, which ought to have as little dust as possible mixed with it. Suppose you take a pint of lime and a pint of sand, and other proportions, and mix them for experiments. When dry you will see and be able to form an opinion of the just proportions, which will do on a large as well as a small scale.

I wanted no fresh proof of the rascality of Thos Green. — Nor would I retain him in my service, if I could get any other to carry on my business; but such a building as he is about could not, I am sure, be framed by any of my negro carpenters.

If the wheels at Mr Washington's Plantation can be repaired, let it be done in preference to buying a new pair, for the reasons formerly mentioned to you.

Mention is made I perceive in the reports of Carts carrying Bricks at the new building, to the workmen. — If I recollect the distance they have to do it, it would seem to me as if the time and labor which must be spent in loading and unloading the Cart would carry them by hand, or in a wheel-barrow without half the loss. — I mention this not because I am certain of the fact, but as a matter worthy of attention, and to be decided upon by experience. — or at least by calculation.

You say in your letter of the 22d that the wheat at Dogue run is now all out of the straw. — I conclude therefore you are now able to give me an acct of the Crop at each farm. — and the yield of each field, — and I desire it may be done accordingly. — The reservation of a very few bushels will be sufficient for the use of the Mansion house; for my coming home, situated as public matters are at present, depends upon such a variety of things as to render it very precarious; and Mr Washington's coming will depend upon the time it is probable I can remain there; which from present appearances can be but short. My wish is to be at Mount Vernon about the last of June (in the time of Harvest). and I shall want to be down again about the middle of Sept. — But whether I shall be able to accomplish both, or either, is more than I can decide. — My stay in either case will be short, and this renders Mr Washington's coming at all more uncertain. — It will be unnecessary

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therefore to make any extra: preparations for this event, so uncertain in its happening.

Your acc: of the state in which the Grain and Grass on my farms is, surprizes me; the first being so forward, and the latter so backward. — The reverse, in a degree, is the case here; — for clover is now cutting, pretting generally; and not till within these two or three days have I seen a stalk of wheat headed. — Is there any indication yet of injury to the wheat from the Easterly winds and wet weather which have happened so frequently this spring, according to your apprehensions expressed some time ago? — Does the wheat seem to head well? — that is, is the ears long, or short, and free from smut? — How does the thin wheat in No. 7, River Farm, and No. 4, Muddy hole, appear at present? Has the Buckwheat come up thick and does it grow fast? — what prospect have you for oats? and for flax? — and how does the young clover come on?

How is the ground in French's large meadow disposed of, or to be disposed of; for I perceive there has been a good deal of plowing in it. — and finding the same thing in the Report from Dogue run, as done in the Mill meadow, with a good deal of grubbing also, I wish for the same information respecting this meadow; being always pleased with every step which has a tendency to lay these grounds to grass.

Although I am very anxious to hasten the New Barn at Dogue run, yet as Hay time and Harvest will not wait, and is of the highest importance to me, everything else must yield to them: and if I thought it was necessary, I should, in strong terms, urge you to begin the latter as soon as you shall think it safe, by lying a day or two in the swarth. The advantage of cutting the grain early last year was evident; — and will always be found safest and best in all cases, especially where there is a large harvest: — the latter part of which besides shattering much, is often, very often indeed, laid down an lost from the Rains which frequently happen at that season, whilst the straw is rendered of no use; having no substance left in it. I hope, and do expect, that the overseers will be pointedly charged this year to see that the ground is raked clean. — In Garner's fields last year I was really shocked to see the waste that appeared there. — It is not to close harvest soon, but to accomplish it well, that ought to be the aim, and the pride of these people, notwithstanding they receive standing wages instead of shares. I told Garner last year that if the latter had been the case, I am very certain such waste would not have appeared.

Although others are getting out of the practice of using spirits at Harvest, yet, as my people have always been accustomed to it, a hogshead of Rum must be purchased; but I request at the same time, that it may be used sparingly. — Spirits are now too dear to be used otherwise.

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It is not my wish, or desire, that my negros should have an oz. of meal more, nor less, than is sufficient to feed them plentifully. This is what I have repeated to you over and over again; and if I am not mistaken, requested you to consult the Overseers on this head, that enough, and no more than enough, might be allowed. — Sure I am I desired this with respect to Davy. To ask me whether this, or that quantity is enough, who do not know the number of mouths that are to be fed, is asking a question that it is not possible for me to resolve. — Formerly, every working negro used to receive a heaping and squeezed peck at top of unsifted meal; and all others (except sucking children) had half a peck, like measure, given to them; — with which I presume they were satisfied, inasmuch as I never heard any complaint of their wanting more. — Since the meal has been given to them sifted, and a struck peck only of it, there has been eternal complaints; which I have suspected arose as much from the want of the husks to feed their fowls, as from any other cause, 'till Davy assured me that what his people received was not sufficient, and that to his certain knowledge several of them would often be without a mouthful for a day, and (if they did not eke it out) sometimes two days before they were served again; whilst they (the negros) on the other hand assured me, most positively, that what I suspected, namely feeding their fowls with it, or sharing it with strange negros, was not founded. — Like complaints were made by the People at Dogue run and at Union Farm; which altogether hurt my feelings too much to suffer this matter to go on without a remedy. — Or at least a thorough investigation into the cause and justice of their complaints; — for to delay justice is to deny it. — It becomes necessary therefore to examine into the foundation of the complaints, *at once*, and not to wait until a pretext should offer to increase the allowance. — Justice wanted no pretext, nor would admit of delay. — If the application for more was unjust no alteration *at all*, ought to have been made; for, as I at first observed, I am no more disposed to squander, than to stint; but surely the case is not so difficult but that the true and just quantity may be ascertained; which is all they have a right to ask, or I will allow them. — Neither the people at River Plantation, nor any about M. Hole did, to the best of my recollection make any complaints, but only knowing the quantity of meal which was served to them, and not the number of mouths to be fed with it, I supposed, especially in the latter case (the first having little opportunity of making known their wants, as I was not more than once or twice on the Farm) that enough was allowed them. — I have been thus particular, because I would wish to be clearly and fully understood on this head, that you may act accordingly.

I am surprised to find by your letter that the Gardener has thoughts of

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leaving me; For when I was last at home, he put the question himself to know if I would retain him; — and being answered that I had no desire to part with him, he said he was *very glad of it.* — I did not, it is true, nor did he say on what terms; but I took it for granted it would be at the wages of his last year, with a just and proper allowance for the services rendered by his wife, which I always intended, and am still willing to make. It becomes necessary, however, to know immediately and decidedly too, what his intentions are; and when his term expires; that, if he is not disposed to remain upon such, and lay as I like, I may take measures in time to supply his place. — I wish you therefore (after communicating the unexpectedness of his intention to go) to apply in my name, and know what I have to depend upon. — He, like many others, I presume has golden dreams, which nothing but experience can demonstrate to be the vision only of an uninformed, or indigested imagination. Time, and the expences arising from Rent, provisions to be purchased, liquor, of which probably he will take too much, Fuell, and a hundred other items of which probably he has never estimated, will convince him, too late perhaps, that he has left a safe and easy berth to embark on a troubled ocean, where soon he may find no rest.

What color and sex is the coach mare's colt with you? — Nancy (the other coach mare) foaled on Whitmonday in like manner. Take great care of the one with you. What is become of those mules set apart for my use, and how do they look? Let them be kept well. I am your friend,

G° Washington.

XXIX

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 2 June, 1793.

Mr Whiting

Your letter of the 29th ult^o^ is received.

It gives me pain to find by it, that the Rains which you have had has gullied the fields more than they were. — I wish, as I did on former information of this kind, that if it be practicable, these breaches could be repaired, always as soon as they happen. — Unless this is done, in time, they grow worse and worse, until the fields are disfigured, and in a manner ruined by them.

If you have had as much rain with you, as has been here the week past, your apprehensions on acc^t^ of the wheat will have undergone no diminution: — for I think the Sun has not been seen here since Monday

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last — raining more or less the whole time, with the wind invariably at East. — Is there any danger of the grain lodging? — that is the case here. I am affraid Rust will get among it also.

Does your Corn stand well, and grow fast? and have you been able with so much wet to keep it clean?

It is the duty of the Miller, the moment he has closed his annual manufacture, to render me an exact acct. thereof; — and this, let him know I expect he will do without delay, and with exactitude, with his signature annexed to it — charging the mill with every bushel of wheat that has been received into it, and from whence; and at the Alexandria price for large crops; — and crediting it with all the superfine and fine flour that has been made; the first at 34/ and the other at 32/ pr. barl. — with all the middlings, ship stuff, shorts and Bran, at what they have actually sold — or would sell for. — Such an acct. as this is the only *true* criterion by which to decide whether I have gained or lost by manufacturing my crop. — The trial of 100 bushels was only for an experiment, to enable me to judge *before hand*, whether it would have been best to have sold, or manufactured my wheat. Nor is cleaning of it in the manner you speak of, a way to make the experiment a fair one. — A hundd. bushels of such wheat as would have been indisputably merchantable in Alexandria without extra: cleaning to bring it to 60 lbs. pr. bushl. or any other given weight, ought to have been the exact quality for the experiment; because every oz. of this, whether shrivelled or light, dust or what not, would have gone into the measure, and so much pr. Bushl. or pr. lb. would have been allowed for it at that place; whereas if you extract *all this* and make up the quantity afterwards 100 bushls., the profit by manufacturing will unquestionably appear greater than it is in reallity: because what is blown away by the different operations for cleaning in the mill is a deduction from the wheat if sold in grain, and no addition to it when manufactured. — I mention this to guard you against deception in the experiment you were about to make with 500 bushls. (cleaned in the manner you speak of) and which you had prepared for grinding, repeating again, that to ascertain this point *now*, or at any time hereafter, the wheat with which the experiment is made, should receive no other cleaning than such as to give it a good character with the merchant, if sold in grain; because all that is blown out of it at the mill is lost; unless the miller's Poultry or my Hogs derive a benefit from it.

In my last I informed you of my intention of sending the spike nails from hence. — These, with a Tonn of Iron, Medicines, and several other things will go by the first vessel that will sail after I receive your answer to the queries therein contained.

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When Reuben finishes the work he is now engaged in, have his trowel taken from him and put into the store. — The same might be done with Neuclus', at least if not Davis or I shall have new ones to buy whenever they engage in fresh work; for these things, if not lost or stolen, are frequently sold for their own emolument. — How does the brick work of the New Barn advance? — Is the whole wall raised equally? — And in that case, how many course of Brick is it up?

Perhaps it might have been better if the shells were good, and at the landing, to have taken them; unless you were under engagements to the first man, because, if they are removed out of the tides way, and the washings of the Roads, they will receive no injury from time; and the plague we have had hitherto to get *any*, and the expence of stone lime which I have been driven to the necessity of buying at an *enormous* price, would make one wish to avoid the like difficulties again. — Colo Washington wrote me a few days ago, informing me that the man he had engaged to supply me, had delivered one load of lime and two of shells — about, as he supposed, 500 bushls each load; and wished to know how many more I should want; — adding that Branson (I think that is the man's name) complains that 25/ for live shells as good as his, was not enough; wanting 27/6 for what he might thereafter delivered. — I answered, if the shells were really live ones and good, I should not stand for the difference; and thought one load more might answer all my purposes; but you may take two according to the experience you have had of the consumption to the 1000 bricks — and perhaps it had better be done at *all events* as a store of what can neither waste nor spoil, will be no sore.

I am not from recollection, able to find out what Green is sawing Plank for. — If my memory serves me, all the Plank for the New Barn was to have been purchased — except the 2½ Inch square pieces for the treading floor. — Worthless as he is, I am sorry to hear of the accident that has happened to him — and hope, however appearances might have been at the time, that he will not ultimately, loose more than the finger, which you say is actually off.

Perceiving by the Reports that the Ditchers have been employed in repairing the Post and Rail fence from the Tumbling Dam to the mill, I hope they have done it well. — It is the only attonement they have it in their power to make me for the villainous manner in which it was done at first; and for which they ought to have been severely punished; but not more so than him, under whose superintendence they worked.

Having my book of accts with me, I find Wm Gray stands regularly charged with the Rents; but I find also, that by the settlement made the 5th of October last, by my deceased Nephew, in which he (Gray) is

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credited for all his work, for fowls, &c., up to the 13th of Septr. that he was indebted to me £13. 15. 11. besides some expences for slays [?] over and above the money he gave Osborne to buy them with — I mention this matter, because, it is more than probable he will not be the first to do it himself: but under your supposed unacquaintedness with the fact, will be applying for money as fast, and to the amount of his weaving, without ever casting an eye back, or thinking of paying off old scores with it.

I never was more surprised than to find only 1457 lbs. of wool from the shearing of 568 sheep (2¼ pound pr. Fleece only). — From the beginning of the year 1784 when I returned from the army, until shearing time of 1788, I improved the breed of my sheep so much by buying and selecting the best formed and most promising Rams, and putting them to my best ewes, by keeping them always well culled and clean, and by other attentions, that they averaged me as will appear by Mr. Lear's acct. (my present secretary and who then lived with me,) rather more than under five pounds of washed wool each. — And in the year 1789, being requested by Mr. Arthur Young to send him a fleece of my Wool, I requested my nephew to *see* that Mr. Bloxham took one from a sheep of average appearance at shearing time, and send it to New York where I then was, to be forwarded to that Gentleman. — This was accordingly done, and weighed 5¼. — How astonished must I be then at the miserable change that has taken place since; and but for the caution I gave you to guard against the roguery of my negros, who formerly have been detected in similar practices, I should have concluded at once that between the time of taking the wool from the sheep and the delivery of it into your hands, a very large toll indeed had been taken from each fleece; for I do not suppose (for fear of detection) that *whole* fleeces would be taken; the number from each Farm being known I hope, and expect they will be got up again to their former standard, as I know it to be practicable with care and attention to do it; particularly with respect to the Rams. — It is painful to receive no report unaccompanied with the death of some of these animals; — and I believe no man is more unlucky in the deaths or in the accidents to Horses than I am; for I am continually losing them by one means or another.

Col^o Fitzgerald has been obliging enough to tell me, that if, at any time, you should need information in any matter that he can aid you, he will give it with great pleasure. — As he is a well informed man and an old acquaintance of mine, I wish you to avail yourself of his offer. — With respect to my Tobacco, he is of opinion, that if it is of the quality I am taught to believe it to be, was put up dry, and looked well when last examined, that I had better remove it to the Inspection at George-

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town, at which, if it would pass, I might expect 40 p^{r} c^{t} more than where it is — I have answered that I would desire you to call on him the first time you go to Alexandria with such information on these several points as you may know yourself and can obtain from those who inspected it in the first instance, and have examined it since. — These facts ought to be well ascertained before any attempt be made to remove the Tobacco — for the Inspectors at George town are very strict, and no Tobacco that is not of a good quality, well handled, and put up dry, will pass. — I ought therefore to be pretty certain that mine will stand these tests; otherwise I should get out of the frying pan into the fire.

By the reports (if I mistake not) the Roan, or which may perhaps distinguish her more clearly — the mad mare, has had a mule colt this Spring; but I do not know whether it is by the Young Jack or the Knight of Malta, nor is it very material if the color suits. — This with the Spring mules from the two Coach mares, must promise three very fine ones; if a fourth of proper color from a good and well looking mare, either of this or the last Spring, can be selected, it is my wish that every possible care be taken of them and their dams to keep the first in the highest order. Has the lame chariot mare (left at home two years ago, and now I believe at River Farm) a Colt? — from her one would be valuable. — There is another valuable mare wch I have drove, and I believe at the Mansion H^{o} that must furnish a good colt if she has any. I request also that those wh^{h} were selected last year may meet with proper care and attention, as I am exceedingly anxious to get a set to drive, but fear I never shall, for it appears to me, as if they were converted to the Plow as soon as they arrive at the age of three, and I left to have recourse to a younger set, and so on; which practice, if continued must cut me out for ever.

I wish you well and am your friend,

G^{o} Washington.

XXX

TO ANTHONY WHITING.

Philadelphia, 9 June, 1793.

Mr Whiting,

In due course of Post I have received your letter of the 31st. of May and 5th instant; and was equally surprised and concerned to find by the last, that your health was in the declining and precarious state you describe it to be, because you had not given the least intimation thereof in any other letter, since my departure from Mount Vernon.[1] — I can

[1] Whiting died soon after.

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only repeat now, what I have often done before, that it is by no means my desire that you should expose yourself in the discharge of my business; — or use greater exertions than your strength will bear; — or more exercise than is good for your health; or, in a word, to attempt any thing that the Doctr. shall not think proper for you: — for having a full view of the state of my Plantations in your mind, and knowing the design for each, you can from the weekly reports (which may be made to you oftener by the overseers, if necessary) give such directions as would naturally result from them, — which is the best expedient both for yourself and me, that occurs to me at this moment — being unable since the receipt of your letter to think of a single person whose qualifications would fit him for the superintendence of my business. — If any such has occurred to you, I would thank you for naming him, hoping, nevertheless, that occasion will not require one; for having a proper character in view may not be amiss whether wanting or not. From my own experience (and the measure was recommended to me by eminent Physicians) wearing flannel next the skin is the best cure for, and preventative of the Rheumatism I ever tried, — and for your other complaint, which you suppose to be in your lungs, a vegitable and milk diet I should suppose would be proper; avoiding as much as possible animal food. Of this however the Doctors must be a better judge; — and if you chuse to have any in these parts consulted and will state, or get your case stated, I will lay it before the person highest in reputation here as a Physician, and send you the result. — I shall *endeavor* to be at Mount Vernon by the first of next month; — but the nature of public business is, and likely to remain such, that I dare not promise at that, or any other time, to be there; — and happen when it will, my stay must be short, as I cannot be long absent from the seat of the Government whilst matters are so delicately situated as they are at present. — If you have, or could procure a few oats against I arrive, they would be acceptable to my Horses. — I shall bring only 4 or at most five with me; — nor shall I be able to stay more than 10 days at farthest.

You may tell the Gardner[1] that as I am not fond of changing, and as I am sure he would very soon find his error in leaving me — I will allow him £30 pr. ann, that is to say 100 dollars, provided he will engage to stay two years at that rate; — and will allow him the same perquisite of the Garden, when I am from home, he now enjoys; and a horse six times a year to ride to Alexandria, provided he is not kept out of nights. — With respect to his wife, after increasing his own wages so considera-

[1] John Christian Ehler, who had been secured for Washington in 1790 at Bremen, by Henry Willmans, Danish consul at that place.

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bly, I must be well informed what services she is to render before I shall agree to make any further allowance to him, in addition for her; for I should think that he himself, or the woman, or any other who is actuated by a just and honest way of thinking, will readily acknowledge that giving her Provisions is an adequate compensation for the trouble of weighing out, and receiving in, the work of the spinners once a week, if all the intermediate time is devoted to her own business. — If she does more than this for me the case differs from my conception of it; and from what I had in view at the time she was first spoken to, for then it was my full expectation that after the 4th of March I should return to a permanent residence at Mount Vernon, and in that case to have made her the Housekeeper; which from the nature of the Office would have occupied her whole time, and of course would have entitled her to a proportionate reward. — But if she has not done, nor is likely to do more than weigh out and receive in work, and receives her provision for this, there is no cause that I am able to discover, for enhancing *their* wages on that acct.

The weather cannot have been more wet with you, than it has been here until Thursday last; since then it has been dry with a hot sun, which will recover the looks of the corn if you can, in addition, extricate it from the Grass and weeds. — As you still think that the easterly winds we have had will injure the wheat, let me know how you expect it will be effected by them: — Whether by Smut, Rust, white heads, or something else. — I see nothing now to injure the grain except by its not filling, by its taking the rust; — or lodging.

As it was intended that the first sown buckwheat should ripen a sufficiency of seed to sow the ground a second time, I should hope this second operation would recover the ground from the bad condition it has been thrown into by the preceeding Rains, and prepare it finely for wheat; tho' it may occasion the sowing of it later than my inclination would wish it to be.

My fears are more alive against damage from drought, if the Easterly Winds cease, than from the rains which they have occasioned. — A long Drought after so much wet would be very injurious to the Corn; — second cutting of grass; — &c.; besides baking the ground so hard as to render it impossible, in a manner, to work it properly. — If this should happen, let the ground intended for the reception of grass be well broken with Rollers before sowing, that it may be laid level and smooth.

I wish with all my heart the Potatoes at Mansion House were planted, and that the crop may be productive. It is growing full late for this business, and of course hazardous — wch I regret the more as I am

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resolved, henceforward, to plant them between the corn rows at Dogue run farm, if at no other. — I have never yet seen any thing to induce me to believe that the crop of corn is lessened thereby, and sure I am the wheaten crop which follows, is not; — of course the Potatoes is all gain.

I would not have you ask the white thorn plants from Mr Thomson Mason as matter of favor; — but if you should, at any time, fall in with him, it could give no offence to ask if he would sell those which grow in the open field adjoining numbers 7 and 8 at River farm; — and, if the price is reasonable, to buy them.

When I consented to give up the first set of mules that were chosen for my carriage, it was because I was told they did not match well, or promise much, — but that others were coming on, from which a *very good* set could be drawn. — It is after these latter I have been enquiring, and wish care to be taken.

I do not conceive that the strength of a joist, or sleeper, consists in its width, but in the depth; — however, if Green thinks those designed for the treading floor are too slight the evil is easily remedied by putting on more of them, — that is, placing them nearer together.

What is the matter with Long James that he is forever on the sick list? — Is there any apparent cause for it? — by this I mean, has he fevers, a disentary — or anything that will speak for itself? — or, is the complaint — *Pains* — wch may be real, or feigned; — the last of which can at any time, be assumed, and very often is.

By Ellwood, who talks of sailing on tuesday, but who will not in all probability leave this before Thursday, if then, you will receive sundry parcels according to the enclosed list, which may be brought from Alexandria when the Boat goes up with flour to Colo Hooe.

I sincerely wish you will [be] perfectly restored to health, being your well wisher and friend

Go Washington.

On behalf of Mr. Franklin B. Dexter, a Corresponding Member, Mr. Edes alluded to an early celebration of Washington's birthday at Milton, Massachusetts, on 11 February, 1779.[1]

[1] In a paper read before this Society in February, 1906 (Publications, x. 253–258), Mr. Albert Matthews, after speaking of the celebration at Milton on February 11, 1782, remarked that this was perhaps "a belated date." Mr. Dexter's extract proves that such was the case. On March 3, 1779, Ezra Stiles wrote: "Gen. Washington's Birthday celebrated 11th ult. at Milton" (Literary Diary, ii. 324).

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Mr. CHARLES K. BOLTON read the following paper on —

CIRCULATING LIBRARIES IN BOSTON, 1765–1865.

As early as 1674 Francis Kirkman, a London bookseller, had conceived the plan of circulating a part of his collection of books. It was this scheme which suggested itself to Boston booksellers toward the end of the eighteenth century, when a quickening of the intellectual life in Boston became evident.

John Mein, an Edinburgh bookseller, arrived in October, 1764. Having brought with him a quantity of books, linens, etc., he opened a store with Robert Sandeman, nephew of the famous preacher,[1] and advertised many wares, including "English and Scotch Prayer-Books" as well as "Edinburgh Beer and Porter by the Cask or Doz."[2] Mein soon dissolved his partnership with Sandeman and in 1765 opened a bookstore and circulating library in King (now State) Street, "at the London Book-store Second Door above the British Coffee-House."[3]

[1] See Publications of this Society, vi. 110–114.

[2] Massachusetts Gazette, October 10, 1765.

[3] For a note on the British Coffee House, see p. 5 note 3, above.

I am indebted to Mr. Albert Matthews for the following information. Mein and Sandeman came in the same ship with the latter's uncle, the Rev. Robert Sandeman. The following notice appeared in the Boston Gazette of October 22, 1764 (p. 3/2):

> Thursday last [October 18] . . . arrived here . . . Capt. Montgomery in seven [weeks] from Scotland; . . . In Capt. Montgomery . . . came Passenger the Rev. Mr. Sandiman who performed Service Yesterday at Mason's Hall in this Town.

In the Boston Gazette of November 19, 1764, was printed an advertisement of which the following is a part.

> Mein & Sandeman
> Have imported from Great-Britain,
> the following Articles, which are to be
> Sold very cheap for *CASH*, at their
> Shop nearly opposite to *Bromfield's*
> Lane, Marlboro'-Street, Boston.

The name of Mein & Sandeman is last found in the Boston Gazette of February 18, 1765 (p. 2/3). On June 17, 1765, Mein alone was occupying the same shop, where he remained until late in September or early in October (Boston Gazette, June 17, 1765, p. 3/2; September 23, p. 4/1). In the Boston Gazette of October 7, 1765, Mein's goods were advertised "to be Sold at the LONDON BOOK-STORE (lately improved by Messi'rs. *Rivington* and *Miller*)

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In 1765 Mein advertised a Catalogue of his twelve hundred books "in most branches of polite literature, arts & sciences."[1] Plays, novels, and poetry were mentioned among more serious volumes to be lent at £1 8s lawful money per year, 18s per half year or 10s 8d per quarter. The price of the catalogue was one shilling. Subscribers were cautioned to send in six or eight numbers from the catalogue to avoid being disappointed. Those living in the country might pay a double subscription and take "two books at a time." An attendant was present from 10 to 1 and from 3 to 6 daily. In an address to the public Mr. Mein stated that a number

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the second Door above the BRITISH Coffee-House, North Side of King-street" (p. 3/1). In October, 1764, Rivington and Miller occupied the London Bookstore, then on the "North Side of the Town House" (Boston Gazette, October 8, 1764, p. 1/2). In December, 1764, they moved to the shop later occupied by Mein (ibid., December 10, 1764, p. 2/2). See also p. 6 note 4, above.

[1] A copy is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It has the following title:

A / CATALOGUE / OF / MEIN'S / CIRCULATING LIBRARY; — / CONSISTING / Of above Twelve Hundred VOLUMES, in most / Branches of polite Literature, Arts and Sciences; / . . . / Which are LENT to Read, / At One Pound Eight Shillings, lawful Money, *per* Year; Eighteen / Shillings *per* Half Year; or, Ten and Eight Pence *per* Quarter; / By JOHN MEIN, Bookseller, / At the LONDON BOOK-STORE, / Second Door above the BRITISH COFFEE-HOUSE, / North-side of KING-STREET, BOSTON. / . . . / BOSTON: Printed in the Year MDCCLXV. / [PRICE, One Shilling lawful Money.] Pp. 57, 2, 1.

Mr. Matthews informs me that the Catalogue was advertised as "This Day Published" in the Boston Gazette of November 4, 1765 (p. 3/3), where also will be found a notice "*To the PUBLIC.*" It would be interesting to know in how many other American towns circulating libraries had at that time been established. That Mein's was not the first in this country is proved by an advertisement of Garrat Noel, to which Mr. Matthews calls my attention, inserted in John Holt's New-York Gazette of September 5, 1765 (p. 3/2), notifying "The Subscribers to N O E L's circulating Library . . . that there is an Addition made of several new Books." To Dr. Austin B. Keep of the New York Society Library I am indebted for the information that Noel's Circulating Library was first advertised in William Weyman's New-York Gazette on August 29, 1763, as follows:

To those who delight in Reading, And would spend their Leisure Hours, and Winter Evenings, with Profit and Entertainment, This is to give Notice, that this Day is opened by GARRAT NOEL, Bookseller, next Door to the Merchants Coffee-House, A CIRCULATING LIBRARY; Consisting of several Thousand Volumes of choice Books, in History, Divinity, Travels, Voyages, Novels, &c. A Catalogue of the Books, with the Conditions of subscribing, may be seen at said Noel's Store (p. 3/2).

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of gentlemen had encouraged the venture, which, "tho' fraught with amusement, has been hitherto unattempted in New England." It would "amuse the man of leisure" and "insinuate knowledge and instruction under the veil of entertainment to the Fair Sex."

How long the Library flourished I cannot record. The proprietor increased his business by starting the Boston Chronicle in 1767 and by printing several books. He opposed the plan to boycott goods subject to stamp duties and upheld in his paper the colonial policy of the British government. This so irritated the public that in October, 1769, he was mobbed.[1] In defending himself he shot a grenadier and thought it best to seek safety on a ship in the harbor. A few days later he sailed for Great Britain, where he soon made himself known to Lord Dartmouth and communicated his views of affairs in America.[2]

Another nemesis, more relentless than the mob, was upon his track — the result of increasing financial obligations in London. By letter, September 28, 1768, Mein promised Thomas Longman, the bookseller in London, "proper remittances" to cancel the large

[1] Thomas Longman to John Hancock, January 3, 1770:

Since which date [i. e. December 4], He is arrived in London, which from the Public Papers I find was owing to a fray He had got into at Boston, which made his Sudden departure absolutely necessary. (Manuscript owned by Mr. Charles Pelham Greenough.)

As November 5 fell on a Sunday in 1769, Pope Day was celebrated on the 6th. The following is taken from Mein's paper, the Boston Chronicle, of November 9, 1769 (ii. 361/2):

Description of the P O P E, 1769.

Toasts on the Front of the large Lanthorn.
Love and Unity. — The American Whig. — Confusion to the Torries, and a total Banishment to Bribery and Corruption.

On the right side of the same. — An Acrostick.

J nsulting Wretch, we'll him expose,
O 'er the whole world his deeds disclose,
H ell now gaups wide to take him in,
N ow he is ripe, Oh lump of Sin.
M ean is the man, M—N is his Name,
E nough he's spread his hellish Fame,
I nfernal Furies hurl his Soul,
N ine Million Times from Pole to Pole.

[2] Fourteenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix, part x. See also Publications of this Society, ix. 480–481 notes.

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curred during three years of business. Wright & Gill also to press him, and finally, in the autumn of 1769, they joined ongman in giving John Hancock power of attorney to Mein's books.[1] While in London Mein visited Longman, ld not satisfy him as to the honesty of his conduct and in-..[2] He explained that he had left a power of attorney with eeming of Boston to settle with his creditors. Longman, urged Hancock to proceed, and a writ of attachment, larch 1, 1770, brought the matter to the Courts.

Murray of Milton, an eminent Scotchman and friend of ew up proposals to have the attachment withdrawn,[3] suit for £1600 to go on in the King's Bench and abide by the judgment of the Court, the property meanwhile to be appraised upon oath and to be delivered up to Hancock as attorney when executions came to be issued.[4]

Hancock declined the offer; Mein's friends then placed their side of the story in such a light in England that Longman was disposed to think that Hancock had refused desirable terms, and he wrote rather sharply to Hancock.

Mein returned to Boston, and his case came up on the first Tuesday in January, 1770, before the Inferior Court of Common Pleas for Suffolk County. He was ordered to pay £226 9s 8d with damage and costs of suit, an advantageous settlement of a debt of £1600. The London booksellers, of course, appealed.[5]

Mein must have continued in business, for the town of Boston voted March 19, 1770, that the Merchants having engaged to suspend importation from Great Britain, John Mein's name be entered on the records as one of twelve persons "so thoroughly and in-

[1] The seal of the city and necessary papers required an outlay of twenty guineas, and barred litigation except in important cases. For the writ, dated March 1, 1770, see Suffolk Court Files, no. 89428.

[2] Longman's letter to Hancock, January 3, 1770. I am indebted to Mr. Charles Pelham Greenough, for allowing me to examine a series of letters relating to this affair.

[3] Dated "Friday, 2d March (1770) at Mrs. Gordon's in Quaker lane" (Congress Street).

[4] For an account of these financial troubles and the relations between Mein and Murray, see Letters of James Murray, pp. 168–174.

[5] Longman's account showed purchases amounting to £2099 2s ½d [1 & ½], of which Mein had paid £419 2s 10d, leaving a debt of £1679 19s 3½d (Suffolk Court Files, no. 89428).

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famously selfish as to obstruct *this very* measure, by continuing their importation." [1]

The Superior Court of Judicature, sitting at Boston August 27, 1771, found that Mein had failed to keep his promise to pay Longman and assessed damages at £2191 19s ¾d. The execution was issued December 23, 1771. [2]

Mein's debt to Wright & Gill of £315 3s 6d was on appeal raised to £420 4s 8d money and costs. Besides these burdens Mein had spent some time in prison. [3] He finally returned to England and was employed for a time by the government. With his departure from American soil the episode of the first circulating library in Boston closes. [4]

Bookstores, of course, continued to hold an important place in Boston affairs. William Martin advertised in the Independent Chronicle, May 27, 1784, that a "Library of Bibles and other Books" could be found at his shop near Seven-Star Lane, [5] Main Street. This Library was probably hardly more than a book department of his store. A year later, however, April 28, 1785, he announced "a part of said collection appropriated to let out by week or quarter." He had moved to a new shop at 45 Main Street. [6] Martin continued to enlarge the Library until it became the "Boston Circulating Library," and under this title he announced a catalogue, December 29, 1785, in the Independent Chronicle. He was evidently a man of orderly habits, and the following notice shows his first irritation:

Mr. Martin,

BEGS leave to remind those Ladies and Gentlemen who have kept BOOKS of his beyond the limited time, and still do so, that such delay is a great injury to his business, both as to the accommodation of his *good* cus-

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 16.

[2] Records of the Superior Court of Judicature, 1771, [xxx.] 210.

[3] He was in prison November 22, 1770.

[4] See also Thomas's History of Printing (1874), i. 152, ii. 230; John Rowe's Diary, October 28, 1769; Sabine, Biographical Sketches of Loyalists in the American Revolution, i. 427, ii. 78; Publications of this Society, ix. 480.

[5] The name by which Summer Street was known before the Revolution.

[6] Newbury, later Washington, Street.

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> tomers, and the profit to himself; it tends to frustrate the very establishment, and, instead of a *Circulating*, to render it a *Stagnated* Library.[1]

At the end of August, 1786, Mr. Martin lost his patience and announced that several books to the "great disappointment of the Subscribers and disgrace of the establishment" had been absent above two months, among them Clarissa Harlowe, Peregrine Pickle, Gil Blas, and the Adventures of a Valet.[2] It is very evident that the lax habits of his customers were a constant annoyance.

In March, 1787, Martin still advertised his Circulating Library,[3] although a rival, Mr. Benjamin Guild,[4] who had taken over E. Battelle's Boston Book Store in March, 1785,[5] now advertised a "constantly increasing" Circulating Library at 59 Cornhill,[6] later Washington Street. In the autumn Martin sold what remained of his books or exchanged them for West India goods and continued business as a merchant.[7]

Little is known of Martin's personal history. He was, perhaps, of the family represented a generation or so earlier in Boston by Captain Michael Martin. In 1778 a William Martin of Boston and Michael Martin of Brookfield were declared banished from the Province.[8] On January 29, 1787, the Selectmen recommended William as a person of good character[9] and on March 2 he and Elizabeth Martin were naturalized.[10]

Mr. Benjamin Guild died October 15, 1792, and the same year Mr. William P. Blake, who was administrator with the widow and

[1] Independent Chronicle, May 25, 1786, p. 2/3.

[2] Ibid., August 31, 1786, p. 3/4.

[3] Independent Chronicle, March 15, 1787.

[4] Benjamin Guild (H. C. 1769).

[5] Independent Chronicle, March 10, 1785. Guild is said to have purchased the business of Ebenezer Battelle of Marlborough (now Washington) Street. Battelle gave Guild a note, dated April 21, 1780, for £204 18s 5d. In the settlement of Guild's estate, in 1792, this is mentioned as "bad, Sundry sums endorsed" (Suffolk Probate Files, no. 20,030).

[6] Ibid., May 10, 1787.

[7] Ibid., October 18, November 8, 1787.

[8] Sabine, Biographical Sketches of Loyalists in the American Revolution, ii. 549; Massachusetts Province Laws, v. 913, 915.

[9] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxvii. 4.

[10] 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, iv. 360.

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John Guild, took over the Boston Book Store.[1] In May, 1793, he issued a catalogue of books "for sale or circulation at the above STORE, presented to Customers gratis."[2] This Circulating Library was at 59 Cornhill (on the west side of the present Washington Street a few doors north of School Street), where it acquired a reputation and soon inspired imitators.[3]

In 1796 Mr. Blake[4] advertised that he had moved the Boston Book Store from No. 59 Cornhill to No. 1 Cornhill, at the northern corner of Spring Lane. When his new catalogue appeared, in 1798, Lemuel Blake had been associated with him for about a year. The firm enjoyed a period of prosperity and published some famous books, including the Junius Letters in 1804. Financial reverses soon came, and in 1805 the Circulating Library was offered for

[1] Independent Chronicle, October 25, 1792; Suffolk Probate Files, no. 20,030.

[2] Independent Chronicle, May 16, 1793. The Boston Public Library has a copy with the title:

A / CATALOGUE / OF / BOOKS, / For Sale or Circulation, / By *WILLIAM P. BLAKE*, / AT THE / BOSTON BOOK-STORE, / No. 59, CORNHILL. / . . . *BOSTON*: / PRINTED FOR WILLIAM P. BLAKE, / AT THE BOSTON BOOK-STORE, No. 59 CORN / HILL, MDCCXCIII. Pp. 47.

The terms of subscription to the Circulating Library are announced on reverse of title, and the catalogue itself fills p. 3–42, followed by five pages of advertisements. Dodd, Mead & Co. offered a copy for sale in 1904 for $18.00.

[3] This was the William Price estate, on the southerly corner of Washington Street and Court Avenue, which was the cause of long litigation between King's Chapel and Trinity Church. It is now occupied by Thompson's Spa. See the William Price Fund, Trinity Church in the City of Boston (1883); Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, ii. 417–442; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxvi. 400. I am indebted to Mr. Henry H. Edes for this and for part of the following note.

[4] William Pinson[e] Blake, long associated with Boston as bookseller, publisher, and owner of a circulating library, was born in Boston, January 9, 1769, and baptized at the New South Church, January 23, following, the eldest child of William and Rachel (Glover) Blake (Registers of the New South Church; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxi. 230, xxx. 296); and died unmarried in New York City June 5, 1820 (Records of the New York Department of Health). His brother Lemuel Blake died in Boston, March 4, 1861, also unmarried, having been a bookseller, publisher, and proprietor of a paper warehouse. He was born in Dorchester August 9, and baptized at the First Church August 13, 1775 (Registers of the First Church in Dorchester; J. H. Dexter's Manuscript Memoranda in the Cabinet of the New England Historic Genealogical Society).

In the New York City Directory for 1818, William P. Blake and Co. appear as booksellers at 249 Broadway.

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sale.[1] The firm's creditors sold the business about 1806 to William Andrews, a bookbinder whose house and shop were at 32 Summer Street. The new proprietors at No. 1 Cornhill, Andrews and Cummings,[2] probably retained both books and Library.

In 1809 Mr. Cummings had retired, leaving in control Mr. Andrews, who at the same time continued the bindery on Summer Street as Andrews and Goodwin. William Andrews died April 4, 1812, at the age of forty-three. His brother Ebenezer, one of the administrators of the estate, may have removed the Library to rooms over his office (Thomas and Andrews, the well-known publishers at 45 Newbury Street), for a label of the "Ladies Circulating Library" bears the address 45½ Newbury Street. The firm name appears in the Directory as late as 1821.

When Mr. Blake left the familiar stand at 59 Cornhill, in 1796, Mr. William Pelham continued the traditions of the place with a bookstore and Circulating Library.[3] In the Independent Chronicle for July 7, 1796, Pelham offered for sale new books and "an uncommonly fine proof of Mr. Copley's celebrated plate of the Death of Chatham."

Subscribers to the Library paid at the rate of five dollars a year, and received three books at a time, to be kept a month. Non-subscribers paid by the week "for each duodecimo or smaller volume, one sixteenth of a dollar; and after the *third week*, one eighth of a dollar per week, until returned," etc.

Besides the many unheard-of titles of books there are a few of note: Clarissa Harlowe, 8 volumes; Castle of Otranto; Camilla, a Novel of Miss Burney; Evelina, 2 volumes; Humphrey Clinker, 2 volumes; Peregrine Pickle, 4 volumes; Joseph Andrews, 2 volumes; also Don Quixote, Paul and Virginia, Pilgrim's Progress; books of poetry, biography and travel; and for variety, Alvarez or Irresistible Seduction, Female Jockey Club, and Fille de Chambre. Many of these titles appear in a sale catalogue which Pelham issued in 1802.[4]

[1] Independent Chronicle, March 28, 1805.

[2] Boston Directory for 1807.

[3] Independent Chronicle, June 20, 1796.

[4] The title-page of Pelham's second catalogue reads:

CATALOGUE ' of / PELHAM'S / Circulating Library, 59, Cornhill, / BOSTON: / consisting of a chosen Assortment of / BOOKS / In the various Branches / of / LITERATURE / Boston: / Printed by Samuel Etheridge. [About 1798.]

Title, 1 p.; Conditions, pp. 3–4; Catalogue, pp. 5–22.

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Pelham was born at Williamsburg, Virginia, August 10, 1759, the grandson of Peter Pelham of Boston, who married Mrs. Mary Copley. She was the mother of John Singleton Copley, whose portraits are heirlooms in Boston families. Pelham's store was a resort of many men of influence in letters, art, and affairs. In the Independent Chronicle of October 22, 1804, Mr. Pelham announced that he had transferred his Circulating Library from 59 Cornhill to No. 5 School Street under the charge of William Blagrove; but he continued in business as a bookseller until about 1810. He removed to Zanesville, Ohio, and died at New Harmony, Indiana, February 3, 1827. His wife Penelope was also a Pelham.[1]

Mr. Blagrove was the son of Pelham's sister Sarah, and one of a large family. In 1805 he renamed Pelham's library the Union Circulating Library; and under this designation it continued its honorable service for many years. He promised a new catalogue, and with great enterprise provided boxes with lock and key to accommodate out-of-town subscribers who wished to convey their books back and forth. The fee was seven dollars a year for four duodecimo or two octavo volumes at a time.

In 1808 or 1809 Blagrove moved to 61 Cornhill (Washington Street, north of School Street), and in 1810 to No. 3 School Street. He was soon succeeded by Samuel H. Parker as proprietor of the Library, which as late as 1817 was the foremost of its kind. In its quarters "at the head of Water-street," there was an extensive Reading Room.[2] Mr. Blagrove left Boston about the year 1811; and was a resident of Washington, D. C., in 1821.[3] His sons lived in Brooklyn, New York.

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Charles P. Greenough for information relating to the Pelhams and Blagroves. Pelham's cousin Helen or Helena Pelham, who married Thomas Curtis, was the ancestor of several well-known Boston families. Henry B. Blagrove, in a letter from Baltimore, dated May 4, 1848, to Charles Pelham Curtis and James Freeman Curtis, gives many details of family history. Pelham's nephew, in a letter from Santa Fe in 1857, added some data. See Publications of this Society, v. 193–211; Heraldic Journal, iv. 175–182; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxvi. 399–401; Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, ii. 420–425; S. C. Clarke, Records of Some of the Descendants of William Curtis, pp. 18, 19.

[2] Independent Chronicle, October 7, 1805. Mr. Parker opened a music store in connection with his Library in 1833, and soon gave up or sold the books.

[3] J. H. Dexter's Manuscript Memoranda in the Cabinet of the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

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An early imitator of Blake was Joshua Thomas, whose advertisement appeared in the Independent Chronicle[1] for June 27, 1793:

Joshua Thomas,
Opposite the Treasurer's Office, in *Boston*,
Has opened a
CIRCULATING LIBRARY,
Which will be constantly supplied with the
newest and most approved Publications.
Great pains will be taken to render
this LIBRARY worthy the patronage of the
Ladies of *Boston*, and its vicinity.

A pleasant indication of the literary interest in town is shown by a contemporary advertisement of "The Deserted Village, a Poem By Dr. Goldsmith," just published, and offered at "half a pistareen" a copy. Another indication is to be found in the notice of Bowen's Columbian Museum, where, pictured in oil or wax, Charlotte wept again at the tomb of Werther, and Baron Trenck sat in his prison chains.

The desire for circulating libraries grew apace. Miss Mary Sprague added a Circulating Library to her millinery shop, in 1802, and her announcement promised so well that the opening lines are given here:

New Circulating Library.

MISS M. SPRAGUE informs her Friends and the Public, that she has opened a *New Circulating Library*, at her Shop,
No. 9, *MILK-STREET.*

Having been careful in selecting Books, she hopes to meet encouragement. She has spared no pains to make her collection deserving circulation, by mingling the useful with the amusing. In selecting volumes, she has not confined her choice to Romances and Magazines — Philosophy, History, Biography, valuable Travels, useful Miscellany, Moral Essays, the various productions of the Muses, and whatever instructs while it pleases, have portions of her shelves alotted to them.[2]

Not to be outdone by Miss Sprague, Miss or Mrs. Kezia Butler announced May 2, 1804, in the Columbian Centinel that she had

[1] I am indebted to Miss Mary Honoria Wall (now Mrs. John Henry Gill) for many references to contemporary newspapers, and also for frequent and helpful suggestions during the preparation of this paper.

[2] Independent Chronicle, May 17, 1802.

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opened a Circulating Library in connection with her millinery business, 82 Newbury Street (now Washington Street, between Summer and Essex), to accommodate persons at the south part of the town. The Directory refers to her as a milliner until 1820, when the Library is mentioned. Her name disappears after 1828.

Other parts of the town were no doubt as well served — or perhaps as poorly served, for circulating libraries in millinery stores suggest a low grade of literature. As early as 1784 a Boston paper, as a warning, quoted an article on the degeneracy of Edinburgh, which spoke ironically of the Miss who improves her mind from the *precious stores* of a circulating library.[1] In November, 1784, the Circulating Library at No. 1 Cambridge Street, comprising seven or eight hundred books, was offered for sale. This was probably the West Boston Library, which announced in the Independent Chronicle of February 21, 1805, that the Library would be kept "in the Chamber over Dr. Powell, *Cambridge-street*, corner of *North Russell street*, where the Librarian will deliver books on Saturdays between the hours of 3 and 6 o'clock, P. M." The inhabitants were informed that a book would be kept open by the Secretary, E. P. Hartshorn, at his store in Cambridge street, corner of South Russell street, where persons might subscribe for shares. Perhaps this was more in the nature of a stock company.

Circulating libraries continued to flourish in Boston. In 1817 there were still the Shakspeare Library at 25 School Street (later 10 Franklin Street), owned by Charles Callender, the librarian, and continuing in his family till after 1850; the Franklin Library at 67 Court Street, and later at 60 Washington Street; the Boylston Library in Newbury Street; and several others, prosperous survivors of the olden type.[2]

Thomas Burnham opened a small bookstore, circulating library and museum, at 58 Cornhill[3] about 1830. His son Thomas

[1] Independent Chronicle, August 19, 1784.

[2] Dr. Charles E. Clark and Mr. F. J. Libbie have several bookplates and labels of interest in this connection: the Union, Franklin, Columbian, Charlestown, Washington, and Ladies Libraries, about three inches wide and two and a half inches high, and some larger labels with conditions and rules.

[3] The present thoroughfare known as Cornhill, laid out March 5, 1816, is here referred to. Old Cornhill, Marlborough, Newbury, and Orange Streets, were renamed Washington Street by votes of the Selectmen, July 4, 1788, and of the Board of Aldermen, July 6, 1824.

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Oliver Hazard Perry Burnham, after peddling books along the docks and at the markets, settled down at 58 Cornhill about 1835 to make this the bookmart of the town. Rare books became the fashion, and the ladies drove down from Beacon Hill to spend the morning at Burnham's. About 1859 "Perry" moved to Washington Street, later to the Parker House corner of School and Tremont Streets, a haunt of Emerson, Holmes, and Longfellow. Finally the bookstore was established in the basement of the Old South Church. At some period in these changes the Library was given up.

After four years on Hanover Street, T. O. Walker, another library proprietor, moved in 1845 to 68 Cornhill, where he drew about him a less aristocratic clientele, and by the circulation of French novels made his Library prosper.

In June, 1859, A. K. Loring began a very successful Circulating Library, frequented by George Ticknor, Judge Devens, Wendell Phillips, and Edward Everett. Mr. Loring, still a kindly, bright old gentleman in 1903, knew the weaknesses of the great, — those who loved to hear their official titles emphasized before other customers, and also their tastes and whims. He tried a house-to-house delivery, first by boys and then by horsemen, and succeeded best in the less fashionable places like East Boston and Chelsea. In his opinion no circulating library can survive with profit unless carried on in connection with some other business.

Of equal interest was Mayhew and Baker's Juvenile Circulating Library at 208 Washington Street. The catalogue[1] issued in 1860 states that "young applicants for books are *liable* to be refused, unless introduced by their parents." Among the authors mentioned were Jacob Abbott, Walter Aimwell, Ballantyne, Bell, Anne Bowman, Dickens, Forrester, Haven ("Cousin Alice"), Mrs. Hogland, Mary Howitt, Kingston, Marryat, May, Macintosh, Optic, Peter Parley, Mayne Reid, and Warner.

To-day, with all its competitors, the old fashioned circulating library with its paper-covered books still flourishes under the well-known names of "Carter's" and "W. B. Clarke's," and their patrons continue to acquire knowledge and entertainment for the modest sum of two cents a day.

[1] A copy is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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This paper was discussed by Mr. WILLIAM W. GOODWIN, who alluded to the Pelham family of booksellers and artists in Boston, and queried whether there was any connection between them and Herbert and Penelope Pelham;[1] and by Mr. HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, who spoke of the old Boston family of West, several of whom were engaged in the book trade.[2]

Mr. GOODWIN related several anecdotes of Longfellow, suggested by the celebration yesterday of the centenary of his birth, and of Professor Edward T. Channing.

Mr. JOHN NOBLE, Jr., communicated the Autobiography of Captain Jonathan Chapman (1756–1832) of Charlestown and Boston, who served in the navy during the Revolutionary War and later was in the East India trade. The Autobiography follows.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CAPTAIN JONATHAN CHAPMAN.[3]

[1] The following is a brief history of the life and Adventures of Jonathan Chapman from his own hand vizt —

I was born in Charlestown in the Commonwealth of Mass^{ts} May 22^{d} 1756. my Grandfathers Thomas Chapman & Richard Miller were respectable Mechanicks and both Natives of Charlestown; my Father Jonathan Chapman follow'd the Seas and died in Surinam 1765 leaving three Sons & five daughters.[4] I am the Oldest Son. at the age of seven years I

[1] An account of Herbert Pelham and his family is given in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxxiii. 285–295, and in the Heraldic Journal, ii. 84–89; and of Peter Pelham and his family in the same journal, iv. 175–182, and in the Publications of this Society, v. 193–211. There was apparently no connection between these families.

[2] See Publications of this Society, vi. 122–123 note.

[3] The original of this Autobiography, written in 1828, is owned by Mrs. Alexander Wadsworth, by whose courtesy it is printed in our Transactions. It is in manuscript, in a school-boy's note-book, bearing on the inside cover the words, written in a school-boy's hand, "Dummer R. Chapman's Book, 2^{d} quarter, October 18th, 1822." Dummer R. Chapman was a son of the author. The paging of the original is indicated within square brackets.

[4] Jonathan Chapman, son of Thomas and Ann (Kettell) Chapman, married Jemima Stone, widow of Jacob Stone and daughter of Richard and Mary (Kidder) Miller. Capt. Jonathan Chapman was the son of Jonathan and Jemima

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was put to the Town School (Master Thaddeus Harris[1]) where I acquired a common Education when a boy I was fond of going on board the vessels and was determind to follow the Sea. Accordingly at the early period of our revolution I was induc'd by a strong partiallity to commence a Seafaring life and in consequence of the Port of Boston being Stopd, I repair'd to Gloucester. and commenced my first Voyage May 18th. 1775. on Board the Sloop John, Capn Jessee Harding. bound to Cape Nicola Mole (in the Island of Hispaniola[2]) at seven dollars Pr. month wages, we were so fortunate as to arrive out safe, and while there receivd the Acct of the Battle on Bunker Hill, and that my Native Town was in Ashes. my mother, Brother & Sisters fled (with some little furniture to the Country), on our return home we fell in with the Island Seguin[3] and Run into New Meadows River up to Brunswick, and there left. the Sloop. and took my cloaths on my back. and walk'd to Malden 150 miles where [2] I found my Mother, Brother & Sisters at Jonas Greens House I remain'd at home untill Augt 1776 when I embark on Another Voyage with the same Capn in the Brig William. and arrivd safe at Cape Nicola Mole and sold the Cargo at a good profit and loaded the Brig with Molasses Sugar, Coffee, & a considerable quantity of Powder the kegs Put into large Hogsheads and fill'd in with Coffee and mark'd Coffee, on our way home nothing material occurd untill. some time in Janr 1777. being not far from Bermuda it blowing a Gale of wind and a heavy Sea, in the Night time we saw two Ships very near, we bore away and made all sail one of them soon came up with us and fir'd some muskets into us. we being unarm'd; then hove too, a boat came on board and took most of us out that Night; the Capn and remainder of the crew were taken out next morning, this prov'd to be the Solebay of 28 Guns an English ship of war Capn Thomas Symonds[4] bound from N. York to St

(Miller) Stone Chapman, and the father of Jonathan Chapman, Mayor of Boston during the years 1840-1842. Much information about the Chapman, Devens, Miller, and other families mentioned in the Autobiography will be found in Wyman's Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown. See also Frothingham's History of Charlestown, J. F. Hunnewell's Century of Town Life (Charlestown), and T. T. Sawyer's Old Charlestown.

[1] Here Capt. Chapman's memory played him false. In 1748 Thaddeus Mason was one of a committee to visit the school, and on August 20, 1764, the selectmen "gave Mr. William Harris the care of the writing-school." William Harris was the father of the Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris. See Frothingham, History of Charlestown, pp. 259, 268; Wyman, Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, i. 475.

[2] Môle St. Nicolas, Haiti.

[3] Maine.

[4] Capt. Thomas Symonds, of the British Navy, died in 1793.

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Augustine to convoy a large Store Ship. at this time they consider'd us British subjects, and stationd us all where they thought proper, and gave us the same allowance as there own men after our arrival at St Augustine it was discover'd that the large Hogsheads mark'd Coffee were full of Kegs of Powder when Cap^{n} Symonds came off from St Augustine and call'd Cap^{n} Harding and Mr. James Bartlett, the Mate (who was an Englishman) and all our crew on the quarter deck, and gave us a very severe lecture, and told us we all deserv'd to be [3] hang'd for Attempting to carry Powder to supply the rebels notwithstanding, these threats, he gave the Cap^{n} his liberty and in a few days (the mate) Mr. James Bartlett died of the disentyry of which he was sick when he was taken, in a few days sail'd in Solebay for Kingston (in Jamaica) where we arriv'd, safe, the next morning, the Williams crew was order'd to get there things ready to go away in the boat & soon they were all order'd on board the Winchelsea Frigate and I was order'd on board the Gaurd Ship Antelope of 50 Guns for safe keeping, while the Solebay went into dock to Repair, I remaind on board this Ship untill I arrivd at the age of twenty-one Years, soon after this the Solebay came out of dock and I was orderd on board again, where I met with my old mess mates who had made a cruise in the Winchester and taken several prizes, sometime in July 1777, we sail'd from Port Royal and Joind a large fleet of Merchant men and some Frigates at Blewfields Bay in Jamaica Bound to N. York where we Arriv'd with the fleet some time in Aug^{t}, After laying here some little time to wood & Water the Ship, we were Order'd to the Capes of Virginia, there to cruise and wait, the arrival of a large fleet of Men of War & Transports with troops, to be landed at
1777 Aug. 25 the head of Elk.[1] to march to Philadelphia, soon after the Fleet Pass'd the Capes of Virginia, the Solebay in c^{o} with the Roe Buck 44. and Emerald & Pearl of 36 Guns were order'd to proceed to the Deleware and to cooperate [4] with the Army as it Advanced from Elk towards Philadelphia,[2] we Accordingly Advanced in c^{o} as far up as Chester. where we lay sometime after the British had taken the City, while we lay here a body of troops were embark'd one morning on the Jersey shore to Attack a Place calld Red Bank. in the Afternoon we Perceivd some movements of some America Galleys above us, and on the first of the Ebb tide we perceivd them to be droping down, and when within one mile & a half they streach'd a Raft across the Channel. and in a moment the Raft was on fire the whole width of the River[3] the

[1] Elk River, at the head of Chesapeake Bay.

[2] Bancroft, History of the United States (1890), v. 175.

[3] Cooper, History of the United States Navy (1856), p. 81.

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Galleys immediately began to fire upon us with very heavy Cannon, we all immediately cut our cables and tow'd down the River untill the tide turn'd, we then Anchord, by this time the Rafts had burnt out, a boat was then sent from each Ship with a Graplin & Chain to fasten to one end of the Raft and through it length ways on the Shore the next morning drop'd up with the tide recover'd the Anchors, and landed the troops. at there approach the fort was Blown up by the Americans and the troops were reembark'd and landed again at Chester, soon after this Mud Island Fort[1] surrendered. and the British had Sept 26 full possestion of Philadelphia, and the whole fleet from the Chesapeak came into Philadelphia River, and the Solebay [5] was order'd down to New Castle to Join the Fleet. while laying here with all sails loos'd to dry a signal was suddenly given from the Admiral Ship to hand all sails, I was Stationd on the Maintopsail yard. Some of our men were away in Boats, and we were a little behind the other ships, I was stationd 2d man from the mast larboard side and made great exertions to hand the bunt[2] of the sail when one of the Points[3] in my hand broke in the gromet hole.[4] in consequence of which I fell into the top and fractured the bone of my right leg, — as soon as the sail was handed I was lowerd down from the main top and the Doctor examin'd the wound, and pronounc'd it a flesh wound and dres't it as such, and in a few days we sail'd with a large fleet, and soon Arrivd at N. York. In the meantime my leg became very Painful and had swollen very much, After my arrival at N York, I was carryd to the Navy Hospital on Long Island, with a certificate from our Doctor that I had an Ulcer sore, and was According order'd into the Surgery ward and without much examination was treated, accordingly for some time, and my leg growing worse I was Put upon half diet, at this time the Hospital was full of Patients, and but few, doctors, for which Reason they took a French doctor who was a prisoner, to Assist in dressing the Surgery patients, one day he was examening my wound and found his probe ketch on the bone, he then enquir'd for the first time how I came by this wound when I told him I had a fall, he was Astonish'd I should have been sent there with a certificate for an Ulcer Sore, when I had fractur'd the main [6] bone, the Next Morning he calld

[1] The marginal date is probably incorrect, as the fort was not taken until November 15. See Bancroft, History of the United States, v. 192, 198, 199.

[2] A bunt is "the middle part of a sail, formed designedly into a bag or cavity, that the sail may gather more wind" (Oxford Dictionary).

[3] A point is "one of the short pieces of flat braided cord attached to near the lower edge of a sail for tying up a reef" (ibid.).

[4] A grummet- (or grommet-) hole is "a hole bound by a ring of rope" (ibid.).

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an examination of Mr. Clifford (the chief Surgeon,) and they laid the wound open and found the bone badly fracturd and a callice had grown, I remaind here, for some months, and for some time went about upon two crutches in the day time to deseive the doctors, looking for an Oppor tunity to make my escape, I found others who were able to Walk, Ancious to run away, sometime in November 1777, a Cap[n] Daniel Squires (a Refugee from Connecticut) bot a French Snow [1] (a prize) mounting 20 Guns, he got a protection for fifty men on condition he would Carry Govonor Brown [2] & Suit to New Providence, After which he had liberty to go a Cruising; one Will[m] Gray an Englishman who was in the ward with me went over to N. Yourk privately and sign'd the articles by another Name, and signd my Name as John Miller, and return'd to the Hospital, by this time I found I could walk tolerably well without crutches; the next morning he took some few of my cloaths and his own in a Bag. We then disguis'd ourselves as farmers, and at day light we left the Hospital and proceeded to the Brocklyne ferry, where we found two Hessian Grenidears with brass Caps marching across the head of the Ferryways, this was a moment that my feelings cannot be discrib'd when Gray said to me in there hearing in a Broken tone of voice, Master shall I put the bag in the boat, and we Pas'd on amoung the country People going over, with there things to Market unnotic'd by the Centinels, and went into the boat and were soon in the rendevous in New York, and from thence on board the Snow call'd the Tarter comanded by Cap[n] —— Broom. [7] In a few days every thing was on board and the Top sails hoisted and we were buisey in heaving the Anchor with a light heart, when the lieutenant call'd for some one to heave a Rope to a Boat, when I Jump'd to the Gangway, to give the Rope, which Boat prov'd to be the monmouth 74 barge full of men the officer came on the quarter deck and call'd out Avast heaving, the Cap[n] ask him by what Authority he gave that order, he answer'd I have an order to take all your men, I immediately run below and hid my self in the hold, Cap[n] Broom then shew him the Admirals Protection for fifty men, he made no further enquirey and left us, we then got under way and proceeded to sea. and in 15 or 20 days we arrivd at N. Providence and landed the Govonor and

[1] A snow "is generally the largest of all two-masted vessels employed by Europeans, . . . The sails and rigging on the main-mast and fore-mast of a snow, are exactly similar to those on the same masts in a ship; only that there is a small mast behind the main-mast of the former, which carries a sail nearly resembling the *mizen* of a ship" (W. Falconer, Universal Dictionary of the Marine, 1789).

[2] William Browne (H. C. 1755), Governor of Bermuda. See Sabine, Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution, i. 265.

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then made up a crew of about One Hundred men while we lay in Providence I was continualy on the watch to make my escape, but could find no chance, therefore, I had no Alternative, and must (sorely against my will) go out in the Tartar Accordingly, early in Jany 1778 we saild and stood towards Charlestown.[1] and from thence along the coast toward the Capes of Virginia, the officers beginning to be impatient that they had taken no prize, they din'd Altogeather and had a high go, and all drank [8] freely and the Ship was put under easy sail, in the morning they expected to be in with the land and to take a prize, I was on deck at 12 O'Clock and the offier who had the watch sounded, and the ship continud standing in for the land and at 3 O'Clock the Ship Struck, but no land was to be seen, the sails were clew'd up and handed and there was great apprehentions We was on Hatteras Shoals, I was made Cap^{n} of the Fore top and after handing the Fore top sail I look'd very sharp ahead and discover'd the land, I calld out immediately. The Cap^{n} Ask'd who saw it I Answerd John Miller, very soon others lookd sharp and saw it which was a great relief to find we was not on Hatteras Shoals, at day light we found we was on a Sandy shore coverd with pine trees, and about 100 fathom distance, the Sea now began to rise and the wind shiftd to the East & began to Blow fresh and Lookd very thick out, the small boat was now hoisted out, and with two men and a Petty officer was soon on shore to Ascertain where we were, they, let the Boat come broad side too, when she fill'd & builg'd the only boat that remain'd was then order'd out, I immediately went into the boat and hook'd the Fore stay and yard tackles, and was hoisted out in the boat, as soon as the boat was in the water, as many as she would carry with there bags of cloaths came in, and three more men with my self and an officer were order'd to land them, and haul the boat off with a line, which we did [9] and landed a second time and hauld off, we then ask to be reliev'd which was Granted, we then Put some of our cloaths into bags, and put them in the boat, and vere'd into the surf hove our Bags into the water, then Jump'd out of the Boat and swam on shore, by this time it was 12 O'Clock Noon at the Sea continue'd to rise, and it came on a thick snow Storm, at this time the crew were all landed but the officers they intended to come next time the boat return'd, but when she was Part the way off the warp Parted and she came onto the Beach broad side too fill'd, and builg'd, in this scene of confusion and distress no care had been taken to bring any fire Arms or Provisions nor a sail to cover us from the storm, it seems the officers intended to bring all these when they came, but was prevented by the loss of the

[1] Charleston, South Carolina.

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boat, seeing this, they went to work immediately to make a Raft with the spare spars, and sett the fore sail so as to drive the ship as high up as they could before she builg'd; a party was now dispatch'd into the woods to seek for a House or some Place of shelter before night, they went some ways and climb'd the highest tree and found we was on a desart Island, they return'd, and we determin'd to go into the woods, and endevour to make some shelter, while we were debateing what to do, we saw two men with Guns comeing out of the woods, which prov'd to be a Mr. Jves & his Son; as was there usual custom in a snow storm they had come from the Main, had bro[t] some Geese to stake down to toll others, and they took a walk around the Beach, they had a small house in the woods, and those that [10] were able went with them to the House and with there fire Arms we soon made up a good fire and dried our cloaths, and were very soon comfortable, we found two of our Number were missing, and in the morning the Gale had abated, we went down to the shore on the way we found two men froze to death and the Vessel drove within one hundred feet of the Shore, so that the officers all landed with the Raft, Cap[n] Broom then sent an officer to the Main in Mr. Jves canoe and gave himself and Crew up to Col[l] Jarvis as Shipwrec't Englishmen. he immediately came over with a large Gundelow and carry'd us to his House, where he treated us with great hospitality for some days, and then sent two wagons and a Guide to conduct us to Portsmouth,[1] on our Arrival there we were all put under Guard and conducted to the Fort and kept in close confinement as Prisoners of War, After being in confinement some days One of my companions (W[m] M[c]Mullen belonging to Philadelphia) and my self Inform'd the Commanding officer that we were Americans had been taken and detain'd, and requested to have our liberty, he reply'd, we might have our liberty on condition we would enter into the Navy for three years we urgd the hardship of this condition, and told him our true story, but without any effect, and we were still kept confin'd in the guard House in the Fort. in a few days After a Waggon came, and a gaurd of 20 men & took what little cloathing we had left and some smoak'd meat & flouer and march'd us all off about 70 Men. (here the Officers were all parol'd, and did not march with us) [11] After Marching about seventy Miles we came to Suffolk Court House w[h]ere we were deliver'd to a guard of the Militia of that County[2] and march'd about seventy miles further into the Country, where there was a County Goal and a Number of English prisoners confind within the limits, we were Put into several small out houses and

[1] Portsmouth, Norfolk County, Virginia.

[2] Nansemond, Virginia.

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had the liberty of the Goal yard, with straw for our beds and ¾ ℔ of smok'd meat and ¾ ℔ flour for our daily allowance and nothing more. we found our Keeper Col[l] Mosely[1] a very humane man, and he treated all those that behav'd well with great Kindness, we soon found he was a member of the Legislator, which was soon to Assemble I gave him a true Account of my situation, with some other Americans and requested him to use his Influence to obtain our liberty nearly all the Seamen of our crew were desireous of staying in America, and a Number were Americans that had been captur'd, and all urg'd him to give them liberty, he Accordingly obtain'd a Release for the whole crew of the Tartar and he gave us all a Pass showing our discharge, I think the date was some time in Feby 1778. I think this Goal was in Chesterfield County in Virginia, a considerable distance from Richmond for which Place in C[o] with W[m] M[c]Mullen of Philadelphia we set out, with light hearts and with but little in our Pockets, on our Arrival at Richmond having no money we obtaind permission to work for our Passage down the James River to Portsmouth, we arrivd there in the evening & haul'd in allonside a fine Schooner and enquird of the first man I saw if there was any Vessel belonging [12] to Boston, he reply'd there was a Number of Boston men here for both our mates and most of the crew left Boston about ten days since and were taken and set on shore on Cape Henry I then made myself know to Mr Snow (the 1st mate) who informd me that he boarded with my Mother in Boston and that she and the family were all well, I found among the Crew James Butler who had sail'd with my Brother Richard which was the first information I had that he had been to Sea, I had determin'd when I got my liberty to go to Boston if I was oblidg'd to beg my way, but I was perswaded to enter on board this fine Pilot boat call'd the Willing Maid and Commanded by Cap[n] Talbot, Bound to S[t] Cruze with a Cargo of Tobacco. she was a Letter of, Mark. mounting four Guns with small Arms and eighteen men and was a very fast sailer; a Number of British Cruizers were then in and about the Capes, and we were so fortunate of a dark night to Pass them all, and get to Sea, Nothing material occur'd untill the third day out, when we had a heavy Gale and a very high cross sea, in the Gulf stream we carryd away the Main mast close to the deck, and lost the mast and spars with all the sails and Riggin, and was very apprehensive we should loose the Foremast, but with great exertions we secur'd it, in doing which I was so unfortunate as to fracture the bone of my leg in the same Place it was fractur'd on board the Solebay as I have before

[1] Perhaps Col. Edward Hacker Moseley. See Virginia Magazine, v. 332–334.

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related; with some spare Spars & Sails they got up a Jury Main Mast and in eighteen days we arrivd safe at the Island S[t] Cruiz; Cap[n] Talbort treated me with great kindness [13] and sent a Doc[r] to dress my leg who on examination Asur'd me that he could cure me without the loss of my leg which I had fear'd from the length of time since it was fractur'd, would be my misfortune, After being here some few days the Cap[n] inform'd me that he had sold the Vessel and had procurd a Passage for me and part of the crew on board a pilot Boat Cap[n] Stevens bound to Rapahanock River in Virginia w[h]ere we arrivd safe in Nine days, on entering the Chesapeak Bay we had a very narrow escape from Capture by an English schooner, the darkness of the night and a good Pilot save'd us — the next day my friend James Butler and others took passage in a small schooner, to the head of Elk. there, as I was not able to Walk I took passage in a Waggon to Christian Creek, & from there took Passage in a sloop for Philadelphia. here I found my old Shipmate W[m] M[c]Mullen and stay'd at his mothers House two days, then took Passage in a sloop for Trenton. there I met one James Chapman (a Stranger to me) who for my Name sake gave me a Passage in his Waggon to a Place call'd Smiths Clove w[h]ere lay a Part of the Army, here I purchas'd a small Horse saddle & Bridle, and in C[o] with James Butler (who was determin'd not to leave me) we began our Journey towards Boston, by this time I was able with a crutch to walk some distance say half a mile at one time, so that we came on slowly by takeing turns to Ride and tie, our Wages in the Schooner Willing Maid before mention'd was eighty dollars pr month in Paper money, and forty dollars in hard money in S[t] Cruize [14] with prudent management of our money and some times haveing a supper & lodging given us, our money lasted us to Boston where we sold Horse Saddle & Bridle, we then had sixteen dollars left and the cloaths we stood in, and each one spare shirt. this I think was sometime in the Summer of 1779. by this time I could Walk about with a cane, at this time I was taught navigation by Master John Leach.[1] After having learnd Navigation, I was determin'd to go a privateering and According Ship'd as Masters mate on Board the Ship Renown mounting fourteen Guns and one hundred men Commanded by Cap[n] John Adamson. The Names of the Officers were as follows:

Cap[n]	John	Adamson	of Boston
1 Lieutenant	William	Fisher	do
2 do	William	Thomas	do
Sailing Master	William	Tant	do

[1] See Publications of this Society, vi. 80.

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1st Masters Mate	Jonathan	Chapman	of Boston
2d do do	Turner	Fisher	do
chief Surgeon		Makepeace	plymouth
do mate	Rositer	Cotton	of Plymouth
1 prize Master	Capn Isaac	Collins	Boston
2 do	Capn	Ripley	do
3 do		Blodget	do
4 do		Dickerman	do
1 Chief Carpenter	Jacob	Hyler	do
2 do	Thomas	Burbeck	do
3 do	Jacob	Hervey	do
4 do		Ridgway	do

the other officers Names not recollected, we saild from [15] Boston early in the month of Augt 1779 in Company with the Brig Terrible of sixteen Guns Commanded by Capn Connely. She was own'd and fitted out at Marblehead we had under our convoy seven transports with Jacksons[1] Regiment on Board to reinforce our Army then besieghing the British Fort at Penobscot[2] off Newbury Port we met a dispatch boat that informd us that our Army had retreated, and all our Ships was run on Shore and burnt, Sir George Collier[3] having enter'd the River, with a line of Battle Ship and a Number of Frigates, left them no other Alternative[4] we then Proceeded to Portsmouth, there the troops were landed and they march'd to Casco Bay (now calld Portland) here we lay for some days, and increas'd our crew with some of the men that belonged to the Ships that had been destroy'd at Penobscot, we then sail'd on a Cruize on the Banks of Newfoundland for ten weeks and return'd to Marbelhead without takeing a prize; After being at home some time, I ship'd as first officer of a Snow Capn Samuel Davis, we was a letter of Mark mounting four Guns & twenty men. She made a Voyage to Cape Francois in the Island of St Domingo and came on the coast in the hard Winter 1780 we fell in on the back of Cape Codd off Eastham when a boat came off and inform'd us that every harbour in Boston bay was frozen up, therefore we hove up our Anchor and Run for Chatham Harbour [16] in going in we struck on the south breaker and lay two tides on lighting the Vessel we got off and found the Vessel very much Injured and was very leakey, We hauld on Shore

[1] Col. Henry Jackson. See Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, viii. 667.

[2] Now Castine.

[3] Vice-Admiral Sir George Collier (1738-1795).

[4] August 14, 1779. See Bancroft, History of the United States, v. 334, 335; Cooper, History of the United States Navy, pp. 119, 120.

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and stopd the leaks took in the Cargo again, and the next course of high tides we left Chatham and next day arrivd safe in Boston. in March 1780 I sail'd 2d Lieutneant of a fine Brig Peercd for eighteen Guns and mounted twelve Guns Capn Edward Tyler belonging to Thomas Russell made a safe Voyage to Martinico, arrivd in June, saild again in a Short time in the same Brig Capn Isaac Smith as 2d officer Bound to Martinico. After being out about ten days we fell in with the Schooner Hope, Capn McNiel mounting ten Guns from Liver Pool bound to Charleston, which we capturd I was Put on board as prize master, and brought the prize into Boston, in August 1780, I saild in this same schooner as 1st officer with Capn Nathaniel Goodwin for Cadiz off the Western Islands we captur'd a Brig loaded with Fish from Newfoundland bound to Lisbon, after makeing Cape St Marys we fell in with a large Lugger calld the Spitfire of Plymouth of 18 Nine Pounders and one Hundred men Capn Daniel Thompson who took us and our prize. this was a sad misfortune for the Next day we should have been in Cadiz After cruizing two or three days he Put us all on board a Neutral Vessel and sent us into Cadiz, there Capn Goodwin bought a small Brig and loaded her with salt and fruit in sixty days Passage we arrivd in Boston, I brought home in this Brig forty bushels of salt, and some fruit, which was all I [17] sav'd when taken by the Spitfire, which was in Gold quilted into the collar of a shirt which I always kept handy to put on in case of Capture, soon after hauling into [t]he wharf and beginning to discharge the Cargo, Capn John Harding of Chatham came alongside and ask'd if I had any salt to sell I told him I had forty bushels for which he offer'd me eighty dollars pr Bushel, having just arrivd I knew nothing of the great depreciation and thought this a great Price and sold him the salt and took the Paper money, I mention this circumstance so Purticular Just to show that what I saved from the enemy I lost by this transaction for in a few days after, the whole money would not bye one bushel of salt, soon after this I sail'd with Capn Nath'l Goodwin again in the Ship Lively Pierc'd for 20 Guns & mounted 12 six Pounders and thirty men, we went from Boston to Philadelphia from thence to Havana, from thence to Cadiz from thence to Boston and made a very Profitable Voyage we then fited out again bound to Havana and sail'd in Co with the Ship Grand Monarck Capn Coates mounting 14 Guns & Forty men. we saild sometime in March 1782 and the next day in the morning a large Ship gave us chase. we seperated from our consort and in the Afternoon she came up with us, after a Runing fight during the day, we found as she was far superior in force we must surrender this prov'd to be the pandora (an English Man of war) mounting 24 Nine Pounders & 150 Men Commanded by Capn John

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English, who carry'd us to Halifax and put us all on board a Prison Ship exceping the Cap^{n}, and a Boy by Name James Henly[1] who was brother in law to [18] Thomas Russell who was the owner of the Ship & Cargo they were paroll'd, at this time the Ship lay near the town and a Sargents Guard of Marines from the Chatham 50 Gun Ship was guard to the Prison Ship, which guard was releiv'd by a Sargents guard from Georges Island Fort[2] who were orderd (for fear of desertions with the prisoners) on board a Schooner provided for that Purpose and was Anchor'd near the Ship, at this time the Marster intendant at the dock yard sent an officer & men to move the Ship & Schooner, down to Georges Island, but It took all the day to move the Ship, the schooner remain'd at Anchor opposite the Town, about sunset the Ship was anchor'd near the Fort on Georges island and the dock yard men all went on shore in a short time an officer from the Fort came alongside and call'd for the Sargent, pray Sir said he was you sent on Board that ship as a guard, he answer'd no Sir I was order'd on board the schooner, and I releivd the Chathams Marines here, and they had not time to move the schooner and the Cap^{n} request'd we would stay here untill the morning, the officer reply'd in a very stern voice shaking his cane Sir do you go w[h]ere you were order'd, immediately the sargent was then very much alarm'd on finding he had disobey'd his orders, and he orderd the whole Guard into the boat immediately, Cap^{n} Smith who was Captain of the prison ship requested them to remain untill he could send the boat on shore and inform the Commissary of prisoners that [19] in consequence of those orders the Ship and prisoners would be left without a guard, as soon as the boat return'd from this message the whole guard went into the Boat and were carry'd on board the Schooner which lay at Anchor opposite the town seeing this a favorable opportunity we made arrangements to make our escape accordingly when the Boat return'd I heard the Cap^{n} order the boatmen to get there suppers then take there Blankets and go up to the schooner and there remain with the guard all Night; our Plan was to take the boat and confine the Cap^{n} & five Boat men and the Cap^{n} Clerk & servant in the Hole of the Ship, accordingly at my signal (which was to seize the Cap^{n}) six men took Possestion of the Boat, the men were very much Alarm'd, and beg'd that they would not hurt them, I orderd the men out of the boat and put them in the Ships hold, I then went into the round house

[1] James Henley was the son of Samuel and Elizabeth (Cheever) Henley of Charlestown. His sister Elizabeth was the first wife of Thomas Russell (died 1796).

[2] George's Island is near Chebucto Head.

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and requested Cap[n] Smith to deliver me some provisions and stores, for which I Paid him, and all the prisoners had prepar'd themselves with there bags of Cloaths to go into the boat as soon as it became dark, in a very short time after, I saw two boats coming from the Fort with four Soldiers and a Sargent in each Boat, I then Personated the Cap[n] of the Ship and went to the gangway and haild with an audable voice the first boat, and ask'd if they were coming on board, they answer'd yes, I then orderd them to come one at a time, the first boat came along side and the seargent came up the Gangway, I said to him with an awdebal voice what is your will my man, he then ask if the gaurd was on board. I answer'd him No, they are on board the Schooner, he then return'd [20] into the boat and told the sargent in the other Boat that the Guard was on board the schooner, laying abrest of the Town they immediately Puld away for the schooner, which lay at about one and a half miles distance, I then went into the round House and told Cap[n] Smith that he must go into the hold with his men, for we must escape before the boats return'd with the guard, he was very loath to go untill I told him if he did not go immediately I must order him to be put down by force, I went my self to see him secure'd and gave him a Lanthorn with a light and laid on the hatches and Pil'd on some wood that lay near and order'd our men to take my bag of cloaths and the provisons and stores and put them into the boat, when I came on deck I found the boat full, and the boats Painter (which was the only rope there was) full of men sliping down into the boat, so that I could not get into the Boat that way. I then orderd them to put an oar on the Gunnel of the Ship. I Jump'd onto it and slid down and order'd them forward and to cut the Boats Painter and push of the Boat, as there was more men than the boat could carry if I had not thought of this, they would have sunk the boat along side the ship and probably most of us would have been drown'd, I told those that remain'd on board the Ship to Keep quiet and I would return and take them out. we then cut some stockings in two and muffled the Oars [21] and Kept in the wake of the Ship and pul'd for the Dartmouth shore.[1] as near as I could count there was about forty men & boys in the Boat, she was so heavy & deep loaded that it took up more time than I expected to get to the shore, and as the guard would soon return on board I concluded in my own mind not to return, therefore as soon as the Boat struck the shore I told the men to Jump out, in the mean time I had Wisper'd to those of our own officers & men that was near me to stick to the

[1] Dartmouth is opposite Halifax Harbor and about a mile or so from the town.

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boat, and when there was twelve men and two boys left, I order'd the boat shov'd off I then told them that was on shore, that It would not be safe to return, therefore they must proceed on about a mile where we saw some fishing boats laying and must shift for themselves, as it had now became dark we concluded we could not render them any further assistance. therefore consider'd what course we should take, for our own safety and we soon determin'd that our only chance was to put to sea, Accordingly, we saw Cape Sambro[1] light House which was about Ten miles off, and row'd for it. the twelve men including myself made three spells at the Oars, and the two boys took turns to steer, after we were some distance from Georges Island we examin'd [22] our stores and found we had only one Piece of raw salt Pork and two loaves of Bread but no Water nor spirits, how we could subsist or what was to become of us, did not as yet give us much anciety, it was sometime in the month of April 1782, it was a fine starlight Night and but little wind and smoth sea so that by day light we was close to the light House at the dawn of day we saw a small sail very near us, by this time we were all very much fatigu'd in rowing all Night, and stop'd rowing to consult what we should do, if this should prove to be an arm'd Vessel; all the weapons we had was an ax, the boats tiller, and a scoop Shovel with a strait handle which they us'd to heave water out of the boat, with these weapons only we determind to board this Vessel, concluding there would be but few on deck, and if we were so fortunate as to get on board, for every man to take his man and conquer him or die. Accordingly we muffel'd our Oars and Pull'd towards him, and as we approac'd we found she was a small schooner, we soon boarded her and found but two men on board, she was from Liverpool[2] [23] bound to Halifax loaded with lumber, & Hay on deck, the Wind was then at East. we then dropd our boat astern and stood to the westward, we found he had but little provisions and a small keg of Water, which was a very timely refreshment, for we had row'd the whole Night without any water; in a short time after, we made another small sail ahead (to the westward) we stood for her and soon came up with her as she was standing in for the Light house. I left three men & two boys on Board the schooner, and with eight men and my self we boarded this second schooner She was from Prospect[3] bound to Halifax, loaded with lumber we took Possestion of her also and Stood along to the westward a short time after sunrise we saw another small Vessell with

[1] Sambro Head is at the entrance of Halifax Harbor.

[2] Liverpool, Nova Scotia, a port about seventy miles southwest of Halifax.

[3] Prospect, Nova Scotia.

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two masts some distance to the southwest, we immediate stood for her, which gave him some alarm, I found I could not gain on him with the schooner & boat in towe. I therefore man'd the boat and pursu'd him. the wind began to freshen and I found I gain'd on him but very slow. I hail'd him and requested him to heave too but he took no notice. I then took up the strait handle'd shovel, and levelling it at him told him if he did not heave too I should fire into him he immediately hove too and we row'd along side and took Possestion, this boat was from Malagash.[1] loaded with potatoes in bulk, one Barrel of Souer Grout, and one Barrel of Eggs, we then boare away for Boston with our three prizes, and found the last boat was the fastest sailor, and we conclude'd to keep her [24] because she was small and handy and a quick sailer and we could row when it was calm, and land in the woods, and should have a much better chance of escape for we were very certain we should be Persu'd immediately, Accordingly at about noon (we being then off Prospect Harbour) we let the other two schooners go, and in the Afternoon we Put most of the potatoes into our Boat. and Put the two men into her and stood in towards the land and let them go for which they were very thankful, they arriv'd safe on shore and told there story, None of them had any cause to complain of any ill treatment, soon after this the wind freshen'd and we put into La'have[2] made a fire, hauld the boat up and lay there by the fire untill morning,

[At this point there is a cross in the margin. The following is written on a loose sheet marked with a cross on the corner and slipped between the pages of the book:]

In runing into this harbour of LaHave it was very thick and rainy and blew very fresh. I was standing on the boats cuddy holding by the fore mast with my left arm. going 4 or 5 Knots we struck a sunken Rock with so much violence as to knock me overboard and I lodg'd on the Rock which was very steep, so that I only had time to reach my arms to the Boat when she slip'd off the Rock into deep water and I was hauld into the Boat very much exhausted with the shock & cold: having been expos'd to rain all day we soon after discover'd the beach. ran in and hauld the Boat ashore, made a fire and lay there allnight. in the morning we found our boat had heel'd off and was full of water, we did not then discover that our boat had sustaind any Injury by striking the Rock I observ'd the boat had a false Keel on, which, help'd

[1] Malagash, Nova Scotia.

[2] La Have is in Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia.

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her sailing by the wind, and was the cause of her heeling off and filling with water,

[The book then continues:]

we then got under way and kept along shore, and landed at Night, we continu'd on from day to day untill we got to Cape Pursue, there we found some inhabitants from Cape Codd who treated us with great kindness, after staying there some days four of our companions left us, these inhabitants pointed out to us the danger and hazard of Crossing the Bay of Fundy in an open Boat notwithstanding which eight men & two boys of us determin'd to make the Attempt, and after being all ready we left Cape Pursue in the Afternoon with a light breeze from the south and we shaped a course for Mount desert the weather was mild and the sea smooth so that we were able to row & sail all Night, the next day it became Foggy. and [25] about Noon we heard the rote of the Shore but saw no land, we continu'd standing on and in the After Noon we made the land, we continu'd coasting along shore untill we saw a smooth Beach where we landed made a fire, set a watch and some of us went to sleep, and after a while releiv'd the others and let them go to sleep, in the morning the weather was mild & clear. we got something to eat and got under way and

[Here there is a caret in the margin. The following lines are on a loose sheet marked with a corresponding caret:]

to avoid the small cruisers out of Bagaduce we steerd for the Island Mentinicus,[1] and went in for a Harbour. we there went to the House of Mr Hall who treated us with kindness & Hospitality and gave us some provisions and would not take any Pay; he informd me that one Lenard (a Reefugee) left there that morning, in a small privateer, call'd a Shaving Mill[2] — who would have taken and carry'd us all into Baga-

[1] Matinicus Island, off Penobscot Bay.

[2] Mr. Albert Matthews informs me that the term "shaving-mill," though not recognized in the Century Dictionary, was employed in the sense indicated in the text during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, and sends me the following extracts:

A small boat, one of the noted Shaving-Mills, which continually infest our bay, was captured by two or three whale-boats, and sent in here last Saturday (Independent Chronicle, Boston, July 19, 1781, p. 3/3).

The Shaving-Mill, commanded by Captain Plympton, has taken a sloop and schooner, laden with fish, both of which are in a safe port (Boston Gazette, August 13, 1781, p. 3/1).

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duce as prisoners, my punishment would no doubt have been severe and cruel as I was the Principal and the leader. Probably should have been sent to England in Irons, for rising on the prison ship and confining the Capn with his men in the hole we left Mantinicus early in the Morning with a fine wind from the South and going very fast, all at once we saw the false keel astern which gave us some alarm but we found the boat made no water, and concluded this was fastened on with trunnels, which were partly broken when we struck the rock, and now sailing fast and a quick motion, had caus'd the false keel to come off the main keel we found was not injur'd.

[The manuscript in the book then continues:]

proceeded along shore, from day to day untill we arrivd safe at Boston, which I think was on the seventeenth day after leaving Halifax; previous to this Capn N. Goodwin had arrivd in a Cartrel and had given an Account of the transactions at Halifax. the Night of our departure and as I expected the guard soon return'd and found the Capn of the prison Ship and all his men in the hold as we left them; the Prisoners all in fear and tremblen for what would be there Punishment; the Boats were sent to the Fort to give the Alarm, and Capn Goodwin inform'd me the town was in great alarm the whole night, for the story was, that the prisoners had landed, and would set fire to the Town; the Next morning they landed a Company of soldiers at Darthmouthside, who pursu'd our comrades and before they could find a Vessel to get of, they were all taken and carry'd back; and some of them never return'd, home. [26] After being at home some time, we sold our boat (to Capn John Cathcart who then commanded a state Ship call'd the Tartar of 20 Guns) for a dispatch boat & Tender and divided the Neat proceds equaly with my comrades; sometime in Octr 1782 I ship'd with Capn John Leach as 1st Officer on Board the Ship St Marys Packet mounting twelve Carronades 18 Pounders, and thirty men, this was a Ship of four Hundred Tons, taken from the English loaded with Sugar, had a tier of Ports and a round house, we sail'd from Boston in co with Capn Howland [1] in

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Our *Shaving Mills* have begun to give much interruption to our Eastern Coasters (Salem Gazette, July 10, 1812, p. 2/4).

The Fairhaven shaving mill (generally called the handsaw, in honor of one of the reputed owners) has sailed from Boston on a cruise (ibid. October 12, 1813, p. 4/1).

See also the Columbian Centinel, August 18, 1813, p. 2/5; and J. L. Locke's Sketches of the History of the Town of Camden, Maine (1859), p. 32.

[1] Probably Capt. Consider Howland. See Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, viii. 403; Publications of this Society, vi. 76 note.

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a Brig both belonging to Broom & Livingstone, loaded with Masts & Spars bound to Cape Francois in Hispaniola, the Brig had no Guns and was under our convoy; After being at Sea about twenty days at day light we discover'd a Brig Astern, and found she came up with us very fast, and soon found she was Arm'd, we then made a signal for Cap^{n} Howland to go ahead, and we prepar'd for Auction, she was very soon up with us and gave us a Gun & hoisted his Coulours, we immediately fir'd a Gun and hoisted our Colours, she then Rang'd up under our Larboard quarter and gave us his broad side without any considerable damage, we concluded to make a runing fight for we saw he had Nine Ports of a side and was full of men, After loading again he dropt'd his foresail and rang'd up Nearer. and gave us another broad side. we then began the auction, and continud fireing our larboard Guns, for some time, he disabld one of our 18 Pounders [27] and did us some other damage, we hull'd him several times and shot away his Colours, he then engagd us on the Starboard side for some time, finding we would not Yeild he made all sail for our consort. and before we could get up he took and man'd her, and haul'd his wind and left us; the next day we fell in with the State Ship Tartar Cap^{n} John Cathcart and informd him of all that had taken Place. he went immediately in Persuit of the Enemy, but he did not come up with them and we heard afterward that he convoyd his prize safe into Bermuda Nothing material occur'd after this, and after a long Passage we arrivd safe in Cape Francois, and sold our Cargo for a good Profit, at this time the French & Spaniards had form'd a plan for the Capture of Jamaica and accordingly Don Galves [1] the Spanish General had embark'd with ten Thousand men at Havana with a large Fleet of men of War; and had arrivd at the Cap and was waiting for Count D^{e} Grass with his fleet to Join and go down in one body, our ship was taken into the Transport service and loaded with ordinance Stores, to proceed with the fleet, after being all ready and waiting for some time, information was rec'd that Rodney had overtaken D^{e} Grass to windward [2] and that he had suffer'd great loss, and some of the scatter'd Ships arrivd at the Cape, in consequence of this fatal disaster, the expedition was abandond, and we lay in Cape Francois untill the General Peace in May 1783 [28] As soon as this Joyful News Arriv'd we landed all the Ordinance Stores, and took in, some Cargo and saild for Alexandria in Virginia, where we arrivd safe sometime in July dischard the Cargo, and then took in five hundred Hogsheads of

[1] Bernardo Galvez (1756–1794).

[2] Near Guadaloupe, April 12, 1782. See Bancroft, History of the United States, v. 540.

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Tobacco; while at this Place I was severely Attack'd with the Fever and Ague. which continud untill I got to sea we left the Capes of Virginia sometime in November bound to Nantz in France. we had a very long and Tempestuous Passage, and finally Arriv'd in Port L Orient in December After laying here a few days we were orderd to London we sail'd from hence with a fine wind from N E. and after geting up Channel to Dungeness we had a severe Gale from the N W. and narrowly escapd being lost in Boulougn Bay but After a very tedious Passage we Arrivd safe in the River Thames and Moord at Depford, where we discharg'd our Cargo; and belaid the Ship. and saild for Bristol, we met with no Accident on this Passage and arriv'd safe where we loaded the Ship for Boston, and after a tedious Passage of fifty six days arrived safe, and discharg'd the Cargo in Boston After being at home a short time I saild as Master for the first time in the Brig Ann belonging to Joseph Blake & Benj[a] Williams I went from Boston to New Providence and from thence to Charleston S[o] Carolina, from thence to Kingston in Jamaica, from thence to Savan La Mer[1] in the same Island and from thence [29] to Boston. then saild in the same brig for Savan La Mar and frome thence to Charleston were I sold the Cargo and the Brig and took Passage with Cap[n] John Harding of Chatham, in Cape Cod and there took a Horse and rode to Boston with the proceeds of my Cargo in Gold, in [. . .][2] 1785 I was Marry'd to Abigail Devens[3] the third Daughter of Richard Devens Esq[r] of Charlestown and when I return'd from this Voyage I found my wife had bro[t] me a fine Son, [. . .][4] June 25, 1786, I saild in the Schooner Industry belonging to Cap[n] Brooks for Fyal and S[t] Georges where I sold my Cargo and return'd to Boston with a Cargo of Wine, and when I returnd Sep[r] 7th I found my son dead in the House. he was bury'd the next day, this was a very sorrowful disappointment to me which was very hard to bear, but in due time we were Gratify'd and consold by the Pleasing hope and expectation, of having our loss made up, sometime in Nov[r] 1787 I saild in the Schooner Sally belonging to Matthew Bridge for S[t] Croix, and return'd in Jan[y] 1788. and then made a second Voyage, during my Absence my only Brother Richard died of a Consumtion and was bury'd from my House in Charlestown, I then went a Voyage in a schooner charter'd by Tho[s] Russell to S[t] Augustine and

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[1] Savanna-la-Mar.

[2] A word is here struck out.

[3] Abigail Devens was the daughter of Richard and Mary (Townsend) Devens of Charlestown.

[4] Several words are here struck out.

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Charlestown and back to Boston then in a Sloop charterd by him to the Island of Trinadad and home. in July 22d 1788 my wife died and our infant daughter the next day, they were burry'd in one Grave in Charlestown. [30] I continud in the Wt India trade untill May 29th 1789. I then saild as first officer of the Ship Hercules 600 Tons Commanded by Capn patrick Fletcher bound to India this Ship mounted eight Guns six Pounders and forty five men all included, the Ship Nathianiel & Brig Generous Friends were our consorts and bound on the same Voyage, they were all fitted out by Thomas Russell on Acct of the House of Lane, Son & Frazier of London, we according proceeded in Co from Boston to Madeira, there landed a Part of our Cargo and took in some wine, from thence we saild in Co to Tenerief, found we could make no trade, and proceeding in Co to St Jago one of the Cape de Verd Islands, there we all arriv'd safe and lay there some days and were employd in wooding & Watering, and sometime in August 7 1789 we sail'd in Co for the Cape of Good Hope, and after a long and tedious Passage November 27 we all arriv'd safe at the Cape Good Hope there we disposd of some Part of our Cargo, took in wood & Water and other refreshments, we saild in Co for Bombay December 12th at this Period of the World these Voyages were considered a Great undertaking, and it was the first Voyage of every officer in the three Ships, therefore we Proceeded slowly and with Great caution, and went the Great route (so call'd) and made the Islands St Paul & Amsterdam [1] Jany 24 and from thence proceeded down to the Equator, cross'd it in the Longetude of 88 or 90 degrees East from London, Feby 23d we then met with light & Variable winds, and on March 22 made the [31] Island Ceylon, we proceeded on toward Bombay and after Passing the south Point of Ceylon we found a strong current to the NE: by reason of which we fell in with the land to the Eastward of Cape Comorin [2] and was oblidg'd to Anchor and sent a Boat on shore to a Dutch settlement call'd Manapa,[3] here we Procurd some frish Provisions Vegetable, and Water. and got a Pilot to carry us to Anjango Cochin [4] w[h]ere we arrivd April 7th and landed our Pilot. continud Beating up the coast with land & Sea breezes anchoring twice in 24 hours. and on the 10th Anchord in Cochin Road, sent the long boat for wood & Water and on the 13th we got under way in Co with the Ship Nathaniel & Brig Generous Friends (our consorts) and continu'd beating up the coast untill the 18th when we Anchord in

[1] St. Paul and New Amsterdam are islands in the Indian Ocean.
[2] Cape Comorin, British India.
[3] Manappadu, Madras.
[4] Anjengo.

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Tellecherry [1] (an English settlement) here three of our Sea men Enter'd on Board the Phaenix Frigate, they were British subjects, there wages was demanded & paid, sent our long boat for Water, on the 20th got under way, and continu'd beating up the coast found a strong current the whole time seting to the southward, and on May 6th we fell in with a Company Cruiser call'd the Shark mounting 12 Guns. this Vessel saild very fast and Mr Moore (our supercargo was anceous to get to Bombay and he took the Steward with him and went on Board the Shark, then Pidgeon Island bore N E distance 6 or 7 leagues, we continud beating up the coast, and on the 31st of May we arrivd safe and Anchor'd in Bombay, it is now one year since we left Boston, and it is very Proper to give some reasons why we were so uncommonly long in making this Passage in the first Place, all the officers of all three of the Ships were [32] on there first Voyage to India, and the Ships were all slow Sailors, and not copperd, and being consorted, oblidg'd to sail by signals in the Night caus'd great delay, stoping at so many Places, and commencing the Voyage at an improper season, which brought us on the coast of India in bad season, and the Ships all becoming so foul they would not sail nor Steer in light winds, add to all this a constand Strong current setting to the southward and light & Variable winds, our Stores almost all expended and the crew almost wore out with fatigue in Anchoring twice in 24 Hours, and some of them sick, and three of our stoutest men had left us, all these curcumstances combind seems to me sufficient reasons for our uncommon long Passage Bombay is a consideable large Town, has a large dry dock and is a good harbour, our Cargoes was principaly large masts and Spars, soon found they would not sell here, and on the 15 June we got under way bound to Calcutta in Co with our Consorts, and on the 24th we made the Island Ceylon. continud along in sight of the South End of the Island untill Night when we took our departure and on the 4th July Arrivd at Calcutta there the three Ships & Cargoes were sold, and Alexander Moore our Supra Cargo Charterd the Ship Sophia Capn Jacob Stout, and Graham & Mobarys House bot the Brig Generous Friends and gave me the Command of her, and loaded her with Freight & Passengers for the Isle of France [2] discharging [33] the Hercules and fiting out and Coppering, & loading the Generous Friends, detaind me in Calcutta untill Decr 5th 1790, being then clear of the sand heads, I dischargd the pilot and on Janr 15th 1791 I Arrivd safe at Port Louis in the Isle of France, here we lay untill Febr 14th when I left the Isle of France and on the 15th

[1] Tellicheri, about fifty miles north of Calicut.

[2] Mauritius.

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March arrivd safe at the Cape Good Hope where I found the Sophia waiting my arrival here we lay untill the 9th of April, then saild in C° bound on a tradeing Voyage on the Coast of Africa. on the 19th I made Cape Negro in Lat^{d} 15.°51 South, continud sailing along shore and the 23^{d} we Anchord in St Phillips a Portugeze settlement but was not permitted to trade continud along Shore untill the 29th when we Anchord in St Pauls Loango [1] another Pourtugeze settlement, this is the Capitol of the Pourtugeze settlement on this Coast and is a very hansome Town and a fine safe harbour here we lay untill May 5th trying to make trade but could get no Permission, exceping we would take slaves in payment, which was the Principal trade from hence to Brazils, they inform'd us that after there slaves are collectd they send the Priests amoung them and they convert them to the Roman Catholick religion then they clothe them decently, put a String of beads round there Necks with a Cross attachd to them, they then put them on board a Vessel and send a Number of young Preists with them. they instill into there minds they are going to a fine Country where they will be more happy, they are not confind but go freely and in 15 or 20 days Passage they arrive at Braziles and there they are sent into slavery forever —[34] May 5th 1781 [2] at 5 p m we saild from St Paul Loango and continud our course along the Coast untill the 9th when we saw three ships at Anchor. they provd to be French Ships laying in Loango Bay [3] collecting slaves, this Bay lays in Latt^{d} 4.°40^{m} Minutes South and Long^{d} 11.58 East from London, by a good Lunar Observation we got under way in the morning and proceeded along the Coast untill the 16th when we anchord at Cape Lopaz in Latt^{d} 0.°18 North here the King whose Name was Mamyumbo came of and settled the Palerver for trade and gave us permission to Wood & Water we lay here untill the 26th when Mr. Moore our Sup^{r} Cargo came on board and we got under way and Run down the coast and Run some distance up the River Gabon, where we found Cap^{n} Brown in an English Ship belonging to the House of Calverts in London. moor'd and dismantled with a house over her, laying for a three Years Station to collect Slaves, he had ten small Copper bottom boats, constantly employd in going up the Rivers and returning with slaves, say men, Women & Children. these boats were all man'd by Natives who Put on Board the Ship Hostages for the Goods & Boats, and if they do not return with the boats there hostages are slaves, every three

[1] St. Paul de Loanda.

[2] An error for 1791.

[3] Loango is a French settlement, between St. Paul de Loanda and Cape Lopez.

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months a ship arrives from England brings out a supply of Goods takes the Slaves he has collectd to the W^t Indies, in consequence of this regular supply we could not trade with him [35] here we collectd some Wax & some Gum Copal some Goats, & Vegetables and on the 22^d June we arrivd again at Cape Lopax & Joind our Consort, on the 23^d we got under way bound to the Gold Coast. on the 30th we made the land and saw a Ship at Anchor in Baraco Roads, found this Ship was commanded by Cap^n Comrie collecting slaves, here we lay untill July 2^d then got under way and run down to Accra Mr Moore the Sup^r Cargo went on Shore, and came on board next Morning, the 4th Govonor Roberts[1] came on Board the Sophia and we all din'd togeather, at Night he returnd, on the 6th Mr Moore was taken very sick and a fever set in which continud to Increase untill the 12th at 5 p m when he died, and at 10 next morning we carryd him on shore and bury'd him at the North Corner of the English Fort at Accara[2] each Vessel fir'd seven Guns, this Place lays in Lat^d 5.°28^m North and Longitude 00.°34 West from London, Mr. Joseph Russell who now became Sup^r Cargo orderd me to get ready to sail the Next morning Accordingly at 5 a m on the 14th we got under way in C^o with the Sophia and continud beating up the coast untill the 20th when we anchord of Almira,[3] Fort & Town bearing NNW about two miles distance in ten fathoms, here we lay untill the 26th and made some trade with the Natives and some with the shiping, then got under way and dropd down to Cape Coast, here we made some trade and procurd some Water and Augt 3^d we got under way and run down to Annamaboo[4] here we made some trade with the Ships and on 7th we got under way and run down to Bercoe. here we made some trade with the Govonor, and on the 12th of Augt we got under [36] way in C^o with the Sophia, with orders from Mr Russell to proceed without delay to Martinico, the Sophia bound to Ostend and on the 13th at 5 p m we weight and stood to Southward by the wind and on the 16th we lost sight of Sophia and on the 18th at 9 a m saw the Island St Thomas's bearing from

[1] There appears to be some error here. John Roberts was appointed Governor on March 25, 1780, and died before May 26, 1781. William Fielde was Governor from June 20, 1789, to November 15, 1791. See G. Macdonald, The Gold Coast Past and Present, pp. 346, 347.

[2] Alexander Moore left a widow, Ruth, who later married John Scott and removed to London. Moore's estate was administered in Boston, and in his inventory was scheduled "the Snow Generous Friends, with the Masts, Yards, Cables, Anchors, Sails, Stand'g and Run'g Rigging, Boats, Stores &c.," valued at £400. See Suffolk Probate Files, no. 20186.

[3] Elmina.

[4] Anamabo.

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East to SEast dist– about 7 Leagues, at 4 P M on the 19th we was within 9 or 10 Miles of the Island which is high land from which I take my departure it Laying on the Equator in 8°.30 East from London we continud our Passage without any remarkable occurrence untill Octr 6 when we made the Island Dominico bearing West distance 4 or 5 Leagues, and on the 8th at 5 p m came to an Anchor in St Peirs in the Island of Martinico, here we fill'd up our water casks and on the 12th at 5 p m we saild for St Estatia [1] and the next day Anchor'd in the Roads. here I dispos'd of a considerable quantity of India Goods for cash which detaind us untill November 13th when I sail'd from St Estatia bound to Boston, the next day the Island Sambrero [2] bore s E b S from which I take my departure it laying in Latd 18°.38m North & Longd 63°.26m West from London nothing purticular occurr'd untill Novr 28th at Meredian when I Anchord in Holmes Hole in Marthas Vineyard Island, here we lay until Decr 3d then got under way with a favorable wind and the next day arriv'd safe in Boston Harbour it being Decr 4th 1791, having been absent two years six months and six days, this prov'd an unfortunate Voyage for the owners and, yielded but a small profit to the officers but I gain'd experience which soon gave me other employ in [37] the India trade which provd to be very profitable, in which trade I made, what I considerd a very hansome property, After being at home some months, a Number of Gentlemen proposd to me to be concernd in a Voyage to Calcutta, to which I agreed and accordingly contractd, with Loring & Sampson, to build a Ship at Situate which we call'd the Adventure, and on the 1st day of March 1793 I saild from Boston bound to Madrass & Calcutta, this ship was not Copperd I therefore had a very long & tedious passage of five months, & six days when I made the Island Ceylon, and by reason of light winds, Calms and a strong currt setting to the southward at the rate of forty miles a day I did not arrive at Madrass untill Augt 23d, I lay in Madrass Roads untill the 4th of Sepr and sold a Part of my Cargo, and sild on that day for Calcutta where I arrivd safe on the 18th and moord Ship near the Town, here I lay disposing of my Cargo and procuring a Cargo of sugar salt Peter & Peice Goods untill the 28th of Decr when I left Town and on the 3d Janr 1794 dischargd the Pilot bound to Boston, nothing Material occurd during this Passage, but in consequence of the Ships not being Copperd she became very foul, and on the 4th of June 1794 I arrivd safe in Boston, having been on this Voyage one year three months & four days, this was a very good Voyage and neated the owners seventy two

[1] St. Eustatius.
[2] Sombrero.

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p^r c^t profits, I was a small part owner which with my commissions was to me a very profitable Voyage, After being on Shore for some time, some of the same Company Joind with me, and we purchas'd a Ship of three hundred & forty Tons,[1] on the stocks at Durham in N. Hampshire and on the 19th Feby 1795 I saild from Boston bound to Madrass with a Valuable Cargo of $150000 dollars chiefly in Specia. on the 23^d of March I saw the Island Fogo,[2] and the 7th of April I cros'd the Equator in the Longetude of 18°.25^m West, on the 23^d being in Lat^d 22.24^M South [38] and Long^d 24°.58^M West fell in with the Ship Recovery Cap^n George G. Smith belonging to Elias H. Derby of Salem. from Madeira bound to Madrass, this was a Copper bottom Ship and a very fast sailer I had a packet of letters, for him, he came on bourd in the Morning and took breakfast, and took his letters and departed. as his ship outsail'd me so very much he expected to be in Madrass three or four weeks before me, and I fully expected he would for befor Night he was out of sight from the mast head, this circumstance induced me to make every exertion to carry every sail the Ship would bear both by night and by day, for my Ship not being Copperd, now began to be coverd with small barnacles, I was determind if Possible not to be beaten so much as Smith expected, and Accordingly on the 8th of July I anchord in Madrass Roads. here I found the Recovery, had arrivd one day only before me, here I lay untill the 24th of Augt employd in landing the Cargo and takeing in Sugar, then saild for Trenkabar to take in a large quantity of Pepper in beating up the coast I lost my Stream Anchor as we was oblidg'd to Anchor twice in 24 hours with our bower Anchor of shore in 25 or 30 fathoms, it was, very hard duty for the men and they were sometimes almost discourag'd & beat out but, continud to persevere against head winds & Strong lee current untill the 10th of Sepr when we Anchord in Trankabar.[3] here we lay untill the 16th, took in our Pepper and on the 18th we returnd and anchor'd in Madrass, here we lay take in our Cargo untill Octr 14 when we saild for Boston [39] at this season (about the change of the Monsoon) we had light & vareable Winds and a strong current seting to the Wesward which drew me in with the land, and on the 22^d at 9 a m saw the Island Cylon bearing S b W 5 or 6 leagues distance then in 22 fathoms water, found the current was seting on to the Pedro shoal, and on the 23^d at Midnight I found I had shoalend to nine fathom and being calm I was oblidgd to Anchor. at this time the sky had a tremenduous appeareance and I expectd the Mon-

[1] This was the Asia. See p. 233 note 2, below.

[2] Cape Verde Islands.

[3] Tranquebar.

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soon would change, and that I should meet with some serious disaster, but the next morning we got under way and stood to the Eastward. saw two ships standing to the Northward and at 10 A M they came up with and spoke me and sent there boat on board they prov'd to be the Bombay & Heroine English Frigates. the boarding officer informd me they had been unexpectedly drawn on to this Bank and then been five days in trying to get clear and as the wind had then set in at N E he expected as these Ships saild very fast they should get clear in the course of the day the officer informd me they were once in 5 fathoms, I continud to make every exertion to get to the Eastward and on Saturday the 24th we was to the Eastward of the Bank in 12 fathoms fine dark sand with small Sheles, on the Bank we found the soundings very irregular from 7 to 10 fathoms, I found our Ship was very crank, and would not carry sail and the Cargo was so Plac'd & stow'd that I could not shift any part of it so as to make her carry sail. therefore we was at this critical season to be always on our gaurd, on the 26th at 6 p m Trincomalay Bay [1] bore West about 10 Leagues distance it laying in the Latd 8.°35M Nº Longd 81.°27M East from which I take my departure, continuing on my course on the 29th I fell in with the Ship recovery Capn G. G. [40] Smith from Calcutta Bound to Boston he had been 20 days from the sand heads, it being calm I went on board to dine continuing Calm Capn Smith & Mr Nathanel Lee the Supr Cargo came on board and spent the day, found a current seting to the N°ward 16 miles in 24 hours. on the 31st at Meredian the Recovery bore S S E 5 or 6 leagues distance. nothing material occur'd, on the Passage and on the 21st Jany 1796 I arrivd in Table Bay at the Cape of Good Hope, I Petitiond the Goverment to sell a Part of my Cargo but could not obtain permission, here we took in Water & fresh Provisions & Vegetable and on the 1st of Feby sail'd for Boston, the ship continu'd to get more foul every day, and sail'd very slow, and we arrivd at Boston on the 4th May [2] having been Absent on this Voyage one Year two months & 15 days, this was a very fortunate Voyage for all concern'd and the Ship & Cargo was

[1] Trincomali.

[2] The arrival of "Ship Asia, Chapman," was noted in the Columbian Centinel of May 7, 1796 (p. 3/1). In the same paper of May 11 was printed an advertisement in part as follows (p. 3/3):

> On Wednesday, 1st of June,
> Will be exposed for sale, at RUSSELL's Wharf,
> the Ship *ASIA*, and Cargo, as she arrived from
> India —— *Cargo consisting of* —— . . .
>
> The *Asia*, a fine new Ship, built for the India Trade, 327 tons burthen; made one voyage only — can be put to sea at small expense, and will be sold on liberal terms.

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sold in one day by Samuel Bradford at Auction and the Amt of Sales was $212000 dollars I remaind at home without employ untill June 1798 when there was every Appearance of a War with France [1] and our Goverment gave orders to Capture french Vessels at this time I was urg'd by my friends to take charge of one of the United States Ships of War. According on the 30th June 1798 I receivd a Captain's commission in the Navy and took charge of the Brig Pickering.[2] of fourteen Guns then on the stocks at Newbury port [41] Sometime in July she was launch'd and I came to Boston in her and was buissily employ'd in fiting her out untill Augt 22d when we saild from Boston in Co with the Ship Herald [3] of 20 Guns Commanded by Capn James Seaver who was Sienor Officer. we were orderd to Cruse in Co on the coast to look for French privateers who then were capturing our Vessels, After cruising for some time we went into Newport, took in provisions & Water & saild again on another cruise and on the 24th of Octr we anchord again in Newport took in provisions & Water and on the 4th of Novr we saild for Halifax with a Brig under our convoy to load with Cannon, which Mr Liston [4] the British Minister had loan'd our Goverment to fortefy Fort Johnson in the Harbour of Charleston So Carolina on the 10th we arrivd at Halifax, and was treated with great respect and attention by all the officers particularly by the officers of the Navy, here we lay until the 23d and was employ'd with a Lieutenant and twenty men on Shore in bringing down twenty five twenty four pound Cannon from the Grand Park and stowing them in the Transport Brig now under our convoy bound to Charleston. on the 9th of December we arriv'd of the Bar and took a Pilot the Next morning got under way and being very thick and Foggy we got foul of the Herald and carryd away our Bowsprit, on the 11th we Anchord in Charleston Harbour [42] on the 12, got in a new Bowsprit and was employd in wooding & Watering untill the 15th when we got under way Bound to Boston, on the 25th we arrivd in Holmes Hole in Marthas Vineyard, the next day we got under way but the wind dying away we anchord on the Shoals. the next morning got under way and on the 30th Decr 1798 at 6 a m we Anchord in Boston Harbour and moor'd Ship, and Janr 4th 1799 I was orderd to discharge the Crew; and give

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[1] See Cooper, History of the United States Navy, pp. 153, 154.

[2] The Pickering was with Commodore John Barry's squadron in the West Indies, and was lost at sea in August, 1800. See ibid. pp. 167, 176, 182.

[3] The Herald also served in West Indian Waters, and was sold when the Navy was reduced in 1801. See ibid. pp. 182, 193.

[4] Sir Robert Liston (1742–1836).

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up the Pickering to Edward Preble,[1] who was then 1st Lieutenant of the Frigate Constitution, who was then made Capn of the Pickering I was then Appointed to Command the Boston Frigate [2] of thirty two Guns built in Boston by the Merchants of Boston, who had liberty to Nominate the Commander but I found that the Naval service, did not suit me and declin'd the Appointment and resign'd my commission soon after this Mr David Sears Bought a Ship of Mr Wm Delano then on the Stocks at Cituate nearly finish'd I went down and supperintended the finishing and brot her to Boston, I was a Part owner of the Ship & Cargo, and on the 13th July 1799 I saild for Batavia,[3] mounted 12 Guns and thirty men this Armament was to guard us against the French who continu'd to capture our Vessels, on the 2d of November I arrivd safe in Batavia Roads all well, here we lay untill Decr 1st and loaded the Ship full of sugar [48] pepper & Coffee, on the 3d four men were taken very sick and myself quite unwell, the Ship being very deep made much Water, and the Weather very tempestuous in Co with the Ships Samuel Smith of Baltimore Capn George Stiles and the George Barkley McMaster, of Philadelphia, on the 16 being nearly calm Docr Worthington from the Samuel Smith came on board to visit the sick three of them he said were doing well but the other one, he orderd to be blisterd, but they had no effect and that Night Michel Conden died, and was bury'd at 11 O'Clock, on the 3d of Jany John Wood fell from one of the Guns and was drownd, I hove a hen coop lower'd the boat immediately. they saw him under water but he never rose again, we then saluted the Samuel Smith with 13 Guns he return'd the Salute took leave and left us, we continu'd our course in Co with the George Barclay on the 14th we fell in with a large Ship who stood for us we prepart for Auction, and shortned sail he seeing this hauld his wind and left us, we continud on our course in Co and the 26th Jany we anchord in St Helena roads, here we fill'd up our Water and got some refreshments, and found the ship we saw on the 14th laying in the Roads which prov'd to be the America Capn Benjamin Crowninshield from Calcutta bound to Salem. on the 28th we all three saild in Co and on the 16th Feby, I put a letter on board the America he then took leave, and as she was a very fast sailer he expectd to be in some days before us [44] we continud on our course in

[1] Preble was later promoted to the rank of Commodore, and was in command of the Mediterranean squadron in the war with Tripoli in 1803-1804. See Cooper, History of the United States Navy, chaps. xx-xxiv.

[2] The Boston took part in several actions against the French in West Indian waters in 1800. She carried Robert R Livingston to France in 1801. See ibid. pp. 182, 205.

[3] Java.

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C° with the Barclay and nothing material occur'd untill 5th of March, when we had a very sudden & heavy squall from the southward which carryd away our Spanker Boom, flying Jibb boom & Main Top Gt mast and split several of our light sails, on the 9th we took leave of our consort, he now steering more to the West on the 15th of March at 10 A M I made the East end of Long Island and the next day at 2 P M Block Island bore N E b E about 8 Miles where I took Silas Dogget, as a Vineyard Pilot and the next day at 1 P M I Anchord in Holmes Hole, the same afternoon the America arrivd and Anchor'd, I then sent my clerk over to Falmouth, he arrivd in Boston in 20 hours after he landed, Mr Sears was very much supris'd to see him for this was the shortest Voyage ever made, it being performd in 246 days from Boston to Batavia and back to this Place, on Friday the 21st we had a fine breeze from the West, when a fleet of 80 Sail got under way and had a fine time over the Shoals, at sunset was becalm'd of Cape Cod, and in the Night a Violent Gale from N E and a thick snow storm which Brought us under close Reeft top sails & Fore sail we carryd a press of sail, and wore Ship twice during the Night. at 11 O'Clock Next day we made half way Rock [1] and bore away for Boston light, and soon made it and at 2 p m we arrivd safe in Boston Harbour, this was the most severe and perilous storm I ever was in, therefor it was the most Joyful arrival [45] this provd to be a very profitable Voyage, and the Ship was dischargd with all Possible dispatch and fited out again for India and on the 1st day of June 1800 I saild again for Calcutta, with a Cargo some goods and Specie amounting to 150 Thousand dollars we had a fine Run off the coast and a continuation of fine winds & Weather and on June 23d we made the Islands Brava & Fogo —

After this we had moderate winds and fine Weather and on July 9th we crossd the line in Longd 23°18m West from London, continud fine weather and a fresh S East trade wind and on the 17th July we made the Island of Trinadad bearing S b E 1/2 E about 10 Leagues distance we continud on our course with fine winds & Weather and on the 5th of Augt was up with the Cape Good Hope, we had a continuation of fine winds & Weather and on the 18th Sepr we anchord in Balasore Roads, [2] in 8 1/2 fathom. saw the high land bearing N West, in the Morning hove up and Run down towards the sand heads to look for a pilot, and on Sunday the 21st at 5 p m we took from a pilot Brig Alexander Blair a Branch Pilot we had head winds and strong currents to contend with and on the 28th at 11 a m we anchord at Calcutta and the next day moord ship under four anchors and Cables, having been 120 days from Boston, here we lay in procuring our Cargo untill the 24 Decr when we

[1] Three miles S. S. E. from Marblehead. [2] Near Calcutta.

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drop'd down to Garden reach, continu'd droping down from day to day and on Jany 3^{d} 1801 discharg'd the Pilot, we had very Rainy disagreeable Weather and several of the men sick and on the 19th Thomas West, Cabin steward died, from this time we had fine Weather, and on Feby 18th we pas'd Cape Good Hope, and on March 6th made the Island Asention bearing North 8 or 9 Leagues, this is a high land and has a very barren [46] appearance and may be seen in Clear Weather 10 or 12 Leagues from hence we had very fine Pleasant Weather and on the 8th of April we arrivd safe in Boston Harbour in a Passage of 96 days which was the shortest Passage ever know[n] at that time, having been Absent on the Voyage 10 months & 8 days, this Voyage was not so profitable as the last, but the owners & Shippers were all satasfy'd, having now acquird a hansome Property I concluded not to go to sea again, and continud to own my Part of the Ship with Mr David Sears, we then fited her out and send her under the Command of Cap^{n} Joshua Grafton to Humburg & from thence to Russia, and back to Boston, this was not a profitable Voyage, I now determin'd to build me a house and to marry a Wife and endeavour to maintain my self on Shore. Accordingly July 14th 1804 I purchasd a lot of land at the corner of Middlecot Street[1] in Boston which cost $4412 dollars, and commencd building and on the 14th of November I was marry'd (at Stow) to Miss Margaret Rogers, and went to House Keeping in an Old House adjoining the premises where I was on the spot to superinted the workmen, Octr 9th 1805 my wife was confin'd and had twins the son was still born, and the daughter (whom we calld Margaret) was not healthy, but soon recoverd and at the age of 8 years was very healthy, on the 27th of May 1806 we movd into the New House all compleatly finished and believe it to be in every part one of the most thorough and substantial built Houses in Boston which cost $16932.51 compleat, which is one third more than I intended to put into a house when I commencd building. [47] I continu'd to own 1/8 the Ship Indus & Cargo and on March 1802 she saild for Canton commanded by Cap^{n} Richard Wheatland (of Salem), there were a Number of Shippers and she had a very Valuable Cargo, on her return in the China Seas she met with a Teyffoon was dismasted and otherways much damagd and put into Batavia to repair, and in June 1803 she return'd and made a very loosing Voyage, in Augt 1803 she saild for Batavia Cap^{n} David Myrick and made the Voyage in seven months & twenty days which was the shortest Voyage ever known and was a very good Voyage, in May

[1] Now Bowdoin Street. The land was at the corner of Cambridge Street. See Suffolk Deeds, ccix. 68. It is said that the garden covered a part of the land where the Revere House now stands.

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1804 she sail'd again for Batavia and on her way home was dismasterd in a Teyffoon put into the Isl of France and was condem'd, and abandon'd to the underwriters, this was a favorite ship, in which I made some money therefore have purticularly notic'd her begining & End. Jany 30th Friday at 1/2 past 3 O'Clock in the Morning my wife was deliverd of a Son and we calld his name Jonathan; and on Sunday March 6 1808 at half past ten O'Clock in the morning my wife had another son whom we call'd Dummer Rogers (for his Uncle who resides in Nottingham in England) in May 1803 I was chosen one of the Selectmen of the Town of Boston and resign'd, in 1806. In July 1808 I began to build a large wharf in Charlestown which cost including the first Purchase say $10,000 dollars, in June 1810 I began to build a large Distillhouse on a part of this land,[1] this was compleated in Jany 1812 and cost to build $17601, and the land I valu'd at $2000, I carryd on this buissiness for ten years and most of the time it was profitable, but a buissiness in which I made bad debts amounting about $10000 dollars — [48] In May 1813 I began to build a Brick House and Store on a Part of this land, which cost to build $8269. and the land valued at $1000 — in 1813 I was chosen one of forty to represent the Town of Boston in the General Court and serv'd two years & resign'd in April 1818 I purchasd the House & Hall now call'd the Eagle Tavern[2] and movd them from where Mr. Walkers Brick meeting House[3] now stands on to a Part of this Ground which cost when compleated with all the out Houses & Bowling Houses including the land valued at $2000 — say $12644 — this prov'd a very bad speculation. I have for some years past been concernd in a Number of Vessels with Mr. David Ellis,[4] in most of which Voyages I lost money, therefore I sold out and quit that buissiness and in April 1st 1822 I let my Distillhouse for three

[1] This land was in Main Street, Charlestown. See Suffolk Probate Files, no. 30071. The entire estate, real and personal, was appraised at $69,865.53. Sawyer writes:

Another daughter of Commissary Devens married Captain Jonathan Chapman, who was also a large real-estate owner in the old town. Chapman Street was laid out by the family, through the old distillery-lot which fronted on Main Street and ran down to the river (Old Charlestown, p. 102).

[2] Sawyer writes:

To make room for the church, the old Indian Chief Tavern building was moved to the corner of Main and Miller streets, where it still stands [1898]. It was used as a public house for many years afterwards, under the name of Eagle Hotel (Old Charlestown, pp. 119, 432, 433).

[3] Now known as the Harvard Church. The Rev. James Walker was later President of Harvard College.

[4] David Ellis was the father of the Rev. George E. Ellis and the Rev. Rufus Ellis.

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years to Newell & Goodwin for $1448 p^r Annum and have now leasd it to them for three years from April 1st 1825 for $1500 — p^r. Annum they are to Pay all Taxes and keep the House and all the Appuratus inside in Repair at there expense and I am to keep the outside in Repair at my expense

[The following and concluding sentence appears, from the color of the ink, to have been written at a later date:]

April 1 1828 I leas'd the Distillhouse to Abijah Goodridge for three years for $800 a year he is to make all Alterations and repairs inside at his own expense I am to keep the outside in Repair at my expence.

On behalf of Mr. HENRY E. WOODS, Mr. THOMAS MINNS made the following communication:

The following "anonymous letter," printed among the State Papers of New Hampshire, was brought to my attention by Mrs. Lucy Hall Greenlaw, who is compiling a genealogy of the Tarbell family. It is interesting in connection with the account given of Captain Samuel Tarbell, Jr., in the valuable paper upon Some Massachusetts Tories contributed by Mr. John Noble at the March, 1898, meeting of this Society.[1]

This letter, which is without date, was presented on November 23, 1778, at a session of the House of Representatives of New Hampshire. On December 4, 1777, Captain Tarbell signed the bond for £2000 which is mentioned in the letter; and on April 23, 1778, there was issued an order of process upon the bond, as "the Said Tarbell has nevertheless absconded and failed of appearing agreeable to the Conditions mentioned in the Bond." Action upon the writ was taken July 14, 1778, and "the Defendant altho' solemnly called to come into Court did not Appear but made Default." It would seem, from the letter, that his absence may have been due to his confinement in jail at Concord, Massachusetts.

This may Certify to all persons whom it may Concern, the way and manner by which Samuel Tarbell got out of Concord [Massachusetts] goal after Six months close Imprisonment a man by the name of Doc^t Silas Hedges[2] told me the authority would let me out of prison if i

[1] Publications, v. 257–297.

[2] In April, 1777, officers were sent out by the Committee of Safety of New Hampshire to apprehend Dr. Hedges, then a resident of Dunbarton, New

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would Comply with there terms. the terms was these for me to inform what I knew with regard to Counterfeit money and tory plans, after thinking of the matter some little time, i told him I would; and Parted at that time; About three weaks after, the s[d] Hedges Came To see me again, he then told me he had orders from the authority in this state, and the authority of New Hampshire to Examine Me concerning the affair. He first Declared to me that there should be no advantage taken of me. I then informed him what i knew Concerning the affair and that was but little, but i soon found there was something else he was aiming at, he saith to me you dont say half so much as i Expected you would, But however i will help you out; If you will do as you may, well says I Doc[t] how is that, why says he I cant tell you, but i will show you, he takes a pen and writes you must Deliver me 2000 Dollars to Devide among the authority and i can get you out. I told him i thought his terms was very hard, well says he, if you will Not do it, you shall ly in Jail. Finily I promised him the money. I then got some more Liberty; the matter was to be settled att Cambridge Court and was as i thought. I signed a bond of two thousand pounds to the states for my appearance att Court, and was to be Clear, but the authority told me, I must go back to Jones's[1] and stay awhile, for the people will be mad Att us for letting you out, without a trial, you may live att Cap[t] Jones's Just as you please under the pretence of a prisoner. About a fortnight after Doc[t] Prescott[2] came there and gave me the

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Hampshire, there being evidence against him as one concerned in counterfeiting New Hampshire bills, and he was arrested and committed to the jail in Cambridge, Massachusetts; but he was soon released and employed by the State authorities in hunting counterfeiters and Tory suspects. In September, 1777, he petitioned the New Hampshire Legislature for the fee in certain lands at Goffstown, New Hampshire. (State Papers of New Hampshire, viii. 546, 554, 694, 703, 735, 807.)

[1] Capt. Ephraim Jones kept the tavern and had the care of the jail at Concord, Massachusetts, during the Revolutionary period. He was born in Concord, May 1, 1730, and died there September 21, 1787, son of Ephraim and Mary (Hayward) Jones.

[2] Hon. Oliver Prescott, A.M., M.D., was born in Groton, Massachusetts, April 27, 1731, son of Hon. Benjamin and Abigail (Oliver) Prescott, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1750. He was president of the Middlesex Medical Society, served as Brigadier-General and Major-General in the Revolution, and afterwards was Judge of Probate of Middlesex County until his death, November 17, 1804. (Prescott's Prescott Memorial, pp. 59, 60.) In April, 1777, the Committee of Safety of New Hampshire addressed a letter to him concerning Dr. Silas Hedges. (State Papers of New Hampshire, viii. 546.)

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bond back, which i had signed, and told me I must remain a prisoner still; well then i Could Not understand what it ment, But soon after the s[d] Hedges comes again. He then writes thus, you must let me have more money, for they say that you are richer than they are: now I told him I thought the matter was settled No it is not, says he, you must let me have three hundred pounds more in Paper money and thirty hard Dollars, and resign them Pistols, and you shall Be clear. I was very loth to do that, but finily Ccmplied with it, Rather than to lay in Jail; all this money Hedges has had of me, Except one Hundred Dollars that i Delivered to Col. James Prescott[1] att Cambridge. He afterwards came to Cap[t] Jones's and gave the money back to me again and i Delivered it to hedges to give to the s[d] Col. Prescott; the pistols went to Col. Peabody[2] of New Hampshire by the hand of Hedges, and the money Divided amongst the whole —

The Case is bearly this, they have reduced me to such a Degree that i cannot live, and now Drive upon me to take men up, that ant in my power to do, and say that the people are uneasy, and if i dont do something, they will deliver me up to the people, and that i should be very willing for, but it ant in my power to prove all this, some part I can prove, Cap[t] Jones knows something how i have been treated, this much i have to say when the head is sick the heart is faint, and your head is sick, and nigh unto Death, this i know for Certain and a great Deal more; one thing more I will Just mention to you, that is Doc[t] Silas Hedges has been to the British troops twice and Returned here again and it can be proved, but he has proved unfaithful to them, and that is all that keeps him here; he is now exchanging his paper money for hard in order to send to get a pardon, and then Determines to push,

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[1] Hon. James Prescott was born in Groton, Massachusetts, January 13, 1720–21, son of Hon. Benjamin and Abigail (Oliver) Prescott. He was a Colonel of Militia, and at the beginning of the Revolution was a member of the Provincial Congress and of the Board of War. Afterwards, he was a judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He died in Groton, February 15, 1800. (Prescott's Prescott Memorial, p. 56.)

[2] Col. Nathaniel Peabody was born in Topsfield, Massachusetts, February 18, 1740–41, son of Dr. Jacob and Susanna (Rogers) Peabody. He studied medicine with his father, and then removed to Atkinson, New Hampshire, where he was a physician and Colonel of Militia. In the Revolutionary period he represented Atkinson in the New Hampshire Legislature and was a member of the Committee of Safety, until 1779, when he was chosen a member of the Continental Congress. He was subsequently a Major-General; and died in Atkinson, June 27, 1823. (New Hampshire Historical Collections, iii. 1; New England Historical and Genealogical Register, ii. 372.)

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it is Provible that many people will say that this is not worth notice, but be that as it will; It is the truth — This is from one who has been greatly Injured

In the House of Representatives, November 28, 1778, a committee was appointed to consider the foregoing, which reported as follows:

State of New Hamp^r^ In the House of Representatives Novr 24th 1778.

The Committee on an Anonymous Letter brought into this House by Mr Ames[1] having considered the same, conversed with Col. Peabody, examined Doctor Hedges on oath, agree to report that they think said paper to be a scandalous infamous performance of some inveterate enemy or enemies of the United States framed for the purpose of bringing into disgrace persons employed to bring them to Justice, & to set the good people of these States at variance with each other — Sign'd Nich^s^ Gilman[2] for the committee — which report being read and considered — Voted, That the same be received and accepted — Sent up for Concurrence — John Dudley[3] Speaker pro tem —

In Council same day read and concurred E. Thompson[4] Sec'y

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[1] Ens. Stephen Ames was born in Boxford, Massachusetts, September 5, 1712, son of John and Priscilla (Kimball) Eames, or Ames, of Boxford and Groton, Massachusetts. In 1739 he moved from Groton to that part of West Dunstable which was incorporated as Hollis, New Hampshire; and represented Hollis in the New Hampshire Legislature, 1775–1778, and was one of the town's Committee of Safety during the Revolution. He was an Ensign of Militia.

[2] Col. Nicholas Gilman, son of Daniel and Mary (Lord) Gilman, was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, October 21, 1731, and died there April 7, 1783. He was a Colonel of Militia, Treasurer of New Hampshire, 1775–1782, and of the Committee of Safety in the period of the Revolution. (Gilman's Gilman Family, pp. 73, 74.)

[3] Hon. John Dudley, who was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, April 9, 1725, son of James and Mercy (Folsom) Dudley, was a member of the New Hampshire Legislature, 1775–1784, and served several terms as Speaker of the House. He was also a member of the Committee of Safety during that time. From 1776 to 1784 he was a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas; and from 1784 to 1797 a Judge of the Superior Court. He died at Raymond, New Hampshire, May 21, 1805. (Bell's Bench and Bar of New Hampshire, pp. 39–41.)

[4] Hon. Ebenezer Thompson, son of Robert and Abigail (Emerson) Thompson, was born in Durham, New Hampshire, March 5, 1737, and died there August 14, 1802. He studied medicine, and practised as a physician until he entered politics as a member of the New Hampshire Legislature. He was Secretary of New Hampshire, 1775–1786; a member of the Committee of

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Mr. EDES communicated a letter written by Henry Laurens at Charleston, South Carolina, August 11, 1768, concerning difficulties he was anticipating from the Commissioners of the Customs. This follows.

CHARLESTOWN So CAROLINA 11th August 1768

DEAR SIR —

Since I wrote to you the 1st Inst by Capt Mason I have been very well assured that the Prosecutor of the Ship Ann, is determined to send Copies or perhaps part Copies of the proceedings in the late case against that Ship both to the Commissioners of Customs in London & those in North America — I have no more reason to fear ill consequences from them than any other Merchant; nevertheless it seems to be more particularly my duty as it is more in my power, to guard against all the Evils that he may intend to draw upon us by his representations, & therefore, I request you to make the case known as fully as you can both in New York & New England provided you shall think it proper to do so — since I sent away those Papers relative to the said case, which were pretty much hurried over, I have added a few Notes to my first thoughts & sent a Copy of the whole to our friends in Bristol — who will dispose of the Papers & disperse the contents as they shall think conducive to any good purposes — I here inclose a Copy of the said Notes the perusal of which may rob you of another half hour. I have shown my remarks to another Lawyer & several more friends Men of understanding & of good hearts — they all agree in one point to blame the Custom House Officers & particularly the Judge of the Admiralty — some persons who had been captivated by the pretty manner in which His Honor delivered himself as well as with the speciousness of his reasoning have quite changed their opinions since they have seen those reasons classed in black & White & remarked upon — now what I aim at, is to keep people who have already done us great injury from adding weight to their injustice. & I make no doubt of all the needful & necessary assistance of my Partners therein — as I have joined your name as apart Owner of the Ship with those of our friends in Bristol in a letter wrote to them I think it

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Safety throughout the Revolution; Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, 1783–1787; Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, 1787–1795; and Judge of the Superior Court, 1795 until his death. (Bell's Bench and Bar of New Hampshire, pp. 48–50.)

The documents in the text are taken from the New Hampshire State Papers, xvii. 286–288. Cf. ibid. viii. 807.

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proper to send you a Copy of the same under this cover with the other Paper.

My next shall treat of flour, Milstones & Cordage for I hope after to morrow to wash my hands of the work which have employed them for a Month past — meantime I remain with sincere esteem & respect

Dear Sir

Your obliged friend & Servt.

HENRY LAURENS

Mr William Fisher.

[*Addressed*]

To
Mr William Fisher
Merchant
In
Philadelphia

℔ Capt Hunt
Via N York

8/—

[*Filed*]

Henry Laurens
Augt 11th 1768

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MARCH MEETING, 1907

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 28 March, 1907, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY reported the gift to the Society, which was gratefully accepted, of a set of the Old Farmer's Almanack from 1840 to 1907, inclusive, from Mr. HORACE E. WARE.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES communicated a paper written by Mr. John H. Edmonds, formerly of the Engineering Department of Boston, on the Burgis-Price View of Boston. This follows.

THE BURGIS–PRICE VIEW OF BOSTON.

The earliest known view of Boston was, in all probability, that of which Wait Winthrop wrote to his brother Fitz-John Winthrop, July 20, 1680, "I haue sent you a map of the towne, with Charlestowne, taken by Mr Foster the printer, from Nodles Island. Twas sent for Amsterdam, and ye printed."[1] Judge Sewall, writing to Edward Hull, July 15, 1686, says, "There is inclosed in the top, a Mapp of this Town which please to accept off."[2] No copy has as yet been found.

[1] 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 421.
[2] 6 Ibid. i. 32.

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Noddles Island seems to be a desirable point of vision, for in the New-England Courant of October 8, 1722, is advertised —

A View of the Great Town of Boston taken from a Standing on Noddles-Island, and designed to be cut on Copper will be carried on by Subscription as such expensive Works generally are. Those Gentlemen that would encourage such a Design may see the View at Mr. Price's Print and Map-seller over against the Town House, where Proposals are to be had and Subscriptions taken in.

Bostonians seemingly did not take sufficient interest, for in the New-England Courant of November 12, 1722, a new hand appears:

Whereas there has been an Advertisement lately publish'd of a Design to print a View of this Town of Boston, taken from Noddles Island, This is to certify, that the Undertaker, William Burgis, desires all Gentlemen to be speedy in their Subscriptions, in order to send the Drawing to England this Fall, that he may conform to the Proposals to that end lately published. N. B. — Sufficient Security is given to conform to the Conditions of said Proposals or to return the Advance Money

Advance subscription not being a success, still another hand appears, the price is reduced, and terms are made of payment on delivery. In the New-England Courant of May 13–27, 1723, was printed the following advertisement:

A Prospect of the Great Town of Boston, taken from Noddles Island — and designed to be curiously cut on Copper Plate, will be carried on by Subscription, as such expensive Works commonly are. Those Gentlemen that would encourage this Design may subscribe to the same at Mr. Thomas Selby's at the Crown Coffee house where proposals may be seen. The price is set lower than at first, and those that do Subscribe to this Prospect now will have it cheaper than those who do not. Subscriptions are also taken in by William Price, Print and Map Seller, over against the Town House where the Prospect is to be seen: Where likewise you may have all sorts of Prints and Maps lately come from London, sold very cheap frames or without. N. B. No money to be advanced by Subscribers but paid at the delivery of the printed copies. Those gentlemen who have subscribed to the former proposals will have their demands answered accordingly. The undertaker William Price desires all gentlemen to be speedy in their subscriptions in order to the speedy sending of the Drawing for England, for unless subscriptions come in it will not be printed.

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It should be noted that a North East Prospect of the Town was offered for subscription and was apparently already drawn.

Even this effort did not succeed and the point of vision was shifted to the South East (to Castle Island), as shown in the New-England Courant of December 23–January 6, 1723–24:

Whereas a North East Prospect of the great Town of Boston in New England, has been taken, which is not so much to Advantage as the South East Prospect, now to be seen at Mr. Price's, Print and Map-seller, over against the Town House: also the Proposals for all Persons that are willing to subscribe for the same, in order to it being sent to London to be engraved by the best hand.

Whether the South East Prospect was more pleasing or the undertakers chanced it, this last appeal bore good fruit, as shown in the New-England Courant from July 17 to August 28, 1725:

To be sold by Mr. William Price, Print and Map-Seller over against the Town House, a new Chart of the British Empire in North America, with the distinct Colonies granted by letters patent from Cape Canso to St. Matthias River: Also a new and correct Prospect of the Town of Boston, curiously engrav'd, and an exact Plan of the Town, showing its Streets, Lanes, and public Buildings, likewise a great Variety of other Prints and Maps, in Frames or without, and a great Variety of fine Looking-Glasses, Tea Tables, and Sconces, Toys and small Pictures for Children. At the same Place may be had all sorts of Picture-Frames made and the best Sort of London Crown Glass to put over Prints.

The story is best told by the view itself, the title of which reads:

A South East View of ye Great Town of Boston in New England in America. To the Honble Saml Shute Esqr Capt General & Govr in Chief of his Maj.^ties^ Provinces of the Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire in New England and Vice-Admiral of the same, This Prospect of the Town of Boston is humbly dedicated by Yo.^r^ Hon.^rs^ most Obed.^t^ Hum. Serv.^ts^ Thos. Selby, Willm Price.

The size of the whole, which is in three sheets, is 24½ by 52½ inches, the view taking 21 inches, the remaining 3½ inches being devoted to title, description of Boston, and table of fifty references, the latest being "Christ Church founded 1723." It shows twelve churches and fifteen ship yards and gives the first

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portrayal, in a view originating in America, of a two-masted schooner. Under the right lower corner of the engraved view, above the text of the inscription, appears "I. Harris Sculp.," and in the lower left hand corner below the text is "W. Burgis Delin." Governor Shute, to whom it is dedicated, sailed from Boston for England January 1, 1722–23, and William Dummer was Acting Governor until July 13, 1728. The description of Boston is as follows:

Boston, the Capital of New England, and Mistriss of North America, is pleasantly Sittuated upon a Peninsula, above 4 miles in Compass, in the Lat. of 42 & 24 North, and 71 Degrees West from London: the variation of the Needle about 9 Degrees West. It Stands at the Bottom of a large Bay, which (by being Defended from the Ocean by a great Number of Delightful Islands) may be Reckoned among the Safest and most Commodious Harbours in the known World. There are in this Town a very great number of good Wharfes, at which Ships and Small Vessels unlade, without the help of Boats or Lighters: the Chief of which is the Long Wharfe, Running above 1600 foot into the Harbour, and having a very handsome Row of Store Houses upon the North side of it — the Number of Houses in this Town is about 3200 one third of which are built of Brick, the Rest of Timber and Stone. Streets, lanes and Alleys 104, the most of which are well paved with Pebbles. Inhabitants about 16000. In the Year 1723 there were built in New England (According to the best Acc^{ots} we Can gett) above 700 Sail of Ships, Brigatines, Sloops, Schooners, Wood-Boats &c. 200 of which may be Reckoned from 100 to 200 Tons Each; The greatest Number of which vessels are either fitted at Boston or Receive the Materials from thence, with which they are fitted. There are in one Year Cleared out of this Port above 1000 Sail of Vessels which may fully Shew the great Trade of this Place. New England (of which Boston is the head or principal Town) its become one of the most Delightful Countrys in the World, the Winter being now Moderate and pleasant by Reason of the Clearing of the Woods; in the West and North West parts of the inland Countrys. the air is exceeding Clear and pleasant Perfectly well agreeing with the English Constitutions; for which Reason the Gentlemen of the West India Islands often go thither to Recover their Healths, it abounds with great Variety of forest Trees, and fruit Trees: there are also Grape Vines (Natural to the Country) Fish of all Sorts, Either from Salt or Fresh water, Cattle of all Sorts, This Plantation also furnishes Masts, and divers other Naval Stores for the Royall Navy, and Expends great Quanti-

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ties of Woolen and other Manufactories of great Britain and Supplys the English Islands in the Wèst Indias with boards, Timber &c for their buildings, Staves, Hoops, Horses &c for their Sugar Works; as also Fish Oyle, Butter, Candles, Soap, and other Provisions & Necessarys of life, without which they could not possibly Subsist, all of which Conduces Very much to the Interest and Advantage of its Mother Country, & will Doubtless (by the Favour of Heaven under ye Auspicious Influence & Conduct of so Wise and Powerful a Prince as his Present Maj^tie King George and his Illustrious House) be rendered yet more Advantageous to her succeeding Generations.

In 1881 Justin Winsor said that he had found a letter on file in the City Clerk's office, Boston, from Judge Davis to Mayor Otis, dated September 25, 1830, formally tendering to the City a poor copy of this view, which Davis had presented at a banquet at the Exchange Coffee House, September 17, 1830. Judge Davis suggested, that if a more perfect copy could not be found it might be well to cause some pains to be taken for its preservation, such as applying a suitable coat of varnish. In the Advertiser of September 29, 1830, it is said to be in the Mayor and Aldermen's Room in the Old State House. City Clerk McCleary writes to Mr. Winsor October 18, 1881:

I distinctly recollect seeing this print hanging on the wall of the anteroom of the Board of Aldermen's Chamber in the old City Hall between the years 1844 and 1861, . . . The picture was very old and quite dilapidated; it was laid upon canvas backing, and had a black frame without any glass. I have seen the picture many times within the period cited, and from 1852 to 1861 [when the building was taken down] I saw it daily. The picture had a round hole, two inches in diameter, in the right-hand corner, about the edges of which the canvas backing was quite perceptible. . . . When the old City Hall was taken down this "view" was mislaid, or lost in some way.[1]

Only one impression from the original plate is now known to be in existence, that noted in the British Museum Map Catalogue of 1885 as "a S. E. View of the Town of Boston by Burgis, engraved by Harris, 3 Sheets K 120. 38a," and that is marred by the engraved additions pasted on it to correct it to 1736. It could be restored to its original condition and made of much more value and interest by simply soaking the additions off.

[1] 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xix. 104–106.

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Dr. James B. Ayer, in his desire to obtain the earliest known view of the section bounded by Court and Park Streets, had a photograph made of that portion of the British Museum copy, and this resulted in Mr. George Lamb having negatives made of the whole view, by kind permission of Mr. Basil H. Soulsby, Superintendent of the Map Department, and enlarged in this country to the full size of the original. A limited issue of this enlargement has been made.

In a letter to Miss Mary Farwell Ayer, August 26, 1903, Mr. Soulsby thus describes it:

> The Museum copy is in three sheets, so I conclude there were three plates. On Sheet 1, 5¼ inches from the left hand edge of the view, comes a church with a spire. This has been pasted onto the plate. 13⅛ inches from the edge, comes No. 52, Trinity Church, with a square tower. This also has been pasted on. 16⅛ inches from the left edge, comes a church with a steeple, 3 inches from ground to weathercock, no. 10, South Meeting-House. This has also been pasted on. [For the same laid back, see Miss Ayer's "The South Meeting-House, Boston, 1669–1729," in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1905, lix. 265–267.] On sheet 2, 3⅛ inches from edge, comes no. 20, a church with a spire. The spire has been pasted on. 6⅞ inches from edge, comes no. 53, a church with a spire. The spire has been pasted on.[1]

In addition to the above, "the references 51–52–53 are not printed from the plate but on a slip neatly pasted on the engraving,"[2] and the advertisement "printed, colour'd & sold by Wm. Price," etc., has been added, but whether to plate or print is a question.

In 1743, to commemorate the erection of Faneuil Hall, William Price issued another edition with additions and corrections made very carelessly, without any consideration of actual location. The original plates were used, the dedication being erased and a new one to Peter Faneuil substituted, the references enlarged from 50 to 62, but still showing "I. Harris, Sculp." and "W. Burgis Delin." and the same description of Boston. There are five copies of this state known to be in existence, the best being that owned by the American Antiquarian Society. The others are in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Dr.

[1] Boston Common in Colonial and Provincial Days, p. 40.

[2] 2 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, i. 249.

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James B. Ayer, the Boston Public Library, and Mr. Herbert Foster Otis of Brookline. All but the first have been mounted on wood and varnished. The Public Library copy, which belonged to the second Mayor Quincy, was copied in lithograph on a slightly reduced scale "Published for E. Whitefield by A. Tompkins 38 Cornhill Boston" in 1848, and in turn was reproduced on a smaller scale by the albertype process. In the Memorial History of Boston (II. 532) is a reproduction of the Antiquarian Society's copy, and in Miss Ayer's Boston Common in Colonial and Provincial Days (p. 12) is one of Dr. James B. Ayer's copy.

Of those whose names are associated with the first publication of this view, we know but little. The first mention of William Burgis, the delineator, so far found is in the New-England Courant of November 12, 1722, when he advertised himself as undertaker of the View. He married Mehitable, widow of Thomas Selby, October 1, 1728, and succeeded him as taverner at the Crown Coffee House July 23, 1729, being followed in turn by Edward Lutwich, July 17, 1730. He is also found as delineator, publisher or engraver of the following: "A South Prospect of ye Flourishing City of New York in North America." This is the probable title, as it is missing from the only known copy of the original, in the possession of the New York Historical Society. It was engraved by "I. Harris," and bears the dedication: "To His Excellency Robert Hunter Esq. Captain General and Governour in Chief of the Provinces of New York New Jersey and Territories depended thereon in America and Vice Admiral of the Same. This South Prospect of the City of New York is most Humbly dedicated by your Excellency's most Humble Obedient Ser^t^ William Burgis." The date 1717 appears in the Province Arms. It has been reproduced in facsimile in the illustrated edition of Fiske's Dutch and Quaker Colonies (II. 230). It suffered the same fate as the Boston View of 1723, and was restruck from the original plate with corrections in 1746 for Thomas Bakewell of Cornhill, London. Copies of this state are in the possession of the British Museum, the American Antiquarian Society, and the New York Historical Society, the last having it framed back to back with its copy of the original state. This state has been reproduced in the Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York for 1849 (p. 26).

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On July 14, 1726 (Boston News-Letter), appeared "A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England," dedicated to Lieutenant-Governor William Dummer by W. Burgis. This was sold at Mr. Price's, print-seller, Mr. Randall, the japanner, Mr. Stedman in Cambridge, and the booksellers of Boston. This view followed its predecessors and was also restruck sometime after 1739 by William Price from the original plate with additions, substituting the names of Lieutenant-Governor Spencer Phips for Dummer and W. Price for Burgis, adding a description in the upper right hand corner and Price's advertisement on the bottom. The Massachusetts Historical Society has the only known copy of the first state, which is mounted on wood and was discovered when removing a copy of the second state which had been pasted over it. It has been reproduced in 1 Proceedings of the Society (XVIII. 318), and Charles E. Goodspeed of Boston has just issued a limited edition of a reproduction of the original re-engraved by Sidney L. Smith, colored by hand. The Harvard College Library, the Library of Congress, and William Loring Andrews of New York, have copies of the second state also, Mr. Andrews's copy being reproduced in his "A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England."

"Boston N. Eng. Planted A. D. MDCXXX," next follows in 1728, and is dedicated by William Burgis "to His Excellency William Burnett Esq.," who was Governor of Massachusetts from July 13, 1728, until his death on September 27, 1729. It is engraved by Thomas Johnson, Boston, New England, who also made the additions to the edition before 1739 of the Bonner-Price map of Boston. The Library of Congress, Mr. R. T. H. Halsey of New York, and Dr. J. Collins Warren of Boston own originals. It has been reproduced in Shurtleff's Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, the Memorial History of Boston, the Boston City Surveyor's Report for 1893, and by the Bostonian Society.

Of "A View of the New Dutch Church founded in 1728 and finished in 1731," dedicated "To the Honourable Rip Van Dam, Esq. President of His Majestys Council for the Province of New York," Mr. Andrews has a copy, and another was formerly in the possession of a Rev. Mr. Strong of Newtown, Long Island. It has been reproduced by Mr. Andrews in "The Bradford Map" (p. 88).

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The United States Lighthouse Board has a view of Boston Light, engraved in mezzotint, bearing the dedication: "To the Merchants of Boston this View of the Light House is most humbly presented By their humble Servant W^m^. Burgis. W. Burgis del. & fecit." This has been reproduced photographically, in heliotype, and, on a reduced scale, in Arnold Burges Johnson's "The Modern Lighthouse Service."

Mr. Andrews also has "A View of Castle William by Boston in New England. This Castle was built by Collonel Romer A. D. 1704 by order of the General Assembly," which he thinks is in all probability a Burgis production, and is reproduced in his "The Bradford Map" (p. 21).

In the New-England Weekly Journal of June 5, 1727, is found "This Day is Published A Draught of the Meeting-house of the Old Church in Boston, with the New Spire & Gallery & are to be sold by Mr. Price, over against the Town-House, and at the Booksellers Shops in Boston." This is the earliest view of the "Old Brick" Meeting House, the spire having been added some time after 1723, and there is a possibility that this is another Burgis production. No copy has yet been found.

John Harris, the engraver, flourished in England from 1680 to 1740, and the suggestion has been made that there were two of that name, father and son. Samples of his work are described as follows:

Encampment of the Royal Army in Hounslow Heath, 1686.

A new mapp of New England from Cape Codd to Cape Sables, describeing all the sands, shoals, rocks and difficultyes together with a sand draft of the Mattathussetts Bay. Exactly surveyed by the author, Tho. Pound [former pirate, later captain in the British Navy], 1692.

A Mapp of ye Improved Part of Pensilvania, dedicated to Wm. Penn.

Edmund Halley's A new and correct chart shewing the variation of the compass in the Western and Southern Ocean, 1701.

City and Harbour of Cadiz, 1695–1702.

Map of the Parish of Mile and Old Town in the Parish of Stepney, 1703.

Some of the views in Brittanica Illustrated, 1709–1731.

Prospectum Templi St^ae^. Mariae in vico dicto The Strand, 1718.

A South Prospect of Y^e^ Flourishing City of New York, 1717.

Italy, 1719.

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John Senex's America, 1721.
Some of the plates in the Vitruvius Brittanicus vol. iv, 1739.
Some of the plates in T. Baston's Ships of the Royal Navy.
Some of the plates in the Oxford Almanac.

The American Weekly Mercury of October 19, 1721, under date of July 22, announces from London "Last Week his Majesties Patent passed the Great Seal, granting to John Harris, John Senex and Henry Wilson, the sole Use and Benefit of a New Invention in Navigation, called The Globur Chart, which has been approved of the best by Astronomers and Navigators."

Thomas Selby, who was associated with William Price in the publication of the View, first makes his appearance in Boston, January 16, 1709–10, when the Selectmen "Ordered that notice be given to —— Selbey that ye Selectmen do require him forthwith to remove ye Incroachment wch he hath lately made in King St." He was admitted an inhabitant (as the town regulations required) February 20, 1709–10, Mr. Jonathan Belcher (later Governor) security. After no long interval, on July 21, 1712, he in turn was security for the admission of Henry Whitten, which of itself proves his standing as a good citizen. In 1713, he donated 10s towards the support of the King's Chapel organs, being a communicant. On July 26, 1714, "Thomas Selby his petition to sell strong drink as an Inn Holder at the Crown Coffee House at the Peer or Long Wharfe in Boston [now 148 State Street] is allowed by ye Selectmen and to be recommended by them as far as they know or hath by enquiry understood." Even thus early his place was frequented by prominent citizens, for on August 31, 1714, Judge Sewall says in his diary: "I read the act against Schism at Selby's Coffee House."

Selby evidently had another string to his bow which should have kept Judge Sewall away from him, for on February 21, 1714–15, Peter Butler leased to him as periwigmaker a lot 20 by 40, fronting King Street Pier or the Long Wharf and adjoining the Crown Coffee House and Butler's Row of brick buildings, for 30 years, twenty pounds down, annual rental twenty shillings, and the erection of a shop or building not to exceed 20 by 30, containing a lower room chamber and garret. Pursuant to the lease he is licensed on March 1 by the Governor and Council, and on March 4 by the Justices, to erect a wooden building upon Butler's Wharf 30 by 20 by 20 stud. On February 16, Thomas Selby and Elizabeth his wife act as go-betweens in the transfer from Bridge and others to Ben-

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jamin Bridge of the estate on King Street, between Shrimpton heirs and Barret Dyer. On October 18, 1715, Thomas Perks, late of London, and John Shippee "is admitted to dwell here, Thomas Selby and Thomas Phillips, also Innholder, being bound in 100 pounds for each of them." On March 11, 1716–17, Selby is elected at town meeting scavenger of his district, with duties equal to that of a district foreman in our modern Street Cleaning Department, with full power to hire all men and teams necessary to perform the work. In January, 1717–18, Butler leased to him an additional strip on the northerly side of the lot in his occupation 40 by 10. Jane Selby, his daughter, was married February 2, 1717–18, to Thomas Garret by the Rev. Samuel Myles.

Peter Butler sells to Selby, still periwigmaker, all the land in his occupancy, with an additional strip, November 25, 1718. In this year he subscribes "two pounds towards construction of Gallery, pulpit, Addorning King's Chapel and paving in front." On August 5, 1719, he mortgages the above premises in occupation of Robert and Richard Skinner to James Bowdoin, who discharges it in 1721. His wife having died, he is married, September 6, 1719, to Mehitable Bill, daughter of James Bill of Pullin Point, by the Rev. Samuel Myles.

About this time appears the first of a long series of advertisements of sale at public vendue at the Crown Coffee House of everything from books to a full-rigged ship. On February 22, 1719–20, Selby, still periwigmaker and Mehitable his wife, one of the daughters, executors, and co-heirs of James Bill of Pullin Point, assign to Benjamin Bridge their interest in the estate. November 13, 1720, Selby mortgages his holdings adjoining Mr. Jonathan Belcher's house and land called the Crown Coffee House to Mehitable Bill and North Ingram (mother-in-law and brother-in-law) as trustees of his present wife, Mehitable Selby. Periwigmaker sticks to him in deeds until April 24, 1723, when it becomes tavernkeeper, and then it is from his brother-in-law Tenny; and Joshua Wroe in September, 1726, again reverts to the old form when he sells him a strip along his present holdings 41 by 12 behind the Crown Coffee House.

His interest in church matters had increased, for at Easter, 1722, he is appointed one of a committee on delinquent pewholders of King's Chapel. On September 5, Selby and John Barnes were appointed a committee to receive subscriptions for Christ Church, and

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on October 2 he signs a letter to Mr. Timothy Cutler. From 1722 to 1727, he was a vestryman of King's Chapel. On April 24, 1724, "Thomas Selby has a right to 3/4 of pew no. 20 of the North Isle relinquishing his pew no. 22 and when the Widow Britton is provided satisfactorily to have the whole. Thomas Phillips to have no. 22, surrendering no. 34." On the Rev. Samuel Myles's nomination, he is chosen Junior Warden, April 13, 1726, and is Senior Warden in 1727, Thomas Phillips being Junior. On August 3, 1727, "the vestry met at Thomas Selby's, voted that the Wardens sign memorial to the General Court as to Ministers of the Church of England being Overseers of Harvard Colledge." On November 15, 1725, Anthony Blunt et ux. transfer to John Barnes, George Craddock, James Stirling, merchants, John Gibbins, apothecary, Thomas Selby taverner, George Monk taylor of Boston, and Thomas Graves of Charlestown, "Northwest on Salem St. 59f6, Southwesterly on Wm. Hobby, deceased, 111f, Rear or Southeasterly end 58f on John Low, deceased, Northerly side on Thomas Baker 121f on which piece of land there is a brick edifice lately erected for public worship according to the rights and ceremonies of the Church of England as by law established commonly called Christ Church." William Price acted as one of the witnesses to the signatures. John Barnes and the above transfer it September 5, 1726, to the Rev. Timothy Cutler and others, Vestry of Christ Church.

In the New-England Courant of September 24, 1722, appears this advertisement: "Lately taken from the Crown Coffee House in Boston a good Beaver Hatt, never dress'd with a hole burnt in the brim about the bigness of a pea. Whoever brings the same to Mr. Selby at the said Coffee House shall receive 10 s. reward," followed in May, 1723, by an advertisement for subscriptions to the View of Boston. On December 23 appears another: "To be sold by Thomas Selby at the Crown Coffee House All sorts of good wines from the pipe to the pint on reasonable terms." On August 24, 1724, the following: "Choice good white vinegar to be sold by Thomas Selby at the Crown Coffee House." On November 6, 1724, still another: "at 5 o'clock at public vendue at the Crown Coffee House Long Wharf, A Collection of Choice and Curious Books of Divinity, History, Poetry Voyages and Travels. N. B. To be sold at the same time and place A Collection of Curious Pamphlets, Plays & Maps."

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"Mr. Selby att ye Crown Coffee House dyed September 19, 1727," aged 54, leaving a widow Mehitable, a daughter Jane Garret, and a minor son Thomas. He was buried from King's Chapel September 21, and leaving no will, Samuel Sewall, judge of probate, issued to his widow notice of administration September 25. Thomas Selby, the minor son, petitions on October 20 to have John Powell appointed as his guardian. The inventory filed October 21, 1727, includes among other things, "In the Crown, Two prospective Glasses one brush for Clothes, one Map of New York, one pair of bellows 2–5–0, the House and Land adjoining the Crown Coffee House now in possession of Mr. Robert Skinner & Mrs. Mehitable Selby, 1000 pounds. Valuation of the estate, the appraising being done by Thomas Phillips, Samuel Gifford and William Randall 2042–7–5, including wines etc. appraisers Jona. Williams, Tho. Phillips and Henry Whitton 1537–18–4." In the Boston News-Letter of February 15, 1728, is this advertisement: "All persons indebted to the estate of Mr. Thomas Selby late of Boston deceased are desired forthwith to pay their respective Debts to Capt. Samuel Keeling of Boston aforesaid, attorney for Mrs. Mehitable Selby sole administratrix of the said deceased's estate." Mehitable Selby was married October 1, 1728, by Mr. Henry Harris of King's Chapel to William Burgis, the delineator of the View, and on October 7 following, her step-daughter, Jane Garret, also a widow, was married by Mr. Harris to David Melvil.

William Price, the associate publisher, apparently came from England in the early part of the eighteenth century. Mr. C. W. Ernst suggests that he came over with the Brattle organ to set it up, which he eventually did at King's Chapel, and then served as organist until Mr. Edward Enstone's arrival in the latter part of 1714. The Vestry voted August 18, 1714, to pay Price £7.10 "for one Qrs. Sallary due at Midsummer," and the same sum "for w^{t} work he has done ab't the organ." The Church Wardens and Vestry voted November 8, 1723, "that Mr. Edward Enston deliver the keys of the Organs to Messrs. Price and Gifford that they may practice on the organ in order to qualify one of them to be organist as should be best approved by ye s^{d} Church Wardens and Vestry."

When Christ Church was built, Mr. Price transferred his allegiance to it and was Vestryman from 1726 until 1742. Junior

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Warden in 1731, and Senior Warden from 1732 to 1734. On September 18, 1727, he signified his intention to marry Sarah Myles, niece of the Rev. Samuel Myles, Rector of King's Chapel, and was married December 20, 1727. He was chosen constable in 1728 and 1729, but was excused as a "Trooper." On Dr. Myles's death, with the widow Ann Myles and Thomas Creese, his brother-in-law, as executors, he sold the mansion house on Tremont Street (opposite King's Chapel) to George Craddock, October 4, 1728. He was among the subscribers to Prince's Chronology. In 1730, he was again to the front in the subscription for Trinity Church, and on its erection in 1735 it was deeded to him and three others until such time as the money "advanced is reimbursed," and they in 1739 deeded it back to the Wardens. On August 30, 1731, he (or rather his wife) received £449.13.2 as heir of the Rev. Samuel Myles and £224.16.7 as guardian of John Myles's children. October 29, 1731, the United Vestries voted that he be added to the Committee. He was present at the first service in Trinity, but renewed his allegiance to Christ Church, tendering his services as organist for one year without salary November 1, 1736. In town meeting, September 13, 1742, a motion was made by him "that as a further testimony of the Town's Gratitude to the said Peter Faneuil Esq. The Picture of the said Peter Faneuil Esq. may be drawn in full length and placed in the said hall at the expense of the Town."

He transferred himself to Trinity, being Vestryman in 1742, Junior Warden in 1745, and Senior Warden in 1747; but on March 6, 1743–44, signed the bond for order of the Christ Church chimes followed by an additional donation of £20. The Rev. Addington Davenport appointed him executor, and guardian of his daughter Julia, who was his wife's god-daughter. In the subscription to rebuild King's Chapel he gave £200, old tenor, September 30, 1743, and on October 13, 1752, he donated £40 more to complete it. He held pew number 21 in King's Chapel from 1754, and in 1756 subscribed £5 for the organ, and was Vestryman from 1753.

In the New-England Courant of May 21, 1722, William Price makes his first appearance in the business of Boston: "To be sold at the Shop over against the West End of the Town House in Cornhill, Boston, all Sorts of Pictures and Maps, in Frames or

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without and all Sorts of Picture Frames made by William Price." On August 20 it becomes "picture Shop over against the Town House," and his wares include "an exact Prospect of the City of New York," probably the Burgis, "with all Sorts of Prints and Maps lately come from London." On October 8, with the first advertisement of the View of Boston, it becomes "Print and map-seller." The scope is enlarged May 17, 1723, to include "All Sorts of new fashioned looking-glasses, Sconces and Tea Tables," and in July, 1725, "small Pictures for Children and the best sort of London Crown Glass to put over Prints." In this advertisement he announces the View of Boston as for sale, and also first mentions the Plan of the Town, presumably Captain John Bonner's, which had been offered for sale by Captain John Bonner, Bartholomew Green, Samuel Gerrish and Daniel Henchman on May 1, 1722; though he announces it as showing "public buildings," while the Bonner plan shows "all the Houses." It may be an earlier edition of the Burgis map than we have so far found. Price published several editions from the Bonner plate in 1733, 1739, 1743, 1769, and in all probability before 1733, corrected at first by Thomas Johnson, who engraved the Burgis Map of Boston. The existing imprints of the 1739, 1743, and 1769 editions all plainly show the erasure of T. Johnson from underneath Price's name in the dedication and numerous other erasures and additions, some of which appear to have been made on the prints themselves rather than the plate, and leads one to think that he was not behind our modern publishers in getting out an edition to order.

On July 14, 1726, is advertised the Burgis "A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge," to be sold by Price and others, which he continued to advertise on his map, as we may now call it (Captain John Bonner having died January 30, 1725–26, in his eighty-fourth year), until 1769. On June 5, 1727, he publishes "A Draught of the Meeting House of the Old Church in Boston with the New Spire and Gallery." The Governor's Council votes July 1, 1727, to pay him fifty-three shillings for "Picture Frames & other work done by order of the General Court." On April 18, 1733, an assessment of ten shillings for repairs on the pump in the town's land in Corn Hill is levied on him.

Thomas Creese, apothecary, his brother-in-law, mortgages November 2, 1733, to Price as cabinet-maker, the brick tenement or dwell-

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ing in Cornhill, then under lease to him (now number 225 Washington Street). This he discharged October 6, 1736, and the record bears his signature. His business had increased to include "pictures painted in oyle in carved gilt frames — china ware, English and Dutch toys for children by wholesale or retail at reasonable rates." His place of business now becomes the "King's Head & Looking Glass," and is designated on the map of 1739 and later by an index hand.

Thomas Creese, then of Newport, Rhode Island, sells to Price on December 27, 1736, a brick messuage or tenement and land in Cornhill, with free use of passage nine feet wide to drive a chaise through and carry wood or water which runs across the land of said Creese in occupation of John Read, also free use and liberty of the pump or well standing in the alley on the north side of Creese's land next the Meeting House, paying one-third of the repairs from time to time in company of Creese and Faneuil. The consideration was £2000, bills of credit. On March 18, 1736, Creese also sells to him the adjoining lot on the north side, brick messuage or tenement in Cornhill, now in tenure and occupation of John Read. The above conveyed to Price a strip of land with a frontage of thirty-eight feet, seven inches, on Cornhill and thirty-five feet, nine inches, on Faneuil (now in Court Square), a taking of about fifteen feet in width having been made when the Square was laid out. The northerly boundary was Church Square and Benjamin Faneuil, and in passing through Court Avenue, which was opened by agreement in 1855, the boundary line can be plainly seen in the flagging, running diagonally across it. The consideration for the second parcel was £2050, showing that at that time the advantages of a corner lot were appreciated. On December 11, 1738, Price, designating himself as cabinet-maker, sells the southerly portion of the Cornhill end to Peter Faneuil, with some changes in the northerly boundary, and still carrying the proviso about the well in Church Square. From a survey made in 1855 it appears that the dimensions held in most cases to inches. The property is now held by the trustees of the Brigham Estate and is occupied by the new portion of Thompson's Spa. The remaining portion of the Price lot, making the southerly side of Court Avenue, is now occupied by the northerly part of Thompson's Spa[1] and the annex to Young's Hotel.

[1] See Publications of this Society, vi. 124.

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In the View of Harvard College published after 1739 the advertisement differs slightly from that of the newspapers, reading:

Pictures painted in Oyl in carved or gilt Frames, all sorts & sizes of ye newest fashioned Looking Glasses, Prospect & Burning Glasses, Spectacles, Fine China Ware, English and Dutch Toys for children with large allowance to Shop Keepers & Country Chapman that buy to Sell again, who may be as well furnished by sending their letters as coming themselves at reasonable rates.

In 1743 the business included "Also Flutes, Hautboys, & Violins, Strings, Musical Books, Songs, Spectacles, & Prospect Glasses etc.," and as such continued till 1769. In the fire in Williams Court in 1760, a wooden building two stories high in the rear of Price's house was pulled down to prevent the fire spreading, but the fire was put out before the building was reached. He claimed damages, but was unsuccessful. On April 10, 1765, he was chosen one of the trustees of the Boston Episcopal Charitable Society, founded April 6, 1724. On Friday May 17, 1771, "departed this life after a long Confinement Mr. William Price, in the 87th. Year of his Age. His remains were carried into Trinity Church, and a Funeral Sermon preached by Rev. Dr. Caner. After which the Corps were deposited in a Tomb under the said Church," May 21. His will, signed November 30, 1770, with a codicil April 20, 1771, bequeaths his mansion house in Cornhill to his wife and nieces for life, to King's Chapel on their death, the income to be used for lenten lectures, time and subjects specified, a collection to be taken at them for the poor, surplus of revenue from estate to go to the general fund, and if not accepted by King's Chapel to revert to Trinity Church. He directed that his body was to be decently interred in his tomb under Trinity built by him, for himself, wife, two nieces and no other, be carried into Trinity and burial services according to the Church of England be performed by the Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, or if not, by the Rev. Mr. Walter. His pew number 60 in Trinity was devised to his wife and nieces and lacking heirs to the Wardens, executrix to surrender his pew in King's Chapel on payment of sixteen pounds for the same. In the Direct Tax of 1798 appears: "Margarett & S. Creese, owners and occupiers, brick dwelling; East on Cornhill; North, Church Square; South on Bethunes Heirs. Land, 5236 square feet; house, 1340 square feet; 3 stories, 27 windows; Value, $6000," and in the inventory of Sarah

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Creese's estate March 20, 1809, is given "brick house, 59 Cornhill, $10,000." She devised the estate to her nephew William Pelham[1] (who sold maps as late as 1806), on the grounds that theological and other changes at King's Chapel had made the will null and void, apparently forgetting the reversion to Trinity. After the Revolution, when King's Chapel had been reorganized, it had accepted the legacy, and to make it more secure the acceptance was reaffirmed April 26, 1809. Pelham was in occupancy and would not vacate, so the Wardens entered suit, which was eventually decided in their favor. Pursuant to the will, lenten lectures were arranged for, commencing in 1814, to be given by the clergymen of King's Chapel, Christ Church, and Trinity Church in turn, but this was naturally not a successful arrangement. On September 17, 1824, Trinity Church entered suit on somewhat similar grounds to those of Miss Creese, and as a result of the litigation was given possession of the property to discharge all trusts under the will, pay all necessary expenses, and to divide the remainder of the income with King's Chapel;[2] and this is practically in force to-day, though there has been more or less litigation. The total value of the estate in 1906 was $436,000; buildings $62,000, land $375,000, the Thompson's Spa portion being assessed for $110 per foot and the Young's Hotel portion at $46 per foot.[3]

Dr. JAMES B. AYER commented at length upon Mr. Edmonds's paper, illustrating his remarks by photographic enlargements of several of the meeting-houses seen in the Burgis-Price View.

Mr. THOMAS MINNS remarked on the great increase in value of William Price's estate in Washington Street which he bequeathed to King's Chapel, and the income from which is now shared by King's Chapel and Trinity Church.

[1] Concerning William Pelham, see New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxvi. 400, 401; Heraldic Journal, iv. 178–182.

[2] See Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, ii. 431–434. Cf. Allen's Reports, ix. 422–447; Massachusetts Reports, ix. 500–507.

[3] The principal authorities relied upon are Foote's Annals of King's Chapel; Boston Record Commissioners' Reports; Suffolk Deeds; Suffolk Probate Files; Deblois's The William Price Fund, Trinity Church, Boston; the works of William Loring Andrews. Thanks are due Mr. Robert H. Kelby of the New York Historical Society, Mr. Irwin C. Cromack of Boston, and Mr. Frederick L. Gay of Brookline, for their kind assistance.

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Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS exhibited photographic copies of The Constitutional Courant of 21 September, 1765, and of several of the snake devices used in American newspapers at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, and read a communication in regard to them.[1]

The Rev. HENRY A. PARKER read the following paper on —

THE FEOFFEES OF IMPROPRIATIONS.

Cotton Mather in his Magnalia wrote that about 1626 "several eminent Persons," among them "our Mr. *Davenport*," "engaged in a Design to procure a Purchase of *Impropriations*, and with the Profits thereof to maintain a constant, able, and painful Ministry in those parts of the Kingdom where there was most want of such a Ministry;" and that "such an incredible Progress was made in it, that it is judged, all the *Impropriations* in *England* would have been honestly and easily recovered unto the immediate Service of the *Reformed Religion*. But, Bishop *Laud* looking with a jealous Eye on this Undertaking, least it might in time give a Secret Growth to *Non-Conformity*, he obtained a Bill to be exhibited in the *Exchequer Chamber*, by the King's Attorney-General, against the Feoffees, that had the management of it."[2] Mather's estimate of the importance of this attempt of the Puritan party to carry on a propaganda by means of the impropriations was no greater than Laud's. Mather thought the scheme good, Laud thought it evil, but both agreed that it was well adapted for carrying out swiftly and surely the end proposed.

The scheme failed, but it may be questioned whether it failed of producing desired results as completely as both parties at the time supposed — for the breaking up of the feoffment was represented as a tyrannical interference with a disinterested scheme of missionary work and deeply resented.[3] However, eight years later, soon after Laud's trial, when his part in breaking up the

[1] See the December meeting, below, pp. 409–452.

[2] Magnalia (1702), book iii. part i. chap. iv, § 4. Mather seems largely to have followed Fuller.

[3] As Mather, following Fuller, says: "The design was generally approved, and multitudes of discreet and devout Men extreamly resented the Ruine of it." And this resentment undoubtedly helped the Puritan interest and injured their opponents.

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feoffment had been one of the many accusations brought against him, the matter became of no other than historical importance; for the object in view was otherwise obtained through the complete political triumph of the Puritans. No one in that busy time took the trouble to write any complete account of this clever movement, and though often alluded to, I cannot find that any full account of it has ever been written. The best and fullest is that given by Rushworth in his Historical Collections[1] and followed by White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, in his volume (1704) on the History of Impropriations. Nor can I find that the accessible printed authorities by any means furnish materials for a complete account or a thorough understanding of what was done. Still some account, though imperfect, may be of use, if no otherwise than in inciting some one with better sources of information to write a better account.

The matter concerns us not only as all the religious movements in England at that time concern those interested in colonial history, but because two of the feoffees, John Davenport and John White, played very important parts in our colonial affairs.

The story of the origin of the impropriations, or if we please, appropriations, in England goes rather far back, but it may be worth while as briefly as possible to recount it.

When the little "Saxon" kingdoms one after another were converted to Christianity, each kingdom became a bishopric. As Stubbs puts it:

> The development of the local machinery of the church was in reverse order to that of the state; the bishoprics being first formed, then the parishes; . . . In all cases, for a short time, the diocese coincided with the kingdom, . . . the court was the chief mission-station, and sent out monks and priests to convert the outlying settlements. . . . When archbishop Theodore undertook to organise the church, he found . . . dioceses identical with kingdoms; no settled clergy, and no definite territorial subdivisions. . . . the monastery continued to be the typical church settlement, . . . Still . . . the country churches were also multiplied, and local provision of some sort was made for the village clergy. What measures Theodore, who is the traditional creator of the parochial system, took in this direction can only be conjectured: it is unnecessary to suppose that he founded it, for it needed no foundation. As the king-

[1] Historical Collections (1680), ii. 7 ff.

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dom and shire were the natural sphere of the bishop, so was the township of the single priest; and the parish was but the township or cluster of townships to which that priest ministered. . . . The parish, then, is the ancient *vicus* or tun-scipe regarded ecclesiastically.[1] . . . The maintenance of the clergy thus settled was provided chiefly by the offerings of the people: for the obligation of tithe in its modern sense was not yet recognised. . . . The bestowal of a little estate on the church of the township was probably the most usual way of eking out what the voluntary gifts supplied. The recognition of the legal obligation of tithe dates from the eighth century, . . . In 787 it was made imperative by the legatine councils held in England, which being attended and confirmed by the kings and the ealdormen had the authority of witenagemots. . . . The legal determination of the church to which the tithe was to be paid was not yet settled. . . . The actual determination was really left very much to the owner of the land . . . in the free townships it must have become the rule to give it to the parish priests.[2]

But whatever his means of support, the local parish priest came in very early times to hold his benefice for life. The right of appointing to these positions was usually vested in the lord of the manor, or the person who had built or endowed the church, or in the bishop. These rights of patronage or advowson descended by inheritance or otherwise and were often given by the lord of the manor to one or other religious community — i. e. monastery. The right to appoint to the benefices thus acquired was wrongfully changed by the monasteries into the possession of the benefices themselves — taking them *in proprios usus* or *ad proprios usus*, the monks themselves performing the religious services, one or another as appointed — sometimes as a penance. Thus arose impropriations or appropriations in England. This system was satisfactory to no one. So the monasteries, which, in the times of the Norman conquest, were presented with great numbers of advowsons by the more or less religious Normans, took to hiring secular priests as vicars, at a third of the income of the benefice, instead of presenting to the benefice, in which case the rector would have been entitled to all the revenue. And further, by a rigid application of the law of supply and demand, the monks were at times able to procure vicars for the barest pittance to perform the duties of parish clergy. Such wholesale misappro-

[1] Just as it was here in New England.

[2] Constitutional History of England (1874), i. 224–229.

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priation of parish funds, to the immediate disadvantage of the great body of the laymen, did not go on without protest and some, not quite futile, attempts at reform; but, for the most part, continued until the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII. Before that event there was a certain rather specious appearance of propriety in the system of appropriations as known in England, in that they were all held by ecclesiastics of some sort, and so if the parishes were impoverished, and the clergy and laymen in general suffered, the parish revenues went at least to other ecclesiastics, even if, as sometimes was the case, to a convent of nuns. No layman held an impropriation. When the monasteries were suppressed and their property confiscated it would naturally be supposed, in fact it was then expected, that the "Defender of the Faith" would return to their proper uses the glebes, tithes, and endowments which the monasteries had appropriated.[1] This was not done: instead, the King and his favorites appropriated the appropriations of the monks and applied them to their own uses, as the monks had applied them to theirs. This naturally displeased the commonality, and the provision for local worship having been still further seriously impaired under Edward VI by the confiscation of other funds for the support of the clergy, and by the destruction of the chantries, seems to have done much towards making the common people well disposed to accept Mary Tudor. Mary's action in this matter was just and honorable. She gave back to their proper uses that portion of the impropriations yet remaining to the Crown. But the parliamentry gentry refused to allow the other lay impropriators to be interfered with — indeed they demanded and obtained from the Queen and the Pope formal sanction for the misappropriation of the parish funds they were enjoying. On the accession of Elizabeth, all the lay appropriations which Mary had given up were again seized by the Crown. This was a particularly undesirable form of property for the Queen to hold under the circumstances, so that very capable business woman contrived a series of forced sales to the bishops, who were obliged to trade off endowments of the bishoprics for her trebly appropriated parish endowments — both, it is needless to say, at the Queen's valuation.[2] After this fashion a portion of the appro-

[1] Cutts, Dictionary of the Church of England, p. 338.

[2] For example, in the fourth year of her reign she compelled the Bishop of London to give her eleven manors in exchange for a miscellaneous lot of these

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priated benefices came back, after a sort, to church uses — not to the increase of the popularity of the bishops. This in brief is the history of the origin of lay impropriations in England.[1]

The extent to which the parishes were habitually plundered by impropriations is stated by Archbishop Whitgift, near the close of Elizabeth's reign, at nearly £200,000 a year, about half in tithes and half in the rental value of lands — with the result, as he states it, that of 9000 benefices there were "not 60 sufficient for a learned minister."[2] Though in some places at least things were not so bad in the early years of Charles I, it is not clear to just what extent they were altered for the better.[3] This was a state of things which all men who cared for religion united in deploring. And it is no wonder that the project of buying up these appropriations for religious uses met with general and hearty approval on all sides as it did.

Just when the Society of the Feoffees was first organized does not appear; Neal says it was in 1627, Mather says "about 1626," and Mr. Gardiner says about 1625; but Attorney General Noy, in his "information" against the feoffees, says it was in operation from the tenth year of King James, i. e. 1613–14. Their organization was that of a close corporation and consisted of twelve men, four clergymen, four lawyers, and four merchants; vacancies were filled by themselves, preserving the same number of men in each of these three callings. When the information was brought against them in 1631, there had already been three vacancies made by death and filled — which would indicate that the Society was of more than five or six years' standing.

They asked for donations for buying the impropriations and met

impropriated benefices (Kennett, Impropriations, pp. 155, 156). See also Statutes of the Realm, iv. 381, 382; Acts of the Privy Council, December 24, 1558. The Calendars of State Papers, Domestic, 1559–1560, show how these things were done.

[1] The history of the Irish lay impropriations is important and throws light on the actions and motives of those engaged in the controversy over the English feoffment.

[2] Kennett, Impropriations, pp. 169, 170.

[3] The amiable but not very accurate Fuller says that there were at this time 3845 benefices either appropriated to bishops, cathedrals and colleges, or impropriated (as lay-fees) to private persons, but does not distinguish further. The distinction he makes between appropriation and impropriation was then in use, but the use was merely fanciful.

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with a liberal response. There cannot now be a doubt that their intention was to supply only ministers of the Puritan party or those devoted to what Mather calls "The Reformed Religion." That is what they did; nor should they have been expected to do otherwise. But there seems to have been not a little misunderstanding on this point; and it seems also to have been supposed by some that the feoffees intended to return the funds of the appropriations purchased, to the use of the several parishes. It may be remembered that all the clerical members of the feoffment, including John Davenport, were, according to their own account, "conformable" clergy of the Church of England, — a phrase meaning such different things at that time that there was certain to be misunderstanding. Anyhow, none seem to have wished or dared to oppose the Society and their work, until it had been going on for several years.

Peter Heylyn, who claims credit for being the first to attack the feoffment, says that he did so of his own thought and knowledge, and in his sermon[1] attacking it, preached at Oxford July 11, 1630, says that "at first he lookt upon the project with as great reverence and affection, as any that were deceived and abused by it; and could not but congratulate the felecity of those times in giving birth to a design of such signal merit."[2] The good-natured Fuller in 1656 writes:

The *redeeming* and *restoring* of [the lay impropriations], was these *Feoffees* designe, and it was verily believed (if not obstructed in their

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[1] The following, under date of January 27, 1630–31, may have some direct relation to Heylyn's sermon:

Petition of Richard Daye, son of Wm. Daye, sometime bishop of Winchester to the King. For a reference to a select number of the Council, and Council at Law, with Mr. Noy, to consider a scheme for buying up impropriations, principally by means of a collection throughout England. *Underwritten, Reference to the Archbishop of York, the Lords Keeper, Treasurer, President, and Steward, the Earls of Dorset, and Holland, Sec. Dorchester, the Bishops of London and Winchester, Lord Newburgh, the Master of the Wards, the Vice Chamberlain, and Sec. Coke* (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1629–1631, p. 174).

It does not appear whether the petition was for or against the feoffment. The father of the petitioner was accounted strongly Puritan.

[2] Bishop Laud had been at least suspicious of the feoffees for more than a year, for among many things in "considerations for the better settling of church government" suggested to the King in the spring of 1629, Laud had set down "A consideration also to be had, 1. As to the general Feoffees for Benefices and Preferments."

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endeavours) within *fifty yeers*, rather *Purchases* than *Money* would have been wanting unto them, buying them generally (as *Candle-rents*)[1] at or under twelve yeers valuation. My Pen passing by them at the present, may safely salute them with a God speed, as neither seeing nor suspecting any danger in the Designe.

And Bishop Kennett, publishing in 1704, says that —

mens hearts were so zealously affected to this cause, as even to take a wrong step and some mistaken measures in it . . . The persons who made up the combination were very worthy Divines, Lawyers and Citizens. Their first intention was no doubt very honorable . . . The invalidity in law was the more unhappy because the design in itself met (as it deserved) with a universal approbation and very great encouragement.

Neal's account of what was actually intended is more specific and agrees better with Mather's idea of the object in view. He says:

About the year 1627, there was a scheme formed by several gentlemen and ministers to promote preaching in the country, by setting up lectures in the several market-towns of England; and to defray the expense, a sum of money was raised by voluntary contribution, for the purchasing such impropriations as were in the hands of the laity, the profits of which were to be parcelled out in salaries of forty or fifty pounds per ann. for the subsistance of their lecturers; this money was deposited in the hands of . . . for the aforesaid purposes, under the name and character of *feoffees*.[2]

Indeed, it seems to me that Neal is closer to the act and intention of the feoffees than Mr. Gardiner, who says that by collections and purchase of impropriations they "were thus enabled to increase the stipends of ministers, lecturers and school-masters. Naturally the persons selected for their favours were Puritans." For whatever else was aimed at, the immediate object of first importance seems to have been the providing of lecturers, as the Puritan missionaries were called. The feoffees were thorough Puritans and were associated for the advancement of what they believed, in deadly earnest, to be the true evangelical religion, that is Puritanism and nothing else, and it was very dull of anyone not to understand.

[1] "Rent or revenue derived from house-property (which is continually undergoing deterioration or waste)." This passage from Fuller's Church History (book xi. p. 137) is the latest noted in the Oxford Dictionary.

[2] History of the Puritans (1817), ii. 247, 248.

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Mr. Gardiner says that the money received amounted to £6361.6.1, and although that was equivalent to a much larger sum than in these times, one rather wonders at Fuller's writing: "It is incredible what large sums were advanced in a short time towards so laudable an employment." However, we may suppose that this sum represents only the amount of the subscriptions and does not include the profits of the benefices, of which it seems there were but thirteen.[1] The only benefice that I have found named is Presteign, Radnorshire, Wales; nor do I find any statement in detail of what was done with the profits of the benefices except in this one instance. One hundred and twenty pounds derived from it annually was devoted to the payment of six lectureships established at St. Antholin's, London.[2] And this

[1] A somewhat blindly calendared paper may indicate that the feoffees held impropriations in Dunstable, Hertford, and Cirencester. See Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1633–1634, p. 344.

[2] "At the south west angle of St Sythe's lane, in Budge-row is [was] situated the church of St Anthony vulgarly termed St Antholin, or Antlin" (Noorthouck, History of London, 1773, p. 600). Fuller says they were charged with misuse of funds,—

. . . when [Being by their Feoffment to erect them where preaching was wanting.] erecting a Lecture every morning at St. *Antholines* in *London*. What was this but *lighting candles to the Sun, London* being already the *Land of Goshen*, and none of those *dark* and *distant corners*, where *Soules* were ready to *famish* for lack of the *food* of the *word?* What was this but a bold *breach* of their trust, even in the *Eye of the Kingdome?*" (Church History, book xi. p. 142).

Their answer to this will be found in the same place. In Thornbury and Walford's Old and New London (i. 553, 554) is this account of St. Antholin's:

A new morning prayer and lecture was established here by clergymen inclined to Puritanical principles in 1599. The bells began to ring at five in the morning, and were considered Pharisaical and intolerable by all High Churchmen in the neighbourhood. The extreme Geneva party made a point of attending these early prayers . . . "and curiosity, faction, and humour brought so great a conflux and resort, that from the first appearance of day in the morning on every Sunday, to the shutting in of the light, the church was never empty." Dugdale also mentions the church. "Now for an essay," he says, "of those whom, under colour of preaching the Gospel, in sundry parts of the realm, they set up a morning lecture at St. Antholine's Church in London; where (as probationers for that purpose) they first made tryal of their abilities, which place was the grand nursery whence most of the seditious preachers were after sent abroad throughout all England to poyson the people with their anti-monarchical principles."

The funds of the Welsh parish were an additional endowment, but as I suppose for additional lecturers.

Mar. 17, 1629. Orders for disposing of certain money given towards the maintenance of six morning lectures in the church of St Antholin, London, indorsed in Bishop Lauds hand. St Antholin's the lecture 70l per annum; and by the present instrument monies were vested in trustees to pay to each of the lecturers an additional 30l per annum (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic).

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instance probably told rather heavily against the feoffment, for the Rector of St. Antholin's, the wealthy London parish, was one of the feoffees, and these St. Antholin lectureships were used as a sort of training school for Puritan lecturers to be afterwards sent throughout England.

Rushworth's account of the trial of the feoffees is as follows:

The Bishop of *London*, as is already mentioned, having formerly projected the overthrow of the Feoffees for the buying in of Impropriations, as the main Instruments of the *Puritan Faction* to undo the Church; The Cause was brought by Information into the *Exchequer*,[1] by Mr. *Noy* the King's Attorny General, *Plaintiff*, against *William Gough*,[2] *Richard Sibbs*,[3] *Giles Off-spring*,[4] *John Damport* [Davenport], Clerks.

[1] "The Exchequer Chamber, court of Equity in which the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer sat as judges by the side of the barons" (Gardiner, History of England, vii. 258).

[2] The Rev. William Gouge, D.D. (1578–1653), a popular and fashionable preacher for many years at Blackfriars. Mr. Gardiner says that his name and that of Richard Sibbes, "the first two names on the list of feoffees . . . offered sufficient guarantees that no destructive influences were at work" (History of England, vii. 259), and that "Gouge did his best to satisfy Laud. He received his admonitions on account of some irregularities in the administration of the Communion with meekness. He detested he declared those who despised authorities." Gardiner speaks of him as a moderate Puritan. He was at any rate a very thorough Puritan, as might be judged from his having been recommended to the noted Puritan, Stephen Edgerton, by no less a person than Arthur Hildersham. Furthermore, he was one of the leading members of the Westminster Assembly, in which he was a member of the committee for examination of ministers, on the committee for drafting a confession of faith, and assessor and finally a prolocutor. See the sketch of Gouge in the Dictionary of National Biography.

[3] The Rev. Richard Sibbes (Sibs, Sibbs), D.D. (1577–1635). Of him Gardiner says:

> Sibbes was a still more notable personage in the ranks of the moderate Puritans . . . Ever since the days of Cartwright there had been a strong Puritan element at Cambridge. Perkins had handed on the torch of religious oratory to Bayne, and Bayne was the spiritual father of Sibbes. [Appointed lecturer at Trinity parish, the] lecture became a great power in Cambridge. Men like Cotton, afterwards the light of New England, and Goodwin, the noted Independent divine, traced their spiritual generation to Sibbes (History of England, vii. 260 ff).

He was chosen preacher to Grays Inn in 1617, and in 1626 Master of St. Catharine's Hall, offices which he held together. He and Gouge were reprimanded by the Star Chamber for their circular asking alms for the Palatinate exiles. After the feoffment was broken up King Charles presented him to the Vicarage of Trinity. There is no doubt, however, of his Puritanism, for which the High Commission had in 1615 deprived him of his professorship and lectureship.

[4] The Rev. Charles (not Giles) Ofspring or Offspringe (it is spelled both ways in his parish register), "s. Thomas of Kent, B. A. from Trinity Coll., Cam-

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Sir *Tho. Crew*,[1] Knight; *Robert Eyers*,[2] an Apprentice of The Law; *John White*,[3] *Sam. Brown*,[4] Utter Barristers at Law. *Nicholas Rainton*, Alderman of *London*. *John Gearing*, *Rich. Davies*, *George Harwood*, *Francis Bridges*, Merchants; *William Leman*, *Thomas Foxley*, Clerks; and Mr. *Price*, *Defendents*.

The Information was to this effect.

'That since the tenth Year of the Reign of the late King [1613 or 16], 'these *Feoffees*, to the intent to procure into their hands divers Manours, 'Lands, and Tenements, Rectories, Tythes, Oblations, and Sums of 'Money, which well-disposed People should give to the sustaining and 'endowment of Perpetual *Vicars*, having Cure of Souls, and other 'Charitable Uses; did of their own Authority erect and make themselves 'into a *Society*, or Body Corporate, called sometime by the name 'of the *Collectors of St. Antholins;* and used to hold Assemblies and 'Councils, and make Ordinances, appoint Registers and Actuaries for 'their doings: And have gotten into their hands Sums of Money, 'intended by the Donors for the foresaid Pious Uses; With part whereof 'they had purchased divers *Rectories*, *Tithes*, *Prebendaries*, *Lands* and '*Tenements*, the Remonstrances whereof are registered in a Book, and 'had not imploied the same as was intended by the Givers, as by Law 'they ought.

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bridge, 1605–6, M. A. 1609, incorporated 14 July, 1612, rector of St. Antholin, London, 1617" (Foster, Alumni Oxonienses). At St. Antholin's the baptisms of children Martha, Charles, Charles, Samuel, and Mary are recorded from October, 1625, to October, 1634. His wife Martha was buried August 22, 1649. He was buried March 13, 1659. None of these children survived him. The second Charles died in his twenty-fourth year, and Samuel lived to be twenty-five. St. Antholin parish was a great centre of Puritanism — there is no doubt about the thoroughness of the Rector's Puritanism. Neal calls him "Dr."

[1] Sir Thomas Crewe (1565–1634). He entered Parliament in 1603, was chosen Speaker in 1623 and again in the first Parliament of Charles I, and in 1633 was a member of the Ecclesiastical Commission.

[2] Robert Eyrs. Fuller calls him Ralph Eyre of Lincoln's Inn.

[3] John White (1590–1645), of an old Pembrokeshire family. This is the John White so well and favorably known to us for his part in the management of the Massachusetts Bay Colony Charter and settlement. No one could call him a moderate Puritan. "With reference to Episcopacy White advocated a 'root and branch policy of extirpation.'" "His hostility to the episcopal system was extreme," and so, we may add, was his hostility to the Episcopal clergy. See the account of him in the Dictionary of National Biography, which is much better done than some other of the lives of the Puritans in that work.

[4] Samuel Browne, of Lincoln's Inn, October, 1616, was member of Parliament for Clifton, Dartmouth and Hardness, Devonshire; was one of the committee to which the impeachment of Laud was intrusted, and followed him to the death. He seems to have been an Independent and to have fought against the Presby-

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Mr. Attorney further shewed, That it did appertain to his Majesty's care, That such Donations for Augmentation of Divine Worship and Public Works of Charity, be not withdrawn, diminished, or misimployed, but be rightly distributed; and that an Accompt thereof ought to be made to his Majesty in this Honourable Court, or elsewhere. That without the Writings, Evidences, and Registers remaining in the custody of these Persons, or their Officers, there could be no perfect Charge whereon to make an Accompt. Wherefore for discovery of what Lands, Goods, Chattels, and Sums of Money, had come into their hands, and how the same were emploied, and what Evidences and Registers remained in their keeping; and for an Accompt to be made for the distribution of all; He prayed Process of *Subpœna* against them to appear in this Court.

The *Defendents* appeared, and made Answer, 'That they believed '*Impropriations* in the possessions of Lay-Men, not imploied for the 'Maintenance of Preachers, was a great damage to the Church of '*England;* and that the purchasing thereof for the maintenance of '*Divine Service* and *Preaching*, is a Pious Work. And that as divers 'Men may by the Law join in the purchasing of Manours and Lands, 'so without offence of Law they might confer how they might raise 'Moneys out of their own Purses, and from their Allies and Friends, 'to purchase *Impropriations* for the maintenance of Worthy, Pain-'ful, and Conformable Preachers; and that the Lands and Revenues 'were sufficiently conveyed unto *Richard Stock*,[1] Alderman *Hoyley*, '*Christopher Sherland*, deceased, together with themselves.

'That they referr'd themselves for the several States and Uses 'thereof, to the several *Deeds*, *Wills*, and *Declarations* concerning the 'same. That the Donors of the Moneys, being many, gave the same 'towards the buying of Impropriations, Maintenance of Preachers, and 'such other good Uses, as the *Defendents* should think meet; and not 'for the Endowment of Perpetual *Vicars*. That they had not con-'verted to their own uses any of the Moneys, or other things given or

terian party. He died in 1668. See the sketch of him in the Dictionary of National Biography, where nothing is said of his connection with the feoffment.

Fuller says that besides the feoffees, "there were other inferior *Factors*, Mr. Foxley, &c. who were employed by *appointment*, or of *officiousness* employed themselves in this designe" (Church History, book xi. p. 137).

[1] The Rev. Richard Stock (1569–1626) was a Yorkshireman of St. John's College, Cambridge, "incorporated A. M. Oxford 1595," after holding various ecclesiastical positions, in 1611 succeeded to the parish of All Hallows, Bread Street, London, where he had been curate. "He was active in promoting the observance of the Lord's day." It was doubtless to him that John Davenport succeeded in the feoffment.

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'purchased. That they had not enacted, or made themselves a *Body Cor-*
'*porate*, otherwise than they have here set forth. That to their knowledge
'they never presented any to any Church, or Place in their disposition,
'who was not Conformable to the Doctrine and Discipline of the
'Church of *England*, and approved by the Ordinary of the Place.

And Sir *Thomas Crew* answered for himself, 'That since *Hillary*-
'Term last, before the exhibiting of the *Information*, upon the Death
'of *Christopher Sherland*, one of the Readers of *Grays-Inn*, he was
'moved by some of the Persons above-named, to assist them in the
'Business; to which he willingly condescended, and was ready to join
'in so good a Work, the same tending to the maintenance of the Clergy
'that had not sufficient Means, and were Conformable to the Orders
'of the Church, and painful and faithful in their Places.

Hereupon it was ordered, that the Books and Evidences should be brought into the Court, which was done accordingly; Upon the reading whereof, together with the *Defendents* Answer, and upon hearing of the Cause debated by the Learned Counsel on both Sides, the Court declared,

That the Defendents *usurped upon the King's Regality, and of their own Authority assume themselves into a* Body *and* Society, *as if they had been Incorporated to a perpetual succession, and made Ordinances and Constitutions to establish themselves in perpetuity, as appeareth by their own Ordinance.*

'*That whereas four of them were in the Order* of Priesthood, *four were* 'Professors *of the Common-Law, and the rest* Citizens *of* London; *if* '*any of them should die, or be removed, they should elect one into his* '*Place of the same Condition. And that all those that should have the* '*profit* of Impropriations, *or obtain any Ecclesiastical Presentation,* '*should be bound by certain Conditions which they had framed. Also* '*they chose among them a* Treasurer, Secretary, Auditor, *and a* Common 'Servant of their Livery, *and inflicted Mulcts upon such of them as met* '*not at their Assemblies.*

That they purchased diverse Impropriations, but never restored one of them to the Church, by conferring it in Perpetuity upon any Incumbent, but kept them in their own hands, and disposed of the Profits to such Lecturers and Ministers, and in such Proportion, and for so long time as pleased them; and with other part thereof they bought Advousons of Churches, Nominations of Lecturers and Schoolmasters, which the Court conceived was not in the intention of those that gave the Mony for buying in of Impropriations.[1]

[1] The charge that the feoffment was a scheme for private gain does not appear in the trial and was doubtless false, although it must be evident that the

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Wherefore the Court was of Opinion, That the Proceedings of the Defendents was against the Laws and Customs of the Realm, and that they tended to the drawing to themselves in time the principal Dependency of the whole Clergie, that should have rewards from them, in such measure, and on such conditions as they should fancy, thereby introducing many Novelties of dangerous Consequence, both in Church and Common-Wealth, and making Usurpation upon his Majesty's Right. — That in not annexing Impropriations to perpetual Incumbents in purchasing Advousons, Nomination of Incumbents, Lecturers, and Schoolmasters, and buying and keeping of Leases, they had not behaved themselves as they ought to have done, nor according to the Trust reposed in them. And his Majesty having referred the further examination of these Designs, intending to question this Matter in the Star-Chamber, *the Court did forbear to proceed to the inflicting of Punishments. Nevertheless it was Ordered and Decreed, That the Defendents should not from thenceforth hold any more Assemblies, or make Orders touching the Premises: Nor make any Alienations, or Alterations of the Estates of the afore-mentioned Impropriations, Advousans, Manors, Lands, Tenements, and Leases, which shall remain in the Persons in whom they now are, till the Court take further order. And as touching the buying of these Impropriations, the Court thought it a pious Work; but the distribution of the Profits, as is before declared, would have grown to a great inconvenience and prejudicial to the Government of the Church. And his Majesty's Pleasure was made known, That whatsoever had bin thus bestowed, should be imploied wholly to the Good of the Church, and the Maintenance of Conformable Preachers in the right and best way. And it was further decreed, That Commissions should be made to such as the Court shall nominate, to inquire of all Rectories, Tythes, Impropriations, and of all Leases appointed to be sold, and of all Sums of Mony appointed to be given for the purchasing of Impropriations; and upon the returns made by those Commissioners, the whole Profits thereof shall be conferred upon perpetual Incumbents and their Successors, as his Majesty shall think fit. And as touching the Advousons,*[1] *when any Church becomes void, the King's Majesty shall*

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integrity and prudence of the feoffees alone constrained them to abstain from such gainful breach of trust to which under the temptation of increased funds less worthy successors might have yielded. Mr. Davenport said that he had made nothing, but was the poorer from his connection with the feoffment.

[1] One of the advowsons was that of All Saints Church, Worcester, as appears by the following order of August 27, 1633:

The King to [Richard] Sibbes, D.D., [John] Damport [Davenport] clerk, and their Co-grantees of the advowson of All Saints, Worcester. In a suit late depending in the Court of Exchequer, prosecuted against them by the Attorney General, it was decreed that they should confer that church among others, when it should fall void, upon such

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present, and School-masters shall be placed by his Nomination. And the Defendents shall make Accompt of all Receipts, before such Auditors as the Court shall appoint. And his Majesty's Attorney General may give them a discharge, or except against the Allowances demanded by them.

Moreover the King gave direction, That the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, *the Lord* Keeper, *and other Lords and Bishops, should consider whether a Criminal Process should be made against the Feoffees? and if so, then whether in the Court of* Exchequer, *or* Star-chamber?[1]

No criminal action seems to have been advised, at any rate none was taken. But at the time of the trial Davenport at least was very much afraid of it. Says Mather:

Upon this occasion I find this Great Man writing in his *Great Bible*, the ensuing Passages:

'*Feb.* 11. 1632. The Business of the *Feoffees* being to be heard the 'third time at the Exchequer, I prayed earnestly, That God would 'assist our Counsellors, in opening the Case, and be pleased to grant, 'that they might get no advantage against us, to punish us as *Evil* '*Doers*; promising to observe what *Answer* he gave. Which seeing 'he hath graciously done, and delivered me *from the thing I feared*, 'I record to these Ends:

'1. To be more *Industrious* in my *Family*.

'2. To check my *Unthankfulness*.

'3. To quicken my self to *Thankfulness*.

'4. To awaken my self to more *Watchfulness* for the time to come, in 'remembrance of his Mercy.

'Which I beseach the Lord to grant; upon whose *Faithfulness* in *his* '*Covenant*, I cast my self, to be made *Faithful* in *my Covenant*.'

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person as the King should appoint. It being now void it is his Majesty's pleasure that Valentine Southerton B. D. and Fellow of Christ's Church, Oxford, be forthwith presented by them. [*Draft by Attorney General Noy. A blank was left in the draft for the name of the person to be presented, with reference to which Archbishop Laud has written*: "*My Lord elect of Hereford* [Dr. William Juxon] *will give you the name; he is one of Worcester Church*" (Calendar of State papers, Domestic, 1633–34, pp. 192, 193).

[1] Historical Collections, ii. 150–152, under the year 1632. Under date of January 17, 1633–34, occurs the following:

Minute by Sec. Windebank of his Majesty's pleasure that Archbishop Laud, Lord Keeper Coventry, Archbishop Neile, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl Marshal, Lord Cottington, and Sec. Coke with Sec. Windebank, calling them Mr. Attorney General, should consider whether the feoffees of impropriations who have been questioned in the Exchequer should be proceeded against criminally, and if so, whether in the Exchequer or Star Chamber (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1633–34, p. 418).

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On this trial Mr. Gardiner acutely remarks:

If it were possible to look at this sentence apart from the circumstances of the time, it would not be difficult to adduce arguments in its favour. Of all modes of supporting the clergy yet invented, their maintenance by a body of capitalists living for the most part at a distance from the scene of their ministrations is probably the worst.

Not, however, that he approves of Laud's action under the circumstances. The real point of this and many another conflict was that it was, as we all know, a part of a life and death struggle on either side for dominance between those who, like Laud and his friends, earnestly believed Episcopacy to be *jure divino* and those who, like Dr. Gouge and his friends, earnestly believed Presbyterianism or Independency to be *jure divino*. And except on the supposition that one side was right and the other wrong, each had as much right and was as much bound to fight for his belief as the other.

The subject of the feoffment was brought up again in Laud's trial, in which two of the feoffees bore a part against him, and in the accounts of the trial there is much of interest in the personal aspects of this contest.

Mr. EDES communicated five letters written in 1797 and 1798 by Robert Morris concerning his financial embarrassment to General Henry Lee and to John Nicholson. Three of these follow.[1]

I

ROBERT MORRIS TO JOHN NICHOLSON.

N° 1.

Jany 10. 1798

D^{r} SIR —

You will receive herewith a letter from Richd Sprigg jun^{r} to me of the 8th ins^{t} on the subject of a joint debt, & my reply for your approbation if it meets therewith seal & send it to Congress Hall returning to me Mr Spriggs letter

[1] The letter to Nicholson dated 16 November, 1797, was printed in the Historical Magazine for August, 1870, Second Series, viii. 112, 113. In connection with the letters printed in the text, see W. G. Sumner's The Financier of the American Revolution, ii. 279–292.

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I have rec^{d} your N° 1 of this day but cannot spare time to look into the affairs of Chas Young just now, being full of troublesome & important business, I shall be along side of Chas Young soon. Wm Hunt & M Dubs, have issued Scire Facias's v. G. Eddy & I must go for my property shall never go to pay those Debts — I am &c

ROB^{t} MORRIS

John Nicholson Esqr

[*Addressed*]
John Nicholson Esqr

[*Filed*]
Letter from Robert
Morris, Jany 11^{h} 1798

II

ROBERT MORRIS TO HENRY LEE.

PHILAD^{A} March 11th 1798

DEAR SIR —

I received your letter of the 4th ult^{o} Under cover from Mr Morgan, but altho you thought the proposition contained therein so easy to be executed, I find it impracticable having by other arrangements put it out of my power to do what you ask.

I dare say you will have heard of my present disagreeable situation, a situation to which I ought never to have been exposed, but generous confidences in Men who have once obtained my good Opinion is a prominent part of my disposition & has led me into all the Scrapes & difficulties that have occurred in the course of my Life. It will now become my Study to extricate my self with the least inconvenience to my Just Creditors, and my desire to facilitate you is the same as ever as I continue to be Dr Sir

Your Obed^{t} hble serv^{t}

Genl Henry Lee

ROB^{t} MORRIS

[*Addressed*]
Genl Henry Lee
Virginia

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III

ROBERT MORRIS TO JOHN NICHOLSON.

N° 3.

JOHN NICHOLSON Esqr May 1st 1798

DEAR SIR

The Sec^y^ of the N° American Land Company has shewed me the Minutes of your meeting but as I have been much Occupied he has not had an opportunity of relating to me what passed in conversation at that meeting. With respect to our shares in that company I have long considered them as protected from "catch that catch can" by two circumstances, first the situation in which they are already placed. Secondly, the little credit & Estimation in which they are held. Hitherto they have lain dormant & safe under the Gloom of these Shades and may I believe continue in the same state of Obscurity. I have not however any material objection to the plans you mention. I wonder however that it does not strike you forcibly that one Consequence of the Numerous Schemes & plans you have adopted is a deprivation of resources wherewith to obtain "*Paper*" an Article of the First necessity to you. Bread which I suppose is next, and the means of gratifying your feelings now & then by making small payments to meritorious & necessitous creditors. I will furnish you with a list of my "Detainers" as you desire & remain

Your ob^t^ serv^t^
ROB^t^ MORRIS

[*Addressed*]
Jn° Nicholson Esqr

[*Filed*]
Letter from
Robert Morris
May 1st 1798

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APRIL MEETING, 1907

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 25 April, 1907, at three o'clock in the afternoon. In the absence of the PRESIDENT, Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS was called to the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The following Committees were appointed in anticipation of the Annual meeting:

To nominate candidates for the several offices, — the Rev. Dr. EDWARD H. HALL and Messrs. GEORGE V. LEVERETT and THOMAS MINNS.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts, — Messrs. WALDO LINCOLN and ARTHUR LORD.

Mr. HENRY LELAND CHAPMAN of Brunswick, Maine, was elected a Corresponding Member.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS read the following paper:

JOYCE JUNIOR ONCE MORE.

In a paper read before this Society in February, 1903, some account was given of Joyce Junior.[1] This was the name by which, for a year or two before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the chairman of the committee on tarring and feathering was known, and it was he who during the war warned and escorted out of town those of Tory proclivities. The character lingered on in the celebrations which took place on Pope Day. When that paper was written, the only explanation I had met with of the

[1] Publications, viii. 90–104.

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origin of Joyce Junior seemed unsatisfactory and was rejected, and even that explanation left out of account the name itself. A renewed effort, however, has met with more success.

In a letter written to me last December, Mr. John P. Lamberton of Philadelphia said:

> When I saw the title "Joyce Junior," my curiosity was aroused. I had never heard of the personage before. When I saw the facsimile of the handbill I was eager to get a glimpse of the stirring times in Boston at the outbreak of the Revolution. . . . As I finished reading the narrative I observed that you left to others to tell "why that particular name was chosen, and what significance there was in the appellation." Perhaps some of your fellow Bostonians have already shed light upon the question. But the answer quickly sprang up in my mind that Joyce Junior was evidently intended to be the legitimate successor of the Joyce who on June 2, 1647, with a troop of volunteers captured King Charles I and delivered him to the army, "to the horror and despair of the Parliament Commissioners." (See Carlyle's Cromwell at that date.) So Joyce Junior with his volunteers (127 years later) was going to treat all royalists or tools of the government as they deserved, without regard to legal forms or customs.

The seizure of King Charles at Holdenby (or Holmby) was thus described in a letter written by Lord Montagu to the Earl of Manchester on June 8, 1647:

> The Party being drawn up in the First Court before the House, His Majesty came down, and, standing upon the Top of the Steps, directed his Speech to Cornet *Joyce*, who, representing the Commander of the Party, stood before the Horse at the Foot of the Stairs. The King said, "That Cornet *Joyce* having, though at an unseasonable Hour in the Night, acquainted Him that he was come to convey His Majesty to the Army, His Majesty according to His Promise, was there to give His Answer, in the Presence of them all; but first He desired to know by whom He was authorized to propound this to His Majesty." Mr. *Joyce* answered, "That he was sent by Authority from the Army." The King replied, "That He knew no lawful Authority in *England* but His own, and next under Him the Parliament;" but withal asked, "Whether he had any Authority from Sir *Thomas Fairefax*, and whether in Writing?" It being replied, "That Sir *Thomas Fairefax* was a Member of the Army;" the King insisted, "That he was not

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answered; Sir *Thomas Fairefax*, being their General, was not properly a Member, but Head of the Army." *Joyce* said, "That at least he was included in the Army; and that the Soldiers present were his Commission, being a Commanded Party out of every Regiment." The King replied, "That they might be good Witnesses, but He had not seen such a Commission before; and if they were his Commission, it was an Authority very well written, all handsome young Men."[1]

The details of this account do not materially differ from those given in a pamphlet attributed on good internal evidence to Cornet Joyce himself, and published in 1647.[2] But while the seizure of Charles on June 4, 1647, brought Cornet Joyce into great prominence, I was not quite able to trace a direct connection between that event and the far off events in Boston a century and a quarter later. Yet the clue afforded by Mr. Lamberton was a promising one, and perhaps further investigation might yield facts that would solve the problem.

King Charles, it will be remembered, was executed on January 30, 1648–49. Writing in 1658, Sir William Sanderson said:

> Then lifting up his eyes and hands to Heaven, mildly praying to himself, he stooped down to the Block as to a Prayer Desk, and most humbly bowed down his generous neck to God, to be cutt off by the vizarded Executioner, which was suddenly done at one blow: Thus fell *Charles*, and thus all *Britain* with him.[3]

Writing before 1675, Sir Bulstrode Whitelocke stated that "Two men in disguises and vizors, stood upon the Scaffold for Executioners."[4] The identity of those two persons, more particularly of the King's executioner, early aroused curiosity and has remained an historical puzzle. In a pamphlet dated July 23, 1651, William Lilly, the celebrated astrologer, wrote:

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[1] Journals of the House of Lords, ix. 250. The writer of the letter was Edward Montagu, second Baron Montagu of Boughton. For much information in regard to the seizure of the King, see C. H. Firth's Clarke Papers (Camden Society), vol. i. pp. xxvi–xxxii, 118–120.

[2] A True Impartiall Narration, concerning the Armies preservation of the King; by which it doth appear, that the Army doth intend the good, life, propertie, and libertie of all the Commons of England. It is reprinted in Rushworth's Historical Collections (1701), vi. 513–517.

[3] Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles, p. 1138.

[4] Memorials of the English Affairs (1682), p. 370.

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After the White King *shall fall into a* Kirk-yard, *over a* Hall. Prophecy.

We may justly wonder, how exactly this was fulfilled in the Death of King *Charles*, or the *White King:* the truth of it was thus, that some few nights before his Death, He was brought to *White Hall*, the Regall seate of his Progenitors, against the day of his death a Scaffold was framed over against the new Banquetting-house built by King *James*, and when the *King* went unto Execution, a way or passage was made out at one of the West-windows for Him, to passe out unto the Scaffold, where his Head was cut off. So that very pertinently it was Prophesied, He should fall into a *Church-yard*, over a *Hall*. It is affirmed for a certaine truth, that neare the place where himselfe was Executed, that impertinent Citizen lost his life, occasioned by his crying, *No* Bishops, Just as He passed by that very place. After the execution, his body was carried to *Windsor*, and buried with *Henry the VIII*, in the same Vault where his Body was lodged. Some, who saw him Embowelled affirme, had He not come unto this untimely end, He might have lived, according unto nature, even unto the height of old age. Many have curiously inquired who it was that cut off his head, I have no permission to speake of such things, onely thus much I say, he that did it, is as valiant and resolute a man as lives, and one of a competent fortune, *&c.*[1] Verification. *King* Charles *buried at* Winsor.

[1] Monarchy or no Monarchy in England, pp. 50, 51. The title and collation of this pamphlet follow:

Monarchy / or no / Monarchy in England. / Grebner his Prophecy / concerning Charles Son / Of Charles, his Greatnesse, / Victories, Conquests. / The Northern Lyon, or Lyon of the North, and / Chicken of the Eagle discovered who / they are, of what Nation. / English, Latin, Saxon, Scotish and Welch Pro- / phecies concerning England in / particular, and all Europe in generall. / Passages upon the Life and Death of the late / King Charles. / Ænigmaticall Types of the future State and Condition / of England for many years to come. / By William Lilly, Student in Astrology. / [Eight Latin verses.] / London, Printed for Humfrey Blunden, at the Sign of the Castle / in Corn-hill 1651.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; To the Reader, pp. (6); The Prophecie of Paulus Grebnerus, concerning these Times, pp. 1-73; Several Observations upon the Life and Death of Charles late King of England, pp. 74-119; Note, p. (120); Illustrations, pp. 2-20.

The running headline of pp. 1–73 is, "Monarchy, or, no Monarchy hereafter in England;" that of pp. 74–119 is, "Observations on the Life and Death of

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During the period from the King's execution to the Restoration, Lilly pursued a vacillating course, and not unnaturally raised up enemies against himself. The remark thrown out by him in 1651 later brought him into trouble, and in 1660 he was the subject of a bitter attack in a pamphlet entitled, "A Declaration Of the several Treasons, Blasphemies and Misdemeanours Acted, spoken and published Against God, the late King, his present Majesty; the Nobility, Clergy, City, Commonalty, *&c.* By that Grand Wizard and Impostor William Lilly of St Clements Danes; Otherwise called Merlinus Anglicus. Presented to the Right Honourable the Members of the Houses of Parliament, in order to secure him from acting any further Villanies against His Majesty."[1] In the "Address to the Reader," Lilly was thus characterized:

The Truth is, he was the States Balaam, *who for hire would curse and bless for the* Rump *and* Oliver *according to their respective Instructions and Dictates, upon pretence of Art, wherein he hath no more skill than the Beast his Predecessor rid on:* . . .

More to our immediate purpose, however, is the following passage:

King Charles." These Observations end on p. 119, and the next page (unnumbered) contains these remarks:

HAD *the curtesie of the present Times deserved it at my hands, had'st seene an Explanation of the sixteen Pages following, which in Ænigmaticall Types, Formes, Figures, Shapes, doth perfectly represent the future condition of the* English *Nation and Common-wealth for many hundreds of yeares yet to come. I have borrowed so much Time from my Morning sleepe, as hath brought forth these Conceptions. You that reade these Lines must know that I doe no new thing, I doe herein but imitate the* Antients, *who so often as they resolved to conceale their intentions from prophane hands, used* Hierogliphicks, Images, &c. *The* Ægyptian Priests *were herein excellent, and their judgement commendable; our Saviour also himselfe commandeth;* Ne detur sacrum Canibus. *If Providence shall hereafter assigne me a quiet life, and prolong my yeares, I may then perhaps leave unto the Sonnes of Art the severall Changes of every Kingdome and Common-wealth in* Europe, *in such like Characters as these which now follow.*

Then come twenty pages (not sixteen, as Lilly says), the first page blank, each succeeding page containing one or more illustrations. It was later claimed by Lilly that two of these portrayed the plague and the fire of London. There is a copy of this pamphlet in the Boston Athenæum.

It will be observed that the passage relating to the King's executioner is found in the "Monarchy or no Monarchy" part, and not in the "Observations." See also p. 288 note 3, below.

[1] This pamphlet bears the imprint: "London, Printed for Dan. White, at the seven Stars in St Pauls Church-yard, 1660." There is a copy in the Harvard College Library. The collation is as follows: Title, 1 leaf; To the Reader, 1 leaf; Text, pp. 1–7.

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2. That the said *William Lilly* did procure, or set on, or knew of the procurement, and setting on, and did personally know that *Regicide*, whoever he was, that had the savage heart to execute that bloody fact of beheading the King: For in his Book, called *Monarchy or no Monarchy*, p. 51. speaking about the Death of King *Charles*, he hath these words: *Many have curiously enquired who it was that cut off the Kings head: I have no permission to speak of such things; only thus much I say, He that did it is as valiant and resolute a man as lives, and one of a competent fortune* (p. 2).

It seems not improbable that to this pamphlet Lilly owed the doubtful honor of an examination before a committee of the House of Commons. However that may be, it is certain that on June 2, 1660, it was —

Ordered, That *William Lilley* be forthwith sent for, in Custody, by the Serjeant at Arms attending this House, in order to his being examined, for discovering the Person who was employed in putting to Death his late Majesty King *Charles;* which Examination the Committee to whom Mr. *Thurloe*'s [1] Business is referred, is to take care of.[2]

On June 6, —

Mr. *Pryn*[3] reports from the Committee, the Examination of *Wm. Lilly*, touching the Person who cut off the Head of his late Majesty; and read the same in his Place.[4]

And on June 7, —

Mr. *Annesley*[5] reports the Examination of *Leonard Watson*, touching the Person who executed the late King; which was read.

Resolved, That those Two Persons who were upon the Scaffold in Disguise, when the detestable and traiterous Sentence upon the late King was executed, be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion, for Life and Estate.

Resolved, that Mr. *Hugh Peters*, and Cornet *Joyce*, be forthwith sent for, in Custody, by the Serjeant at Arms attending this House.[6]

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[1] John Thurloe (1616–1668).
[2] Journals of the House of Commons, viii. 53.
[3] William Prynne (1600–1669).
[4] Journals of the House of Commons, viii. 56.
[5] Arthur Annesley, first Earl of Anglesey.
[6] Journals of the House of Commons, viii. 57.

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Prynne's report has apparently not been preserved, but from Bishop Kennet we get the following account, under date of Saturday, June 2, 1660:

A Report being made to the House, that *William Lilly* had in Print declared, that he knew who was the King's Executioner, the House thereupon ordered, that *William Lilly* be taken into Custody by the Serjeant at Arms attending the House, until he reveal who was the Person who committed the horrid Murder upon his late Majesty. — On *Monday* following Mr. *William Lilly*, the Astrologer, was brought in custody by the Serjeant at Arms into the *Lobby*, but by reason of the great Affairs of the House he could not be examined. — On *Wednesday* the sixth of *June*, a Committee being appointed to examine Mr. *William Lilly*, touching the Person who committed the horrid Murder upon his late Majesty, report, that he had informed them, that one *George Joyce*, commonly known by the Name of *Cornet Joyce*, was the Person that performed that to be abhorred Action.[1]

It is to Lilly himself, however, that we are indebted for the fullest details. In 1667 he wrote the History of His Life and Times, and from this is taken the following passage:

What further concerns his Majesty, will more fully be evident about 1672 or 1674, or, at farthest, in 1676. And now unto my own Actions in 1660. . . .

In *June* of that Year, a new Parliament was called, whereunto I was unwillingly invited by two Messengers of the Serjeant at Arms. The Matter whereupon I was taken into Custody, was, to examine me concerning the Person who cut off the King's Head, *viz.* the late King's.

Sir *Daniel Harvey*, of *Surrey*, got the Business moved against me in great Displeasure, because, at the Election of new Knights for *Surrey*, I procured the whole Town of *Walton* to stand, and give their Voices, for Sir *Richard Onslow*. The Committee to examine me, were Mr. *Prinn*, one Colonel *King*, and Mr. *Richard Weston*[2] of *Gray's-Inn*.

God's Providence appeared very much for me that Day, for walking in *Westminster-Hall*, Mr. *Richard Pennington*, Son to my old Friend Mr. *William Pennington*, met me, and enquiring the Cause of my being there, said no more, but walked up and down the Hall, and related my kindness to his Father unto very many Parliament-men of *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, *Cumberland*, and those Northern Countries, who

[1] Historical Register and Chronicle of English Affairs (1744), p. 736.

[2] Sir Richard Weston (1620–1681).

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numerously came up into the Speaker's Chamber, and bad me be of good comfort; at last he meets Mr. *Weston*, one of the three unto whom my Matter was referred for Examination, who told Mr. *Pennington*, that he came purposely to punish me, and would be bitter against me; but hearing it related, *viz.* my singular Kindness and Preservation of old Mr. *Pennington's* Estate, to the Value of Six or Seven Thousand Pounds, *I'll do him all the Good I can*, says he, *I thought he had never done any Good; let me see him, and let him stand behind me where I sit:* I did so. At my first Appearance, many of the young Members affronted me highly, and demanded several Scurrilous Questions. Mr. *Weston* held a Paper before his Mouth; bad me answer no Body but Mr. *Prinn;* I obeyed his Command, and saved my self much Trouble thereby; and when Mr. *Prinn* put any difficult or doubtful Question unto me, Mr. *Weston* prompted me with a fit Answer; at last, after almost one Hour's tugging, I desired to be fully heard what I could say as to the Person who cut *Charles* the First his Head off. Liberty being given me to speak, I related what follows, *viz.*

That the next *Sunday* but one after *Charles* the First was beheaded, *Robert Spavin*, Secretary unto Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* at that Time, invited himself to dine with me, and brought *Anthony Peirson*,[1] and several others, along with him to Dinner: That their principal Discourse all Dinner-time, was only, who it was that beheaded the King; one said it was the common Hangman; another, *Hugh Peters*; others also were nominated, but none concluded. *Robert Spavin*, so soon as Dinner was done, took me by the Hand, and carried me to the South Window; saith he, 'These are all mistaken, they have not named the 'Man that did the Fact; it was Lieutenant-Colonel *JOYCE*; I was in 'the Room when he fitted himself for the Work, stood behind him when 'he did it; when done, went in again with him: There's no Man knows 'this but my Master, viz. *Cromwell*, Commissary *Ireton*,[2] and my self.' 'Doth not Mr. *Rushworth*[3] know it?' said I. 'No, he doth not know it,' saith *Spavin*. The same Thing *Spavin* since had often related unto me when we were alone. Mr. *Prinn* did, with much Civility, make a Report hereof in the House; yet *Norfolk*[4] the Serjeant, after my Discharge, kept me two Days longer in Arrest, purposely to get Money of me: He had Six Pounds, and his Messenger Forty Shillings; and yet I was attached but upon *Sunday*, examined on *Tuesday*, and then discharged, though the covetous Serjeant detained me until *Thursday*: By means of a Friend, I cried Quittance with *Norfolk*, which Friend was

[1] Anthony Pearson (1628–1670).
[2] Henry Ireton (1611–1651).
[3] John Rushworth (1612–1690).
[4] James Norfolk.

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to pay him his Salary at that Time, and abated *Norfolk* Three Pounds, which we spent every Penny at one Dinner, without inviting the wretched Serjeant; but in the latter End of the Year, when the King's Judges were arraigned at the *Old-Bayly*, *Norfolk* warned me to attend, believing I could give Information concerning *Hugh Peters*; at the Sessions I attended during its Continuance, but was never called or examined: There I heard *Harrison*, *Scott*, *Clement*, *Peters*, *Hacker*, *Scroop*, and others of the King's Judges, and *Cook*[1] the Sollicitor, who excellently defended himself; I say, I did hear what they could say for themselves, and after heard the Sentence of Condemnation pronounced against them by the incomparably modest and learned Judge *Bridgman*,[2] now Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.[3]

The first edition of Lilly's autobiography was published in 1715. This was followed the same year by a second edition, and the work was reprinted again in 1774.[4] In a curious book called "The History of King-Killers; Or, the 30th of January Commemorated: con-

[1] The regicides Thomas Harrison, Thomas Scott (or Scot), Gregory Clement, Hugh Peters, Francis Hacker, Adrian Scrope (or Scroope), John Cook.

[2] Sir Orlando Bridgeman (1606–1674).

[3] Mr. William Lilly's History of His Life and Times, From the Year 1602, to 1681. Written by himself in the 66th Year of his Age, to his worthy Friend Elias Ashmole, Esq; . . . The Second Edition. London: . . . 1715, pp. 88–91. In the year 1715 was also printed a book bearing in part the following title:

Mr. William Lilly's / True History / of / King James the First, / and / King Charles the First. / With Sundry Observations, Remarkable / Passages, and many secret Transactions / not 'till now divulged. / Faithfully Publish'd from his own Copy. / . . . London: / . . . M DCC XV.

Collation: Title, 1 leaf; To the Reader, pp. i–vii [1]; Several Observations upon the Life and Death of Charles late King of England, pp. 1–105; What Manner of Death the Archbishop of Canterbury should die, pp. 106–108.

The running headline of pp. 1–105 is, "Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles;" that of pp. 106–108 is, "Observations on the Death of Archbishop Laud." In his sketch of Lilly in the Dictionary of National Biography, Mr. Sidney Lee says that Lilly's True History of King James the First and King Charles the First was printed in 1651 as an appendix to his Monarchy or no Monarcy in England. This is a slight error. As we have already seen (p. 283 note, above), the second part of Monarchy or no Monarchy in England was given a different title. Moreover, there are certain differences between the Observations of 1651 and the True History of 1715, of which it is necessary to mention only one here. The passage quoted in our text (p. 283, above) as taken from p. 51 of the Monarchy or no Monarchy in England — beginning "After the execution," and ending "one of a competent fortune" — does not occur at all in the Observations of 1651, but is transferred to pp. 75, 76 of the True History.

[4] It was also reprinted in 1822.

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taining The Lives of . . . Fanatick Saints, famous for Treason, Rebellion, &c. Being one for every Day in the Month," published at London in 1719, June 8 is assigned to "William Lilly Cheating Almanack-maker." In the accompanying sketch we read:

After the Restoration in *June* 1660, *Lilly* was taken up, to be examin'd by a Committee of the House of Commons, as to the Person who cut off the King's Head, few then questioning, but that he who had been so great with the prime Regicides had been admitted into that Secret. He own'd, that *Robert Spavin*, Secretary to *Cromwell*, had told him, that Lieutenant Colonel *Joyce*, struck that Villainous Stroke, and that none knew it but *Cromwell* and himself, which Secret he would entrust no other with but *Lilly*.[1]

Nor was this all. In the third edition of his Life of Cromwell, published in 1731, Isaac Kimber wrote:

Captain *Hewlet*[2] was condemned after the restoration, for cutting off the king's head, or at least for being one of the persons who stood mask'd upon the scaffold, though several creditable witnesses depos'd, that *Gregory Brandon*,[3] the common hangman, had confessed and own'd that he executed the king, and that he affirm'd as much to the lord *Capel*,[4] when he suffer'd by the same ax; and captain *Hewlet* offer'd to make it appear, that he was not then upon the scaffold, nor near it, nay, that he was seiz'd and secur'd for refusing to be there. Notwithstanding this, *Hewlet* was found guilty by the jury; but was repriev'd: And if we may believe what *Lilly* writes in his *own life*, it was the resolute *Joyce* (who seiz'd the king at *Holmby*) that struck the fatal stroke. The account that *Lilly* gives, is as follows:[5] . . .

Kimber then goes on to give the passage already quoted in this paper. Other editions of Kimber's book were published. That the Joyce story was printed by Bishop Kennet in 1744, we have already

[1] Part vi. p. 29. In the same book, January 4 is assigned to "George Joyce, a most audacious Fanatick Rebel Saint;" but in the sketch of Joyce (part i. pp. 13–17) no mention is made of the Lilly story.

[2] Capt. William Hulet or Hewlet.

[3] See p. 291 note 1, below.

[4] Arthur Capel, first Baron Capel of Hadham, beheaded in 1649.

[5] Life of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Common-Wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Third Edition with Additions, pp. 111, 112. The first edition of Kimber's book, published in 1724, did not contain the passage in the text; the second edition, published in 1725, I have not seen. Five or six editions appear to have been printed.

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seen. It also appeared in a French work printed in 1732.[1] Finally, in the Gentleman's Magazine for November, 1767, we read:

> History informs us, that, at the king's execution, two men in *disguise* and *visors* stood upon the scaffold for executioners. . . . One *William Hulett*, we are told indeed was tried and condemned on Oct. the 15th, 1660, for being one of them. . . . But others, on the contrary, say it was Col. *Joyce* (XXXVII. 548).[2]

On June 17, 1650, George Joyce was appointed Governor of the Isle of Portland, and in August following he was given a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel.[3] He quarrelled with Cromwell, and at or before the Restoration fled to Holland, where his arrest was attempted by Sir William Temple at Rotterdam in 1670, but without success.[4] His later history is unknown.

In a sermon preached in 1779 at Hull, England, the Rev. George Walker said:

> When Joyce a Cornet of Horse in the service of the Long Parliament was tried at the Restoration for guarding with his troops the execution of Charles the I. he pleaded that he acted only in the character of a Soldier, obeying his military superior, and that if he had refused obedience, he must have suffered death by the sentence of a Court Martial. But his plea was overruled: it was answered that the act of his Superior, who commanded, and of himself who obeyed, was alike treason by the law of the land, that no authority whatever could justify his obedience, and he suffered death as a Traitor.[5]

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[1] See Notes and Queries, May 8, 1869, Fourth Series, iii. 422.

[2] Lilly and the Joyce tradition were again referred to in the Gentleman's Magazine for July, 1784, liv. 505.

[3] Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1650, pp. 206, 293.

[4] See Mr. Charles H. Firth's sketch of Joyce in the Dictionary of National Biography, and Temple's Works (1740), ii. 229, 231–234.

[5] The Duty and Character of a National Soldier, Represented in a Sermon Preached, January 2, 1779, At the High Church in Hull, before the Nottinghamshire Militia, pp. 28, 29. In the copy in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the word "Joyce" is run through with a pen and "*Hacker or Axtel" written in the margin. The regicides Col. Francis Hacker and Col. Daniel Axtel are meant. By a curious coincidence, my attention was called to this passage by Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, to whose kindness I am indebted, only three days after I had received Mr. Lamberton's letter.

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Cornet Joyce was not tried, was not condemned, and consequently was not executed; but this account is of interest as showing what erroneous ideas came to be current. Colonel Hacker was doubtless the person intended by the reverend author.

Besides Colonel Joyce, many others were accused of having been the King's executioner. The evidence is not conclusive, but it points strongly to Richard Brandon, the common hangman, as the culprit.[1]

The evidence thus far presented proves that the tradition about Colonel Joyce had frequently appeared in historical works, in memoirs, and in magazines before the practice of tarring and feathering Loyalists had sprung up in New England; but no proof has been offered that this tradition was known to the good people of Boston in 1774. Nor do I think that such proof is needed. The works quoted must have been well known to the Bostonians. Moreover, we cannot for a moment doubt that people among whose ancestors one regicide — Hugh Peters — had been a prominent figure, among whom three other regicides — John Dixwell, William Goffe, and Edward Whalley — had taken refuge, and by whom the daughter[2] of a fifth regicide was welcomed, were perfectly familiar

[1] In a letter dated at Venice, March 11, 1649, Joseph Kent wrote:

Gregory the ordinary hangman of London was commanded to assist to the Kings death, which he refused, but to invite him to it he was proffered two hundred pounds, which he would not hear of; then they threatened to burn him, and at last imprisoned him, because he would not consent to so great a wickedness; but a Judas will never be wanting, a Collonel formerly a brazier (to the great dishonour of the noble military art) with his servant a minister, both masked, were those who cut the thread of His Majesty's life, and, in it, his loyal subjects happiness. A rogue of a minister, after his head was severed from his sacred body, elevated it publicly to the people. (In Ellis's Original Letters, Second Series, iii. 340-342.)

Sir Henry Ellis thought that Kent's allusions were to Col. Joyce and Hugh Peters, but he overlooked the fact that Kent could not have spoken of Joyce as "Colonel" in 1649. Moreover, according to Anthony à Wood, Cornet Joyce was not a brazier but "had been a godly taylor in London" (Fasti Oxonienses, Bliss's edition, ii. 141). Probably Kent meant Col. Francis Hacker and Peters.

Though Brandon's name was Richard, he was commonly called "Gregory," because he succeeded in the office his father, Gregory Brandon. For Richard Brandon, see Sidney Lee's sketch in the Dictionary of National Biography; W. D. Fellowes, Historical Sketches of Charles the First, Cromwell, Charles the Second, and the Principal Personages of that Period, 1828, pp. 202–204; Gentleman's Magazine, June, 1784, liv. 409, 410; H. Ellis, Original Letters, Second Series, iii. 340–343 notes; T. B. Howell, State Trials, 1816, iv. 1141, 1142, v. 1155, 1156, 1185–1194; Notes and Queries, June 8, 1861, Second Series, xi. 446.

[2] Bridget Lisle, the daughter of the regicide John Lisle, married (1) the Rev. Leonard Hoar, President of Harvard College, and (2) Hezekiah Usher.

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with all the traditions relating to the execution of Charles. Nor is it material that the tradition itself is without foundation in fact. All we need concern ourselves with is the existence of the tradition. It is capable of proof, however, that the people of Boston between 1765 and 1775 repeatedly had their thoughts on the events of the seventeenth century. In a paper on the Rev. Josse Glover and the Book of Sports, read before this Society in March, 1904, the Rev. Henry A. Parker said:

> It does not appear that Laud was especially responsible for the reissue of the Declaration or particularly energetic in enforcing it, — rather the reverse, — but the writer in Chambers's Encyclopædia is doubtless correct in saying that the Puritans believed the Declaration was drawn up by him. This obviously was not the case; and there is no reason to suppose that he had anything to do with the matter until the time of this reissue in 1633. He was not with James on his return from Scotland in 1617 and James's adviser, so far as appears, was Morton, Bishop of Chester. The fact is that the Puritans knew Laud to be their ablest opponent and the head and front of the opposition, so that popularly whatever was done against them was ascribed to him.[1]

In recently glancing through the Boston Gazette, I stumbled on an extract which not only confirms Mr. Parker's statement, but shows that the belief in Laud's responsibility was still in full vigor in this country as late as 1766. The extract is as follows:

> *Anecdotes of* CHARLES *the blessed Martyr.*
>
> "*Charles Rex.*
>
> *Canterbury* see that our Royal Declaration concerning Recreations, Sports & Pastimes, on the Lord's Day, after Evening Prayer, be printed."
>
> N. B. This was drawn by that Arch Butcher Laud, at about the same time was a gracious, pious Proclamation, prohibiting the carrying any Food to the Presbyterians in New England — It is recommended to G — — nv — — ll, and C—— T — — wn — — nd, and the Rest, in their next Speeches against North America, to bear in Mind this and a thousand such-like Instances of parential, tender Love and Care of these Colonies in their infancy.[2]

[1] Publications, viii. 340 note, 341, 342.

[2] Boston Gazette, January 7, 1766, p. 3/2. The allusions are of course to George Grenville and Charles Townshend. As to the alleged proclamation, I have not been able to obtain any information.

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Again, in the Boston Gazette of December 4, 1769, a writer declared that —

In October 1768, a Genius sent by a N — ttl — h — m — te [1] then tho't to be bound that *Way*, his most respectful, but self-applauding Compliments to *Andros*, *Dudley*, *Randolph* and *Jeffries* in the Shades (p. 3/2).

Yet again, in the Boston Gazette of June 8, 1772, there began a series of articles signed "Marchmont Nedham," while in the same paper of December 20, 1773, there began another series of articles called "Nedham's Rememb'rancer," and signed "Marchmont Nedham;" both series, according to Buckingham,[2] having been written by Josiah Quincy, Jr. Once more, a political skit issued in 1765 purported to have been "Printed by Andrew Marvel."[3] Finally, in the Boston Gazette of November 20, 1769, there appeared a communication signed "GOFFE & WHALLEY," and dated —

Springfield, the 30th of, of, of October.
We had almost said the 30th of January.

In conclusion, let me point out several instances in which "Junior" has been attached to some distinguished or familiar name in order to frame a suggestive pseudonym or title. In 1621 Robert Burton published his Anatomy of Melancholy under the pseudonym of "Democritus Junior." In 1626 Sir William Vaughan, the poet and colonial pioneer, published his Golden Fleece under the pseudonym of "Orpheus Junior."[4] In 1644 William Lilly printed a work entitled, "Merlinus Anglicus Junior; The English Merlin Revived: or, his Prediction upon the Affaires of the English Commonwealth . . . this present Yeare." The almanacs published many years by Lilly under the title of "Merlinus Anglicus" were, after his death, continued by Henry Coley under the title of "Merlinus Anglicus Junior." In 1770 there was printed, presum-

[1] In April, 1769, Governor Bernard became "Sir Francis Bernard of Nettleham in the County of Lincolnshire, Baronet."

[2] Specimens of Newspaper Literature, i. 186–192.

[3] See the December meeting, p. 422, below.

[4] A brief passage is worth quoting:

And because the said *Vaughan*, whom his Maiestie graced with the title of *Orpheus Iunior*, and one *Democritus Iunior*, which published *the Anatomie of Melancholie*, and one *Iohn Florio* a learned *Italian* were the first messengers which blazed and reported their ioyfull tidings, *Apollo* admitted them all three into his *Palace*, as extraordinarie *Waiters* (Golden Fleece, part I. p. 23).

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ably in London,[1] and in 1772 there was reprinted at Boston, The Spirit of Liberty, by "Junius, Junior."[2]

There need be no hesitation, I think, in accepting Mr. Lamberton's suggestion as to the origin of the name Joyce Junior.[3]

[1] No place is given on the title-page, but the British Museum Catalogue assigns it, I think correctly, to London. The statement that the pamphlet was reprinted in Boston in 1772 is made on the authority of Sabin.

[2] This long tract is not, as one might infer from the brief title given in our text, political, but is religious or theological. The title is in part as follows:

The Spirit of Liberty: or, Junius's Loyal Address. Being a Key to the English Cabinet: or, an Humble Dissertation upon the Rights and Liberties of the ancient Britons. . . . Humbly addressed to his Majesty. . . . By Junius, Junior. To which is added, A Polemical Tale; or, The Christians Winter Piece: . . . The whole being An Enigmatical Key to the original Rise, History, Progress, Possession, and sacred Treasures of those ancient People who were first called Christians at Antioch. . . . Printed in the Year 1770.

The conclusion "To the King's Most Excellent Majesty" is as follows:

That your Majesty may enjoy this happy Blessing, and the People their inestimable Privileges, the following Essay, upon the Rights of the People, and more particularly upon the *perfect Law of Liberty* of those ancient People called Christians, is laid,

With all due Reverence and Submission,
At your Majesty's Royal Feet,
As your Majesty's most humble Servant,
And devoted loyal Subject,
JUNIUS, *Jun. a Briton born.*

PRIVATE VILLAGE,
Aug. 15, 1770.

The Boston Athenæum owns two copies of this tract, one bearing on the fly-leaf the words "By J. Allen." No doubt this was the Rev. John Allen who at one time was pastor of a Baptist Church in Petticoat Lane, Spitalsfields, London, who later went to New York, and of whom there is an account in the Dictionary of National Biography. His pseudonym of "Junius, Junior" was no doubt suggested by the famous Letters of Junius, the first of which was dated January 21, 1769; but possibly was derived from "Junius," the Latinized form of the Dutch savant, Adriaen du Jon (1512–1575), or of the distinguished French Protestant theologian François du Jon (1545–1602), or of the latter's son François du Jon (1589–1677). One of these is mentioned on p. 62 of the tract.

[3] Not the least interesting feature of Mr. Lamberton's suggestion is the fact that he himself is unable to account for it. In a second letter he writes me:

When I finished your paper on Joyce Junior, my exact thought was, "Why, Captain Joyce was an *alias* for Jack Ketch, and the reason was that Joyce was the executioner of Charles I." But . . . I had no documentary evidence. So I looked up Joyce in the index to Carlyle's "Cromwell," and found two references. . . . I could not think of any other place to get documentary evidence of my vague recollection, and so I wrote nothing about it. But now . . . you supply what I lacked. However, my original notion did not come from Lilly's book, for I never read it. Nor can I say how I ever got the notion. "Captain Joyce" seems to me like a once familiar nickname, which I had not heard since childhood. You observe I say "Captain Joyce,"

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Mr. HENRY H. EDES read the following paper, written by Mr. Michael J. Canavan, on —

MR. BLACKSTONE'S "EXCELLENT SPRING."

When Governor Winthrop's scurvy-stricken party of Puritans arrived at Charlestown from Salem towards the end of June, 1630, after a long voyage of eighteen weeks in cramped quarters, they set up booths and tents on the slope of Town Hill; and not knowing how to conduct a camp properly, in a short time "there was hardly a hut in which someone was not sick or dead." "And although people were generally very loving and pityful yet the sickness did so prevail that the whole were not able to tend the sick as they should be tended, upon which many died and were buried about Town Hill." "They notioned generally no water good for a town but running water," which they had not found in that locality.

Mr. Blackstone dwelling on the other side of Charles River at a place called Shawmutt, where he had a cottage not far from a place called Blackstone's Point, came and acquainted the governor of an excellent spring there, withal inviting and soliciting him thither. Whereupon after the death of Mr. Johnson and divers others the governor with Mr. Wilson and the greater part of the church removed thither, whither also the frame of the governor's house in preparation at this town was to the discontent of some carried when people began to build their houses against the winter, and the place was called Boston.

These quotations are made from the first part of the Charlestown Records,[1] which were not contemporaneous with the events described, but were written down in 1664, and contain some inaccuracies. They say that the Governor set up the frame of his first house in Charlestown and moved it to Boston in 1630. Yet it seems that Winthrop set up the frame of his house in Cambridge,

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which is the form lodged in my memory. But "Joyce Junior" I never heard of till I read your monograph.

It is in such unexpected and unexplainable ways that difficult problems are often solved.

[1] See Frothingham, History of Charlestown, pp. 47 et seq.

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and he records a quarrel between himself and Dudley in August, 1632, because he had removed the frame of his house from Cambridge to Boston.[1]

The Charlestown Records state that Boston was settled after the death of Isaac Johnson, which was September 30, 1630. Yet on September 28, 1630, a rate was levied by the Assistants of £50, Charlestown was assessed £7, and Boston was assessed £11. Boston already had a greater population than Charlestown. Snow in his History of Boston[2] dates its foundation from September 7, when its name was changed from Trimountain to Boston. A church fast shows the settlement still earlier, for "Aug. 27 / 1630 the whole congregation belonging to Charlestown and Boston kept a fast."[3] In 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, III. 278, is a letter showing Johnson at Salem July 26, 1630, and that at Boston it was decided to receive in such by confession of faith as appear qualified.

Johnson died September 30, 1630. But Prince in his Annals of New England[4] says Chief-Justice Sewall informed him that Johnson was the principal cause of the settlement at Boston and had removed thither, that he had chosen for his lot the great square between Tremont, Washington, Court, and School Streets, that on his death bed he had desired to be buried at the upper end of his lot and was buried there. An article[5] has been written against this view, but Sewall had a large acquaintance with the original settlers, and seems the better authority.

While the early Charlestown Records convey information, it can be seen from what precedes that they are not infallible.[6]

By the end of December over two hundred of the immigrants had died. The winter was uncommonly severe, and "owing to the too great commendation of the country" they had neglected to bring a supply of food sufficient to maintain them till spring. They lived on clams, mussels and lobsters, and the Governor's last

[1] Winthrop, History of New England (1825), i. 83.

[2] Snow, History of Boston, p. 32. Felt in his Ecclesiastical History of New England agrees with Snow.

[3] 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 185. The congregation of Boston and Charlestown kept a fast on August 27.

[4] Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts (1764), i. 16; 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 189.

[5] 1 Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, xvii. 128.

[6] For most of the above see Frothingham's History of Charlestown, p. 47 et seq.

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batch of bread was in the oven when Master Pierce's ship entered the harbor bringing them food.

If they went to Boston on account of the excellent spring, where was it and did they settle by it?

Mr. Blackstone was living in his cottage on the south slope of Beacon Hill near Spruce Street. Close by, at what is now Louisburg Square, was one of the three peaks of Trimount, eighty feet above high water, and from the top of it flowed a copious spring with three outlets.[1] About 1830 this peak was dumped into the river. This could not have been the "excellent spring," for there were scarcely any dwellings in that vicinity for over a hundred and fifty years. And as Mr. Blackstone was no lover of Puritans he would hardly have invited them to his own spring, provided there were others that would answer the purpose as well. He would never join any of our churches, giving this reason for it: "I came from England because I did not like the Lord-Bishops; but I can't join with you because I would not be under the Lord-Brethren."[2] Hubbard wrote that all that Blackstone retained of his former profession was his canonical coat.[3]

There were several good springs at the West End. One[4] was on Mr. Lynde's estate which covered Howard Street, reaching up the hill. Mr. Lynde built a spring-house there. But that region was pasture land for years after the settlement of Boston.

There was another great spring at Cotton Hill. About 1835 this summit was cut down, the earth was used to fill the mill-pond and Pemberton Square took its place. When Pemberton Building and Barristers Hall were erected a few years ago, the contractors were not troubled by water, but a large spring broke forth when they were digging the cellar for Henry W. Savage's real estate office. This appears to have been the old Cotton Spring. When the Hathaway building was started some twenty-seven years ago (the Hathaway Building preceded the new Suffolk Bank Building), a vein of quicksand was struck which gave great trouble. One would suppose it was the subterranean course of the Cotton

[1] See the "Gleaner" Articles, in Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, v; Shurtleff, Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, p. 392; W. W. Wheildon, Sentry, or Beacon Hill (1877), p. 19.

[2] Cotton Mather, Magnalia (1702), book iii. p. 7.

[3] 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 113.

[4] Mr. Wheildon wrote that this was still in use in 1877 (Sentry, or Beacon Hill, pp. 19, 84).

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Spring and went under the Kimball Building, but really it turned and passed under the north corner of the Hemenway Building. There was in Scollay Square a writing school where the subway station now is. About 1700 a well was dug for this writing school, which was filled up a hundred years later. When the subway to East Boston was excavated the old pump was found to the west of the East Boston station in Scollay Square.[1] Possibly the water gave some surface indications.

It is not probable that this Cotton Spring was Mr. Blackstone's "excellent spring;" at least the colonists did not settle by it in the first days, for along the edge of the hill on what we call Tremont Street and Tremont Row were Bellingham, Daniel Maude, Edward Bendall, Robert Meeres; while back of them further up the hill were John Cotton and Henry Vane. According to Savage's Genealogical Dictionary, Bendall was the only one who came over with the first settlers, the rest arriving in 1634 or 1635.

The spring best known to us was in Spring Lane or "the Springate" opposite the angle in the Winthrop Building. It was early called the "Governor's Spring," also "the Common Spring." A good deal has been written about it which is incorrect. Some three years ago an article appeared in a newspaper asserting that "beneath the surface of the lane a stream of pure sparkling water flows gushing from a natural spring;" it was suggested that a pump should be put there to replace the old town pump; and then followed a statement that when the Puritans came to Boston Governor Winthrop settled on one side of the spring, Isaac Johnson on the other, and the rest of the colony in close vicinity. Pretty pen pictures have described life around this spring in the first days after the town was founded.

These writers have been misled by Mr. Blackstone's invitation and from a lack of knowledge of the actual house-holdings as given in the town records and deeds. It was natural to suppose that this was the "excellent spring" when you find the Governor on one side of it and Mr. Johnson on the other. But the Mr. Johnson who lived there was not Isaac Johnson, and though Winthrop's house was near by, opposite the foot of School Street, the governor did not live there till after he was robbed by his steward Luxford, and gave up his first house to his creditors.

[1] See Publications of this Society, x. 257 note 2.

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The Governor had two lots, his house-lot and the one known as "the Governor's Green," and in 1639, when the congregation desired to remove the First Church from its location at what is now 27 State Street, Winthrop offered his Green, south of the Spring-gate.

Those in favor of the Green in preference to Mr. Harding's place (now occupied by the Rogers Building) wrote:

> The Greene . . . standeth open, ready to entertayne every coole breath of Aire in the summer, whereas the other place is so mussled, and overtopped with chimnyes on every side allmost, that it playnly confesseth its owne disadvantage.

To this the answer was in part:

> Therefore omitting many things that might be alleadged against that place of Mr. Hardings, concerning the swamp on the backside, demolishing of a sufficient, and chargeable Ædifice, too much nearenesse to the prison, to the ordinary, to greater danger by fyre by much than in the other place.[1]

It was decided to keep the church near the market-place lest moving so far off should divert the chief trade from thence.

Some years ago Mr. Frederick L. Gay[2] proved beyond dispute that Winthrop's first house was on the site of the present Exchange Building, between State Street and Exchange Place. It was about 1643 that Winthrop built on his Green.

Having called attention to the fact that the Governor's house was not first set up by this Spring, let us see whether there were many neighbors in the vicinity for several years after the founding of Boston; for if neither the Governor nor his neighbors lived here, it is clear that if people came over and settled around a great spring, this was not the one.

In the Town Records we find that on the "18th of the 12th Mo. February 1638" an entry was made from which it appears that there was trouble with the drainage from the houses on the west side of Washington Street between School and Court Streets, for the town ordered —

> That Edward Hutchinson, Samuell Cole, Robte Turner, M^r. Robte Harding, M^r. Willyam Parker and Richard Brackett, shall make suffi-

[1] See Hill, History of the Old South Church, i. 136–138 notes.

[2] See Publications of this Society, iii. 86–90.

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cient the cart-way against Mr. Hutchinson's house, under which they drayne their gardens.[1]

Edward Hutchinson's garden lot was at the north corner of School and Washington Streets.[2] His house lot began ninety-seven feet from the corner, reaching north, and the house was immediately opposite Water Street, the cartway here referred to. It has been stated that Water Street was not cut through to Washington Street till Provincial times, but it would be difficult to prove this negative.

Anne Hutchinson had lived in this house a short time before, — an excellent, compassionate, helpful, charitable Christian woman, with too quick a wit and too nimble a tongue to suit the ministers, who called her "the American Jezebel."[3] She was accused by them of being an Antinomian, a terrible heretic, guilty of gross errors. She held that "Sanctification did not evidence to us our Justification;" and not content with that, she maintained that "Peter leaned more to a covenant of works than Paul, and that Paul's doctrine was more for free grace than Peter's," thus "opposing and contrasting the doctrines of these two apostles who were guided by the same spirit," a thing little less than blasphemy. Worse than that she likened the clergy to the Pharisees "slighting God's faithful ministers and contemning and crying them down as nobodies."

Even the plutocrats of modern times do not have the power held by the New England clergy in those days, who controlled both church and state. She was tried for "her dangerous, fowle and damnable heresies," excommunicated and banished.

The Rev. John Wilson thus anathematized her:

In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and of the church I cast you out, and in the name of the Church I deliver you up to Satan.— And I do account you from this time forth to be a heathen and a publican

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 38.

[2] Suffolk Deeds, iii. 121, 128, 476.

[3] See C. F. Adams's Antinomianism in Massachusetts, p. 336; Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist opening the Secrets of Familism and Antinomianism by Samuel Rutherford, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, Scotland, Sold at the Green Dragon in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1648, p. 176, chap. xxi.: Of the first sewers of Antinomianism in New England. It starts off thus, "Mrs Hutchinson, the American Jezebel."

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and so to be held by the brethren and sisters of this congregation, and of others, and I command you as a leper to withdraw yourself out of the congregation;[1]

and she departed in a proud, haughty manner.

Time works many changes, and our sympathies are with Anne Hutchinson, rather than with the Rev. John Wilson. This ordinance about drainage was passed the year after she was driven out to Rhode Island. The whole neighborhood was polluted by her Antinomian ideas, fairly reeked with heresy. Possibly this was the reason for the compulsory drainage.

North of the Hutchinson land was Samuel Cole, another Antinomian backslider, whose estate reached some sixty feet, or more, to the north of Williams Court, which even then existed in a rudimentary form as a court-yard to his tavern, the Ship Inn, and as a passageway to his brewery in the rear. Both the inn and brewery were immediately north of Williams Court.[2]

Between Cole and Hutchinson lived Robert Turner on a small lot cut out of the Cole estate. Later on, Turner exchanged land with Fairbanks across the way,[3] and moved over and kept the Anchor Tavern on the site of the Globe Building. So did his son after him; and his son's widow married George Monk and under him the Blue Anchor tavern became still more famous.

John Dunton, who came over at the end of the seventeenth century to sell a venture of books, wrote:

George Monk, a person so remarkable, that had I not been acquainted with him it wou'd be a difficult matter to make any New England man believe that I had been in Boston. For there was no one house in all the town more noted, or where a man might meet with better accommodation. Besides he was a brisk, jolly man, whose conversation was coveted by all his guests, as being the life and spirit of the company, animating all with a certain vivacity and cheerfulness which cleared away all melancholy as the sun does clouds, so that it was almost impossible not to be merry in his company.[4]

[1] Adams's Antinomianism in Massachusetts, p. 336; Publications of this Society, x. 26.

[2] Lechford, Note-Book, p. 31; Suffolk Deeds, ii. 11, iii. 254; iv. 106, 116, vi. 340, x. 295, xi. 73. A portion was opposite the Globe Building (Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xi. 119). See also an article by M. J. Canavan in the Boston Herald, June 4, 1901.

[3] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vol. ii. part ii. p. 102.

[4] Letters from New England, p. 85.

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Mr. Robert Harding, a merchant and sea-captain, owned the land occupied by the Rogers Building, and all three of these neighbors were followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, and were disciplined. Harding left the Colony for a while. In Cromwell's time he turned up in England asking for a grant of lands in Ireland and had apparently been living in that country.[1]

Samuel Cole was fined several times, and at last sold his inn to Robert Sedgwick.[2] Soon after he conformed and was a church-member in good standing, ready to persecute the Baptists.[3]

Mr. William Parker owned the southern half of the Sears Building estate, and Richard Brackett the northern half at the corner of Court and Washington Streets. Brackett evidently owned the place later occupied by John Leverett.[4]

On the east side of Washington Street at that time was Robert Keayne, the first captain of the Honorable Artillery Company. He owned from State Street to the site of the Globe Building. A hard bargainer in life, at his death he left money to build a town house and a conduit, and to start the first public library in America.[5]

Next to Keayne comes what is now known as the Globe Building, but this land was then owned by Richard Fairbanks, who in the year 1639 became the first postmaster of the town; for letters were to be left at his house, and he was to see that they were delivered to the right people. In a few years he exchanged his house and land with Robert Turner.[6]

South of him was Elder Thomas Oliver, an old man, much loved, a surgeon of repute. He lived close to 258 Washington Street, and his land ran south to Spring Lane or "the Springate."

In the heat of the Antinomian quarrel fifty-eight persons were required to deliver up their arms to Captain Keayne, and among them were Edward Hutchinson, Samuel Cole, Robert Harding, Mr. William Parker, Richard Fairbanks, and Mr. Thomas Oliver.[7] Mrs. Hutchinson's neighbors evidently had a high opinion of her,

[1] He settled in Dublin in 1658 (Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, pp. 367, 466).

[2] See notes in Lechford's Note-Book.

[3] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 57.

[4] See Suffolk Deeds, viii. 360.

[5] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vol. ii. part ii. p. 102; 3 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 48.

[6] Suffolk Deeds, i. 193.

[7] Drake, History of Boston, p. 229. List of those who gave up arms.

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and took her side of the controversy. In fact, Winthrop admits that all the Boston congregation but four or five agreed with the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson.[1]

Beyond the Spring-gate was the unoccupied "Green" of Governor Winthrop reaching to Milk Street, and extending some ninety-five feet down Spring Lane. Further down the Lane on its south side was the land (now the Minot estate) then owned by Mr. William Hibbins, a magistrate.

At the south corner of School and Washington Streets was Mr. Atherton Hough. On the north side, the Hutchinson land both garden and house lot reached up School Street to the present City Hall land, which then belonged to the widow Thomasine Scottow, with two sons, Thomas and Joshua.[2]

These were the neighbors in 1639. If they did not live there immediately after the founding of Boston in 1630, then those antiquarians were probably wrong who represented this as Mr. Blackstone's "Excellent Spring" to which he invited the colonists, and around which they were supposed to have settled. At least it will rest with the originators of this story to show that these estates were occupied by somebody before the above-mentioned people held them.

The Hutchinsons came over in 1634 and were given land by the town. They also bought a lot of Mr. Coggeshall, who came over in 1632.[3] Robert Turner was at first Edward Bendall's servant. Generally it took a servant some years to pay off his indebtedness, become his own master, and purchase land. Samuel Cole came over with Winthrop, but he owned land at the lower end of North Street and may have lived there. According to Winthrop he opened this Ship Inn in 1634. Robert Harding came over with Winthrop in 1630. Richard Brackett arrived in 1632; Robert Keayne in 1635; Richard Fairbanks in 1633 or 1634; Thomas Oliver in 1632; William Hibbins in 1634; Atherton Hough in 1634; Thomasina Scottow in 1634; and her son Thomas was given the right to build in 1637.[4]

These dates imply that prior to 1634 this locality was unoccupied, no governor and no neighbors.

[1] Winthrop, History of New England, i. 212.
[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vol. ii. part ii. p. 75.
[3] Lechford, Note-Book, p. 102.
[4] See Savage's Genealogical Dictionary of New England.

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Winthrop and his companions settled by none of the springs already mentioned, although any of them would have answered the description of "a great spring" or "an excellent spring" as given in the old Charlestown Records.

In 1630 Shawmut was a rough peninsula, covered by clumps of barberry, blueberry, and rose bushes, an uncouth wilderness full of hills and hollows with wild animals and snakes, dangerous to man and his cattle. There were no roads, only a few Indian trails, and Mr. Blackstone's path to his hut on the south slope of Trimount. The new-comers were sick with scurvy and camp fever, thirsty, hungry, homesick, and so worn out that with all their good will they could not properly take care of their invalids. They were in no condition to take up their sick, and carry them over the rough ground to a spring remote from the shore. The sea was their highway and the storehouse from which they procured the mussels and lobsters on which they lived meagrely for months till Master Pierce's ship brought bread and grain from the "Old Country." This enfeebled band would ask for a spring near the water's edge, and would seek some convenient spot where their boats would be safe, where their goods could be easily landed, from which they could look out seaward in the long wait for the ship with food, where they could readily pick up the shell-fish, which for months were their breakfast, dinner, and supper.

Just such a spot existed. A "cove or creek" ran in where Dock Square now is. The Square gets its name from the fact that a dock was made at the head of "the cove or creek," and the buildings now in the middle of Dock Square mark the head of the Dock and Cove.

The first entry made in the Boston Town Records, "1634. Moneth 7th, daye 1," forbade anyone to lay "stones and logges near the bridge and landinge place." "No person shall leave any fish or garbage neare the said Bridge or common landing place betweene the 2 Creekes."[1]

The "Cove or Creek" came to the head of Dock Square. It was sometimes named in deeds "the Cove," sometimes "the Creek" and again "the Cove or Creek." Attention should be called to the fact that often at the head of such a cove or creek is a watercourse, visible or hidden, which is really the cause of the indentation. The

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 1.

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bridge was either across a brook at the head of the cove or was some slight construction over Mill-Creek which gave way later to the drawbridge.

The shape of Boston was not of the present configuration. A shallow sheet of water covered the space between what is now North and South Margin Streets, reaching nearly to Hanover Street. A little creek, now filled up and called Blackstone Street, connected this "Centre Haven" or "the Mill-Pond" with the Cove. This little creek was artificially enlarged to form a mill-stream and was called Mill Creek.

As has been shown, the upper part of the cove at Dock Square was the other creek. The common landing-place, according to deeds and plans, was at the head of the dock opposite the second building to the west of Elm Street. A deposition of Scottow and others, 1682, proved that this was the common landing-place and that it belonged to the town.[1]

In a new country it is customary to have the landing-place near a spring, and you would look for one in this case, when there had been such a demand for running water, and after Mr. Blackstone's invitation to the "excellent spring."

There was such a spring in this vicinity, in a pasture now occupied by the Quincy House and the region back of it. Probably the surface and subterranean water from this spring caused the cove.

Directly opposite the landing-place, back of the store, there was also a small spring, which was found sufficient to supply several of the neighbors, who put a pump in there; and toward the end of the century this well and pump are referred to in deeds of Habbakkuk Glover giving right of passage to it.[2]

You can be sure that these sickly people did not at first carry their goods far off from this sheltered spot where there was good water, nor did they live remote from the shore with the view of the ocean and its store of shell-fish.

The old deeds show that at a very early date Elm Street and the west side of Union Street were occupied by small houses. So was the upper part of Hanover Street near the pasture. Doughty Captain Underhill lived there. Coddington and Bellingham had houses at Adams Square. Coddington's was the first brick house in the

[1] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xviii. 68.

[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 141; Suffolk Deeds, viii. 322, ix. 120.

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town.[1] But the people soon got over their scare about running water, and spread along the shore of the North End. What is now North Street was "the Way by the waters-edge," with houses on one side and wharves on the other. "The Broad Street leading from the Market-place to the Sea," now State Street, was laid out with magnificent width as the principal street, with the market-place at its head.

From Winthrop's Journal we learn that the Governor, though living in Boston, set up the frame of his house at Cambridge according to an agreement, and that in 1632 there was a quarrel between him and the Deputy-Governor because Mr. Winthrop had taken down the frame and removed it to Boston. We know that for some years prior to 1643 he lived on the site of the present Exchange Building, between State Street and Exchange Place. The church was at 27 State Street; and Mr. Wilson, the pastor, lived on the other side of the way. Elder Thomas Leverett lived immediately above Winthrop at the corner of Leverett's Lane (Congress Street); but he did not come over till 1633, when his old pastor John Cotton sailed to America.

At an early date if you had rapped at 60 State Street the door would have been opened by Mr. Aspinwall's maid, or by his barber, Francis Lisle, who in the Civil War was barber to the Earl of Manchester.[2]

Just above Aspinwall was the land of Captain William Pierce, the Puritan Palinurus. Change Avenue runs over the eastern edge of his land. Where Charles Head's office now stands lived cantankerous Thomas Venner,[3] the Fifth Monarchy man, who was admitted to the church in 1638 and in 1650 petitioned and was allowed to put a pump "near the Shop of William Davis."[4] Mr. Davis lived across the way at the lower corner of Kilby and State Streets.[5] Venner stirred up a quarrel with the authorities about 1640 in regard to the emigration to Providence Island, and later, apparently disagreeing with the authorities in regard to religion, went back to England, where he held a position as cooper in the Tower of London, but being suspected of a scheme to blow it

[1] Memorial History of Boston, i. 174.
[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 38; Suffolk Deeds, i. 100.
[3] Suffolk Deeds, ii. 200, 202, 315.
[4] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 101.
[5] See Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vol. ii. part ii. p. 100.

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up was discharged. He became a violent Anabaptist and Fifth Monarchy man, plotting against the Protector, and, as soon as Charles II was crowned, leading fifty wild enthusiasts against the City of London and its train-bands. They thought themselves invulnerable and expected by the "Sword of Gideon" to overthrow the monarchy and establish the Kingdom of Christ. They put the city in a turmoil, killed a number of people, but were finally overpowered, and Venner was hanged in front of his conventicle.[1] "Diabollicall Venner . . . went out from vs, because he was not of vs," Norton wrote in the letter the General Court sent congratulating the King on his escape.[2]

Edward Tyng's wharf was one hundred and forty-eight feet along the shore from State Street; adjoining that was Venner's Wharf, and back of the wharf he had his "new house." Tyng practically owned the land covered by the India Building and Venner's old house was in State Street immediately west of Tyng.[3]

In digging the cellar of the Exchange Building a large spring was met with in the northwest corner. In the old Worthington Building there was a pump and well with an abundant flow of water a few years ago. When the cellar of the new building was being excavated, a workman gave a blow of the pick into the clay and a jet of water as big as one's arm spouted out and was with difficulty shut off. A dam made of planks driven side by side deep into the ground was used to keep the flow from the excavation of the new Brazer Building, 27 State Street, the site of the old mud-wall First Church, and pumps were used constantly. When the Easton Building was erected at the corner of State and Devonshire Streets, quicksand was found but no water. In 1655 Henry Webb had "a spring or well" on this land, or to the east of it in what is now Devonshire Street.[4] In the early years of the nineteenth century there was a pump with good water at the east end of the Old State House.

In 1764 William Jackson asked leave to take up the town pump at the northwest corner of the Town House and he would look after it himself provided the Selectmen would assess the persons benefited.

[1] See E. Rogers, Life and Opinions of a Fifth Monarchy Man (1867); Masson's Milton; Thurloe's State Papers; Pepys's Diary.

[2] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. part i. p. 33.

[3] Suffolk Deeds, ii. 177, 200, 202, 315.

[4] Ibid. iii. 26.

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Mr. Jackson did repair this pump and in 1765 the town assessed a number of persons to repay him his charge.[1] Shurtleff remembered this pump some thirty feet north of Court Street in Washington Street.[2] When the Devonshire Building was erected there was trouble from a flow of water, so that we may suppose the Rev. John Wilson who dwelt just below in State Street had an ample supply.

At Captain Keayne's lot on the south corner of State and Washington Streets was plenty of water. After the great fire of 1653 he provided by his will (1654) for a Town House and for a conduit between his land and the market-place on which the Town House was built after his death. But though there was water everywhere in that vicinity, a veritable watercourse from Washington Street down to Winthrop's house and beyond to Venner's pump, yet none could be obtained in Captain Keayne's conduit,[3] and after considering piping the water from the Cotton Spring the town at last gave liberty to Nicholas Paige, Captain Keayne's son-in-law, to tear up the conduit as a failure.[4]

These State Street springs have been mentioned at length because we find here the governor, the pastor, the first meeting-house, one of the two lay elders of the church, and Master Pierce, the favorite navigator. They seemed to have had all the water necessary. They did not, by the way, use much in those days. Occasional baths satisfied them. If I remember correctly, Mr. Commissioner Pepys's wife took one about every third month, and she was a neat and fastidious person. They drank beer or metheglin. Some early settlers mention their surprise at finding how water agreed with them, when they had to depend on it for a drink.[5]

These early colonists did not settle in one place, but resolved to plant "dispersedly," and went to Cambridge, Watertown, Roxbury, Dorchester, Boston, and early deeds show them pretty well scattered in Boston. But in this paper we are looking for a water supply that will answer Mr. Blackstone's description of "an excellent spring."

While "the Broad Street leading to the Sea" was the court

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xx. 106, 142.
[2] Shurtleff, Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, p. 395.
[3] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vii. 20.
[4] Ibid. vii. 66.
[5] Francis Higginson in his New Englands Plantation.

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end of town, the thickest settlement in early days seems to have been around the head of the cove and common landing-place, radiating off from it. That is where one would expect to find the first houses.

Mr. Coddington, who came over in 1630, returned to England in 1631, came back to Boston in 1633, and is said to have built the first brick house in town, where Adams Square is, close to the location of the furniture store at the corner of Dock Square and New Washington Street.[1] His large estate ran back to the lots on Court and Hanover Streets. He was an Antinomian and though only rebuked but not exiled, he shook the dust of Boston from his feet and went to Rhode Island, of which he was made Governor. He became a Baptist and later a Quaker. In his old age, writing to Governor Leverett of the persecution of the Quakers and of the earlier proceedings against the Antinomians by the New England Puritans, he compared their struggle in England for liberty of conscience with their demand for absolute conformity in America, and wrote:

> Now were they like those that having suffered in the time of Queen Mary, in Queen Elizabeth's time became bishops. Now was the contention about Grace of God within us and without us. Now was the iron bed, like that of the tyrant, made use of, that cut off all according to it longer or shorter.[2]

Mr. William Tyng, one of the richest men in Boston, came over in the midst of the Antinomian troubles, and bought Mr. Coddington's estate on which was a big spring in the rear pasture land.

In 1649 Mr. Joshua Scottow had a house at the lower end of Salt Lane at the head of his branch of Mill Creek.[3] He had bought out William Franklin's rights in the Mill Creek and dug this branch for his convenience. Small vessels came through the drawbridge of Mill Creek, and probably up this branch, for Corwin and Browne had a warehouse at the head of it, opposite Mr. Scottow's.[4] From the ell of his house he had a private passageway to North Street, which was known as Scottow's (now Scott) Alley.

[1] Winthrop, History of New England; Memorial History of Boston, i. 741; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary.

[2] Besse, Sufferings of the Quakers (1753), ii. 267.

[3] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 83.

[4] Suffolk Deeds, viii. 387, v. 35.

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The upper end of North Street was a marsh with salt or brackish water and Mr. Scottow and Mr. James Everill, who owned land in Union Street and near the head of North Street, with several neighbors obtained from Mr. William Tyng a right for thirteen householders "to dig out a spring or fountain in his pasture west of his dwelling and lay pipes to carry water" down to a convenient spot, where a cistern was made from which the water was distributed by pipes to their houses. Every family was to pay twelve pence per annum for the privilege.[1] The road which ran from the cove down along the waterside is now North Street, but after the introduction of these water-works, that portion of the street between the Dock and Mill Creek received, in conveyances, the name of Conduit Street from the cistern which stood on the east side of this way, three or four lots down the street and four feet from the upper corner of the land of George Nowell, a blacksmith.[2]

In June, 1652, the General Court granted an act of incorporation to the "inhabitants of Conduit Street in Boston" to provide a supply of fresh water for themselves and families and especially for use in case of fire. "If a scath-fire should happen, any person may take water and break open the cover of said conduit to get into it." Two wardens were to look after the water-works. "If any person be found guilty of corrupting, wasting or spoiling the water or waterworks or injuring the pipes, cistern or fountain, the wardens for the time, may prosecute the offender and if any person take water from the conduit without license the wardens may confiscate such vessels as they use to carry away the water." The wardens could allow poor persons to take water for a time without charge.[3]

In 1651 the town granted to the owners of the water-works "one of the bells which were given by Captain Crumwell for a clocke."[4] Captain Cromwell was a privateer who had captured six bells from a Spanish ship in the West Indies and had presented them to the town. In 1657 a building was placed above the conduit built by Thomas Joy and Bart Bennett by agreement with Anthony Stoddard, Edward Hutchinson, and John Hull.[5]

[1] Suffolk Deeds, vi. 20.
[2] Ibid. iv. 256.
[3] Massachusetts Colony Records, vol. iv. part i. p. 99 (June 1, 1652).
[4] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 108.
[5] The original agreement is in the Boston Public Library.

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George Nowell, the blacksmith in Conduit Street, built a new house in 1667, and complaint was made that he blocked up the watercourse and he was ordered to "give such water its ancient way."[1]

In 1675 an agreement was made by the Selectmen and several inhabitants near the conduit "to pave the street and make a watercourse to carry off the surplus water from the conduit to the foot of the bridge [the drawbridge in Conduit Street over Mill Creek] and into Mill Creek."[2] Each person agreed to keep the channel clean before his land.

By this time conveyances are met with in Suffolk Deeds selling a fractional interest of a share in these water-works. The settlement had become dense in that locality, yet you still find the town providing for the overflow of water from the conduit. It oversupplied the shareholders.

In 1679 there was an incendiary fire[3] which swept from the dock to Water Street, and this conduit was a great help.

Mr. William Tyng died in 1652, and by the settlement of his affairs there came into the possession of his son-in-law, Mr. Thomas Brattle, his Boston estate, his house and close, his great yard and little yard before the hall windows, and the pasture land in the rear; and with the house went a choice library containing such books as "Axe at the Roots," "Sibb's Saint's Cordial," "Dod and Cleaver on the Sacraments,"[1] and "Popish Idollatry."[4]

The house stood in Adams Square, south of the building at the corner of New Washington Street and Dock Square. But in those days there was no Cornhill here, no Brattle Street, no Dock Square, no Adams Square, much less any New Washington Street. The Roxbury road, which was probably an old Indian trail, skirted the edge of the hill and turned down to the landing-place at the head of the cove. The road and older trail followed Union Street and along the north edge of the Mill Pond to the nearest point to Charlestown which became the ferry. Near the landing-place was an outlet, a lane now called Elm Street.

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vii. 38, 44.

[2] Ibid. vii. 92.

[3] Supposed to have been set by Peter Lorphelin, a Frenchman, who worked at the Castle Tavern. He was tried for arson and found guilty of having coiner's tools in his possession.

[4] New England Historical and Genealogical Register, xxx. 432.

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Cotton Mather in a letter to John Cotton of Plymouth, November, 1678, writes of needing "a pair of Goloshoos when travelling near the Dock Head."[1] Apparently this land was saturated with water. In 1685 the town dug a well in front of Mr. Brattle's house, which constantly overflowed and flooded the street,[2] turning the land above the dock into a mire, just as the conduit from the pasture, notwithstanding it was tapped by thirteen families in its earliest days and by more later, ran over into North Street and brought George Nowell, the blacksmith, into trouble. Surely the springs in this locality were "great and excellent," and answered Mr. Blackstone's description. Fractional parts of a share were sold and rights given by shareholders to others to take water "at the well."[3]

At a town meeting in March, 1685, Captain John Wing, who kept the Castle Tavern at the west corner of Elm Street, then called Wing's Lane, Mr. Thomas Stansbury, who built the old feather store called "the Cocked Hat" at the corner of North Street after the fire of 1679, and several neighbors, asked permission to lay pipes from the new well to the land between Wing's and Stansbury's houses, and to bring the surplus water from the well to a cistern they would erect there "for the use of themselves and associates and for the benefit of the town in general upon any extraordinary occasion as of any fire breaking out." They promised to build nothing over the cistern more than was sufficient to secure the water.[4]

The town at once accepted this proposal and the cistern was built between Elm Street and the head of North Street, and was a second conduit, entirely independent of the first, having a different location, other shareholders, and though from the same source, yet not from the same surface spring. In the local town histories much has been written of "the conduit," but confusedly. The writer has never run across a notice indicating a knowledge that there were two separate and distinct conduits in this locality.[5]

In fact it would appear that there was still another conduit, for on December 28, 1713, the Selectmen had a complaint before them that "the condit reputed to belong to Cap[t] John Ballintine lying

[1] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 383.
[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vii. 172.
[3] Suffolk Deeds, i. 165, ii. 258, v. 104, vi. 9, viii. 417, ix. 442.
[4] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vii. 172.
[5] See Publications of this Society, i. 199–201.

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next the High way nigh the Mill Bridg, doth lie open & dangerous" and he is required "to cover and keep covered S[d] Conduit, or or other wise to place Battlements round y[e] Same So as to prevent danger."[1] Probably the overflow of the old conduit supplied it.

Here there was an abundant supply of water; a first conduit always a nuisance from its overflow, a dangerous third conduit, and the second or Wing's Conduit was not only dangerous but sometimes fatal. Here is what Sewall wrote March 23, 1691-92:

About 5 P. M. Moses Bradford essaying to draw a youth out of the water at Capt. Wing's Conduit fell in himself and was drown'd, many people round about trying to save him. Boy was taken out alive.[2]

On January 16, 1702, at a town meeting it was voted to put a pump in "the conduit by the dock near Wing's Lane"[3] (notice the distinction from the one in Conduit Street) at the town's charges for public use in case of fire. This conduit had a platform over it and a market was held there. It was in existence down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Shurtleff in his Topographical and Historical Description of Boston has a chapter on "the Old Conduit." He wrote at a great disadvantage, for the records were not published, nor did the Registry of Deeds have its present excellent index. He was a pioneer and the trails were not blazed. He begins by referring to Captain Keayne's bequest for a library, and goes on to state that there was no library till two hundred years later, ignoring the fact that Keayne's library was founded, money contributed, and that the books were kept in the Town House, and that the library lasted till the Town House and its contents were burned in 1747. Then he confuses the conduits, and seems to think that the Scottow and Everill conduit was the one referred to in Keayne's will. It is, however, interesting to find in his chapter a statement that at the Breck Agricultural Warehouse there was, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, "a water convenience remembered by persons who lived in the neighborhood as the Conduit." That would be about the location of the Scottow and Everill conduit.

In 1780 the reservoir in Dock Square was being repaired,[4] and in Shurtleff's time old people had some memory of it.

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xi. 197.
[2] 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 358.
[3] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, viii. 26.
[4] Ibid. xxv. 134.

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There was still another conduit proposed which has not yet been mentioned here. The first great fire in Boston was in 1653. A letter from John Endicott at Salem to John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut, dated April 18, 1653, says that —

8 howses were consumed & three young children burnt, . . . Mr. Wilson's howse & goods, Mr. Sheath's house & goods . . . Mr. Shrimptons howse & goods, Mr. Sellick's howse & goods, Mr. Blackleech his house and goods. The others I haue forgotten theer names. . . . The most dreadfull fire . . . by reason of the barrells of gunpowder which they had in their howses.[1]

Mr. Wilson lived at the east corner of State and Devonshire Streets, which at that time was but a narrow alley from State Street to the Dock. Mr. Shrimpton was on State Street to the west of Exchange Street. Mr. Blackleech was east of Exchange Street and toward the Dock.[2] Mr. Sellick had bought the Aspinwall house at 60 State Street. Mr. Sheath I know nothing of.

Mr. William Franklin, who lived opposite the head of the Dock between Wilson's Lane and Exchange Street, and the "neyghbors about his house" were granted by the town on March 14, 1652–53, —

liberty to make a sistern of 12 feet or greater, if they see cause, at the pompe which standeth in the hieway near the Stats armes Tavern, for to howld watter for to be helpfull in Case of fier, unto the towne.[3]

Hugh Gunnison, who had been a servant or follower of Bellingham, had a cook-shop here prior to 1642. The shop became a tavern, the King's Arms, but when the royal head was cut off and the Protector ruled the country, down came the King's Arms from the sign-post in front of the house, and the States Arms were hung in their place. It was a fashion then to give names to the different rooms in houses. Judge Sewall had a name for each chamber in his new house. So had the Anchor Tavern; and the States Arms had chambers called "the Exchange," "the Star," "London," and a hall with a bar and stalls.

In a deed of 1651 Gunnison refers to the fact that in the yard is a pump and pipes to convey water to the brewery. Every tavern had its brewery.[4]

[1] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vi. 155.

[2] Suffolk Deeds, iii. 144; ibid. iii. 26, showing that in 1655 Blackleech was living in Mr. Hudson's house south of the Town House.

[3] See Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 115; Publications of this Society, viii. 118.

[4] Suffolk Deeds, i. 135.

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The States Arms Tavern was immediately east of Tyng's land, and was on the ground just west of the present building at the corner of New Washington Street.[1] What came of Franklin's project for a water supply does not appear.

We have seen that there was not only the common landing-place and a settlement here in the early days, but also a convenient and great spring in this locality, giving a superabundance of water, originally piped for thirteen families, and as the settlement grew, used by more. Then a well was dug, apparently tapping the same watercourse. It overflowed, and the surplus was carried to another conduit for other people. Dwellers on the south side of the Dock planned to get their water from an older well at the head of the Cove. Indeed, the very existence of the Cove was probably due to the flow of this watercourse above and below ground, washing the soil into the harbor.

As to the spring in Spring Lane, Governor Winthrop about 1643, after his steward Luxford had robbed him, moved to "the Green" and built a house opposite the foot of School Street, and this spring became known as "the Governor's Spring."

James Johnson, a tanner and glover, lost his first wife in 1648. Soon after he married Abigail, a daughter of Elder Thomas Oliver,[2] and we find them living at the south end of the Oliver estate, north of the spring.

In 1649 Johnson received from the town sixteen feet of ground from the north side of Spring Lane down along "to his garden payle post" in consideration of his agreement "to make and maintain forever a sufficient highway for foot and cart over the watercourse which runs from Mr. Hutchinson's house along by his house end."[3] This watercourse was the one ordered by the town in 1688, and the lane gave access to Davis or Shelter Cove at the lower end of Water Street by Congress Street. It ran through the Oliver estate, and now that this cartway was devoted to the public use, Elder Oliver's son-in-law, Johnson, received a strip sixteen feet wide in the south side of his land from Spring Lane to replace the land taken by the town.

John Winthrop, before his death, had made over "the Green" to

[1] See plan of this estate in Mr. Edes's Memoir of Dr. Thomas Young, pp. 2–54, above.

[2] Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, ii. 554.

[3] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 94.

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his son Stephen, reserving a life interest.[1] Stephen went to England in 1645, and joined Colonel Thomas Harrison's regiment of horse, of which his brother-in-law, William Rainborow, was Major. Cromwell's son Henry and Stephen Winthrop were captains in this same regiment.[2] In a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., dated February, 19, 1652, Coddington stated that when in London he had met Stephen in a book-shop, but "did not know him, for he was in scarlett till he heard him called by name."[3]

The sixth day of the ninth month, 1651, Stephen Winthrop by his brother Adam, as attorney, conveyed to Richard Parker a house in the yard that belonged to his father's dwelling-house, "forty feet of ground fronting the spring." This was the Old South Chapel lot.[4]

The Minot estate to the east was owned by Mr. William Hibbins, a merchant and magistrate who lost his money through a friend and died in 1654. His wife was sister[5] to Governor Bellingham, who was "an atrabilious" dyspeptic, given to fits of gloom with temporary spells of insanity, "too much overpowered with the humours of melancholy in his natural constitution the infirmities of which tinctures did now and then appear in his dispensing justice."[6] His wife, Mrs. Hibbins, was keen-witted and bad-tempered, of a high-strung, nervous temperament. After the loss of their fortune she became much embittered and was excommunicated. Soon she was looked upon as a witch. Seeing two neighbors talking and glancing sideways she guessed they were discussing her and told them what they were saying. She was accused as a witch and a jury found against her; the case was appealed and the Assistants decided in her favor; then the case was taken before the General Court and she was condemned to be hanged as a witch and was executed in 1656. Bellingham has been blamed for not finding some

[1] Suffolk Deeds, i. 102.

[2] In the Dictionary of National Biography, under Thomas Rainborow, is a reference to his brother William. Thomas (died 1648) was the more celebrated of the two brothers. See also Firth, Life of Thomas Harrison, p. 8.

[3] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, vii. 280.

[4] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vol. ii. part ii. p. 24.

[5] Some say she was not a sister of Bellingham, but Winthrop, under date of 1639 (History of New England, i. 320), says that Hibbins was Bellingham's brother-in-law. In 1641 Bellingham married for his second wife, Penelope Pelham.

[6] 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 610.

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way of getting her acquitted. But what could he do? She had three trials and the Assistants were for her.[1] The Rev. John Norton used to say she was hanged "for having more wit than her neighbors."[2] Hubbard said that *vox populi* went sore against her and was the chiefest part of the evidence.[3]

After Mrs. Hibbins was condemned, she was allowed to sell her property. Matthew Coy bought the estate at the corner of Spring Lane and Devonshire Street.[4] Then Antipas Boyce had it, and in 1667 his executors sold his mansion, woodlands and garden, land running ninety-three feet along the lane toward the spring, to John Winslow,[5] a brother of Edward Winslow, Governor of Plymouth Colony. John Winslow was a merchant. He had married Mary Chilton, who came over in the Mayflower. Tradition has it she was the first to jump ashore at Plymouth. Both of them are buried in a tomb in King's Chapel burying-ground.

To the south of the Hibbins land was an estate reaching to Milk Street which was bought by Captain Thomas Cromwell, a privateer or freebooter. He had sailed from Boston a common sailor with Captain Hawkins in a frigate, the Queen of Bohemia,[6] and in 1646 returned in command of three ships laden with treasure and money taken from the Spaniards. They were driven by a storm to Plymouth, which had then very few inhabitants and was on its last legs, and the money squandered by these freebooters gave the town a new lease of life.[7] They swaggered through the streets drinking and fighting, and Captain Cromwell struck one of them a blow with the hilt of his sword from which he died.[8] The Captain had an unsavory reputation.[9] From the West Indies complaints were made in England about him, and after the ships arrived in Boston the Earl of Warwick put in a claim for the booty, asserting that Cromwell had sailed under Hawkins's letter of marque from him. Governor Winthrop had

[1] See Publications of this Society, x. 20, 21.

[2] Snow's History of Boston, pp. 140, 141.

[3] 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 574.

[4] Suffolk Deeds, ii. 281. [5] Ibid. vii. 228.

[6] See Josselyn's Two Voyages to New England (1865), p. 25.

[7] Winthrop, History of New England, ii. 263, 274; 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 527; 4 ibid. vi. 179.

[8] See 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, iii. 441, vi. 179.

[9] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574–1660, pp. 326, 327; Aspinwall's Notarial Records, passim.

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no love for the freebooter, and Hubbard referred to his fortune as *splendidum furtum*.[1] Just before the middle of the seventeenth century the whole block between Spring Lane and Milk Street was occupied by a governor, a pirate, and a woman who was hanged as a witch. On the Governor's death his land went to his son Stephen, a Cromwellian colonel, who would probably have succeeded Harrison, as Commander-in-Chief of the English Army,[2] had he not fallen sick, worn out by "the zeatica by much lying in the wet fields has caused me."[3] Roger Williams wrote John Winthrop, Jr., from England that Stephen was for freedom of thought[4] and Stephen Winthrop's own letters in the Winthrop Papers show his liberality. His regiment was full of levellers and Republicans. One was shot by Oliver Cromwell.

In 1655 Colonel Stephen Winthrop sold the land at the corner, twenty-two feet on the street to Roxbury and fifty-five on the lane, to his good friend Amos Richardson, a tailor, bounded north-east on "the Common Spring" and south by Colonel Winthrop's house and land.[5]

Stephen Winthrop died in 1658 and in 1659 his widow Judith Winthrop of Westminster sold the rest of "the Green" to the Rev. John Norton,[6] and with him lived Colonel William Crowne, a partner of Sir Thomas Temple. With him was his son John Crowne before John went to Harvard College, and John records the respectful reception of the regicides at Norton's.[7] "Little starch Johnny Crown" who wrote plays for the Court of Charles II, a friend and rival of Dryden, and although he was shy and noted "for the stiff, unutterable primness of his long cravat" he was of easy and amiable temperament, and liked to take his cup of metheglin with the other play-writers.[8] Mr. Norton's widow gave this house and land to the South Church.

Governor Winthrop's son John, the Governor of Connecticut, had two sons. The elder John, or Fitz-John as he was called to distinguish him from his father, went to England and was a captain in the regiment of his mother's brother, Colonel Read,

[1] 2 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 527.
[2] 3 Ibid. x. 19.
[3] 5 Ibid. viii. 214.
[4] 3 Ibid. x. 1.
[5] Suffolk Deeds, iii. 487, xi. 226.
[6] Ibid. iii. 257.
[7] See Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1661–1668, p. 54; Sibley, Harvard Graduates, i. 577.
[8] Dictionary of National Biography, John Crowne.

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with Monk's army in Scotland. After the death of Cromwell, there was a succession of eight governments in England in the year preceding the Restoration, and Monk marched down from Scotland with his army and put Charles II on the throne.

The younger brother was Wait Still Winthrop. There is a letter from this boy to his elder brother, written in 1659, which shows a justifiable anxiety, for Monk was marching against a hostile army in England:

From Mr Richardson's house. Sept 12 1659

I am now resident at ye Colledge. I must go to Cambridge. Just now Mr Hooper came with your black mare to water him at ye Spring. I have not seen her before since you went. Adieu my sweet brother, with tears in mine eyes for you desiring ye Almighty to keep and bless you.[1]

The condition of the Governor's spring at this time was not satisfactory, for on February 25, 1661, the Selectmen gave liberty to —

Capt. James Johnson and Amos Richardson . . . to sett a fence aboutt the spring for the better accommodation of the Towne in the use of the water, and preserving the said spring from anoyance by cattell, provided they make another convenient watering place for cattell; And in consideration of their charge herein, the Treasurer is ordered to allow them fourty shillings.[2]

Captain Johnson in March, 1661, in pursuance of his duty as a soldier, led out a Quaker,[3] one William Leddra, "a servant of the Lord to be murthered and hanged, compassing him about with Men of War, with Swords, guns and drums." And as they marched along they prevented Leddra's sympathizers from speaking to him, and one of the Quakers cried out, "Friends, will you show yourselves worse than Bonner's bloody brood? What, will you not let me come to my suffering friend before you kill him?"[4]

In 1669 Captain Johnson made two mortgages[5] in which his estate was described as having a fence around it, Roxbury Street

[1] 5 Massachusetts Historical Collections, viii. 382.

[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, ii. 159.

[3] Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers, ii. 271. See also Mr. Noble's paper on William Leddra, Publications of this Society, x. 335–345.

[4] Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers, ii. 218.

[5] Suffolk Deeds, vi. 31, 126.

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on the west, the lane that leadeth from the way going to Roxbury down to Mr. Bridgham's on the north. The house that Mr. Jolliffe bought of Matthew Coy, east, and on the south was the lane and spring, and Amos Richardson, Thomas Smith (this was the South Chapel lot which Stephen Winthrop had sold to Parker and he to Peter Oliver and Oliver to Thomas Smith), and the late Antipas Boyce house (Boyce was a merchant who owned the Hibbins place before Winslow bought it).

Captain Johnson died soon after making this deed, and the Quakers said:

> the just hand of the Lord for his bloody acts hath fallen upon him, for he is become as a man unmanned and bereft of his wonted understanding and so sottish that his brethren, as it is said, have degraded him, and this is according to the word of the Lord spoken by his servants concerning him.[1]

John Norton, who bought Winthrop's house and land in 1659, was very bitter against the Quakers, who prophesied God would chastise him for his dealings with the Friends. In 1663 he died in the Winthrop house opposite the foot of School Street, and the Quakers wrote:

> John Norton, one of their chief priests, a principal exciter of the magistrates to persecute the innocent and put them to death, was cut off by a sudden and unexpected stroke, for having been at his worship in the fore part of the day and intending to go again in the afternoon, as he was walking in his own house he was observed to fetch a great groan and leaning his head against the chimney-piece was heard to say 'the hand or judgment of the Lord is upon me,' and so sank down and spoke no more, and had fallen into the fire had not an ancient man prevented it.[2]

The description in the mortgage made by Captain Johnson in 1669 shows that his house was near the highway to Roxbury, and that "lower down beyond the well by a stump" was his slaughter-house and barn. Captain Johnson then preferred a well by his slaughter-house to the water of the spring.

Captain Johnson owned land at Post Office Square and had a tannery there. In 1667 he sold this land to his brother-in-law,

[1] Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers, ii. 271.

[2] Ibid. ii. 270.

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Peter Oliver,[1] and in 1668 gave to him the liberty of taking water from the spring arising or passing out of any of the lands of Captain James Johnson, with liberty of ingress, egress and regress between Captain Johnson's new dwelling and the dock commonly known as Shelter Dock, and liberty to open up Johnson's land to lay or take up or mend pipes for the conveyance of water from the cistern to be made to the house and lands of Peter Oliver and to the dock aforesaid.[2] Possibly this refers to the spring which was opened up when the Post Office was built.

In 1673 James Johnson, glover, sold to James Meeres, feltmaker, a mansion fronting thirty feet on Washington Street and land butting on lane leading down near the house of Anthony Stoddard to Peter Oliver's Dock one hundred and thirty-six feet.[3]

On March 25, 1674, the town granted liberty "to James Meeres to make out shops before the house y^{t} was lately Capt Johnsons, to front wch Amos Richardsons house."[4] James Meeres or his son kept a cook-shop here, a first class restaurant for that day, for the Governor and Council were at times entertained there, and Judge Sewall in his Diary refers to this shop. One wet, inclement night, when he was out as captain of the watch, he went into Meeres's cook-shop, to find a warm nook quite like a modern watchman.

On August 31, 1702, the Selectmen granted to Joseph Bridgham liberty —

to Newmake and repaire the Cestern at the Spring formerly called the Governors Spring nigh unto the House in wch Mr Amos Richardson formerly dwelt, and to carry the waste water through the Street in pipes underground into his own Tan yard [down by Bath Street] alwayes reserveing to the neighbourhood a Sufficiency of water for their use; and to that end the Said pipes are to be laid at least four feet above the bottom of the Said Cestern, Provided that [he, his heirs and successors shall] keep and maintaine the Said Cestern in good repaire, with a Sufficient pump for the use and benefit of the neighbourhood, with a conveniency to baile water out of the Said Cestern in Case of breaking out of fire.[5]

Then in 1702 a pump was put in at Bridgham's expense and he was to maintain it.

In 1713 Samuel Greenleaf seems to have been the owner of the

[1] Suffolk Deeds, vii. 294. [2] Ibid. vii. 301. [3] Ibid. viii. 288.
[4] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, vii. 88. [5] Ibid. xi. 26.

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land at the head of Spring Lane, for the Selectmen gave him the right to raise and have that side of Spring Lane next to his brick building and to lay a gutter down the middle of the lane.[1] All that part of Washington Street had been burned over by the great fire of 1711, and the region was now being rebuilt.

In the Selectmen's Records, March 21, 1713, liberty was granted "to Simion Stoddard to open ye H. way a Cross Corn hill in to Water Street for ye laying a Cellar drayn there Provided he Attend ye directions in ye Laws."[2]

In 1714 the Selectmen viewed Spring Lane and ordered —

That the Pavement be Laid Regularly from one end to the other without any breaking, the gutter at the upper end to The Other, wth out any Break, That the gutter at the uper end thereof be at eight foot, one & a halfe Inch^s^ from Greenliefes corner, and at the lower end of S^d^ House, nine foot & nine Inches from the Bricks of it, And from the fence of S^d^ Greenliefs, opposite to ye Pump, the S^d^ Gutter to be Six foot eight Inches, and three foot from S^d^ pump, and So to Continue on a Straight line to the end of Dinelyes Land where it Terminates exactly in the midle between that and Mr Oborns land.[3]

The lane was sixteen feet wide, the pump in the middle, and the gutter coming down the middle of the lane turned out, and went around it three feet off on the north.

Some have asserted, without offering proof, that Water Street was not cut through to Washington Street till Provincial times. This would raise a question whether the cartway of 1638 was not Spring Lane rather than Water Street. But the descriptions of the Johnson estate already given show this lane or cartway on the north and Spring Lane, south. We know that the Hutchinson house lot began ninety-six feet from School Street, the order for the drain in 1638 stated that the cartway was opposite the Hutchinson house, so does the grant of the sixteen foot strip of land to Johnson in 1649. The Town Records show that early in the eighteenth century there was already a common sewer in Water Street with a number of drains entering it.

The confusing thing is to find that in the beginning of the eighteenth century there was also a sewer in Spring Lane.

The house owned by the Hutchinsons was sold to a friend An-

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xi. 182. [2] Ibid. xi. 181. [3] Ibid. xi. 209.

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thony Stoddard,[1] and before 1713 it had come to his son, Simeon Stoddard, who in that year received permission from the selectmen to "open the highway in Cornhill [Washington Street] to Water Street for laying a drain there."[2] Water Street received its name in 1708.

In 1719 Simeon Stoddard by deed gave Jonathan Williams liberty to lay a drain through the cellar of his brick building in Cornhill "to pass into the Common Shoar in Spring Lane."[3] They were rebuilding after the 1711 fire. In 1724 Simeon Stoddard conveyed to Jonathan Williams with others the right to lay a drain through his property "down to the common shoar in Spring Lane," each person to pay his proportionate share.[4] In 1726 Stephen Boutineau grants Jonathan Williams the privilege "to lay drains through his land to the common shoar in Spring Lane."[5]

In 1719 liberty was given Jonas Clark to dig open the highway across Spring Lane for laying his cellar drain from his house, formerly Mrs. Winslow's, to run into a cistern standing in the town's land for the present conveniency of Mr. Bridgham, provided he lays the drains in brick or stone as the law directs.

In 1721 people about Spring Lane were much annoyed, and the way was made dangerous for the passing of horse and foot, by reason of some drains issuing out in the middle of the lane. Complaint was made and "Simeon Stoddard desires liberty of sinking a cistern for the waste water in the lane." The Selectmen reported "a cistern will not answer, and require the several drains be secured effectually by the owners or proprietors thereof in ten days from further damage or they shall be cut up."[6]

On September 25, 1786, the Selectmen allowed forty shillings toward repairing the pump in Spring Lane.[7] In 1803 the drain or common sewer in Spring Lane was repaired at an expense of $318, to be borne by forty persons whose estates enter into it.[8] In 1804 —

A request was received from the Proprietors of the Wells & Pumps in Spring Lane that the Town would bear a proportion of the repairs now wanted on the Well as the Spring is of very general use in the Neighbour-

[1] Suffolk Deeds, iii. 118.
[2] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xi. 181.
[3] Suffolk Deeds, xxxvii. 20. [4] Ibid. xxxvii. 204. [5] Ibid. xxxix. 203.
[6] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xiii. 88.
[7] Ibid. xxv. 326. [8] Ibid. xxiii. 192.

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hood . . . it was agreed that as the Town had never borne any part of such expence, it must still be considered at the charge of the proprietors.[1]

The pump in Spring Lane remained there till the middle of the nineteenth century, just below the angle in the Winthrop Building. Within the last five years there was a mark on a curbstone put there by Mr. Edward Bangs of Bangs and Wells to show where the pump stood when he was a boy. The mark and the curbstone have both disappeared.

There was another old spring which came to light again when the excavations were made for the foundations of the Post Office building. It caused the contractors much trouble, but was finally controlled and the water was used in the boiler room of that building. This may have been the spring referred to in the deed from Captain Johnson to Peter Oliver. The spring under the Post Office died down some sixteen years ago to such an extent that its use was given up, and the water was turned into the sewer.[2]

Other springs and wells in the vicinity have disappeared, sometimes on account of deep excavations lower down the street. Jones, when putting in his foundations, may have struggled with water for days, trying to dam it out, having his men pump a steady stream. One morning on coming to the hole he finds it dry, and knows that Brown who is digging quite a distance off at a lower level, has tapped this vein of water and drained his cellar dry. Jones stops pumping and Brown begins.

Many of the old watercourses are gone, cut off by deep foundations or by the subways; and the paved surface of the streets gives the rain water little chance to sink into the ground. So, in many places where springs once existed, none are now found.

When the cellar of the Carter or the Winthrop Building, as it is now called, was dug, the contractors had little annoyance from water; but quicksand, the sign of an old watercourse, kept running into the cavity as fast as they threw it out. After this had gone on some time, a room in the basement of the City Hall caved in and its contents fell into the quicksand below, and some of the articles were never recovered. The City Hall officials declared that this was caused by the excavation of the Carter Building. The

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xxxiii. 232.

[2] See Shurtleff, Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, pp. 390 et seq.

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contractors scoffed at this. But what did undermine the City Hall? A great amount of fine quicksand was taken out at the Carter Building, and quicksand had gone from under the City Hall. Some contractors of experience say that, judging from the great amount of quicksand they have taken out of holes, it is certain it will run a long distance, and that it seems probable that the pumping of quicksand at the Carter Building undermined the City Hall, especially if one takes into consideration the fact that the buildings between were old and with shallow cellars. But other builders laugh at such an idea.

When the old buildings along the south side of Spring Lane were pulled down, and excavations were made for the new Old South Building, one could look down upon an expanse of fine sand. A little water was found, but it was a hundred feet from the lane.

In short, there is no "pellucid water" or "natural spring" in Spring Lane, and however "pellucid" it may have been originally, the defective drains beneath its surface and the cobblestone gutter above tended to make the water anything but excellent. And then consider the likelihood that the water passed under the burying-ground.

Where the water came from no one knows.

The well to supply the State House with water was carried to a depth of ninety-six feet, commencing as stated at a point thirty-five feet below the top of the hill. As the hill was one hundred and thirty eight feet six inches above the level of the sea, the bottom of the well was seven feet six inches above the same level. No spring was found in any of the strata, until the workmen entered on the last. After digging a foot or a foot and a half in the last stratum (the tenth) the bottom became so soft, and the water came in so fast, that the workmen were obliged to desist.[1]

The Rev. John Lathrop took observations of the water in the well and wrote that it rose and fell with the tide.[2]

When the Congregational Building was erected a few years ago, a well was found in the back part of the lot, shored up with oak timber, and over seventy feet deep.

Toward the rear of 6 Beacon Street a well was found some sixty feet deep when the old buildings were torn down.

[1] Wheildon, Sentry, or Beacon Hill, pp. 85, 86.

[2] Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, iii. 57–63.

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In digging the cellar of the Tremont Building a considerable flow of water was met with on the Beacon Street side.

Snow tells us that a well was dug for the accommodation of a house at the head of School Street opposite the Stone Chapel.[1] When the workmen had reached a depth of about sixty-five feet, a spring burst into the well several feet from the bottom and flowed with such rapidity as to fill it to the height of forty feet in twenty-five minutes. Next morning they undertook to draw out the water by means of a whip tackle. In the course of seven hours, during which several men with two horses raised at the rate of five barrels of water in two minutes, making in all more than a thousand barrels, they succeeded in exhausting the water, so far as to admit of laying the well. In a few days the water assumed the usual level of that in other wells.

In digging at the Albion Building at the corner of Beacon and Tremont Streets there was but little trouble from water. No water was met with in excavating for the Pavilion or the Carney Buildings, but both contractors said they were getting nervous, for the indications were that they were on the point of meeting water when they left off digging. No water was met with under the Kimball Building, but it was erected on the site of a large old building, the foundations were not deep, and it was below the subway.

All that side of Beacon Hill up to the Common is made up of a mixture of clay and gravel impervious to water, but the assertion is general that if you go down far enough, you will come to a stratum of quicksand and water.

Three or four years ago some one came forward with a scheme for sinking a pump in Spring Lane "where the old town pump stood" and tapping this "pellucid spring." All the old fiction was raked up and added to, of Winthrop's settling on one side of the spring at the founding of the town with Isaac Johnson on the other side, and a happy family of colonists around them. Isaac Johnson died September 30, 1630. If he ever lived for a week or two at Boston, it was not at the spring, and there is a dispute as to whether he was even buried here.

There was a spring in the lane, but it no longer exists. The Selectmen of a hundred years ago denied that there was ever a town pump there. Neither Winthrop nor the colonists settled

[1] History of Boston, p. 33.

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there originally, but as the town grew, they moved to the South End of that day, and the spring was used as a watering-place.

There is a proposal to set up a tablet in the lane, where the "Governor's Spring" was, and it is well to commemorate old landmarks. There should be many such tablets, and doubtless the committee in charge know the history of the old spring. This paper is written to forestall and counteract the effects of effusions of such enthusiasts as have been quoted above.

What, in brief, is the truth about Mr. Blackstone's spring? It is clear that the colonists did not wait till after September 30, 1630, and then in a body move over to Shawmut, and settle around a spring pointed out by the reverend gentleman; they did not lie in misery on the slopes of Town Hill for three months wishing for running water, when there was plenty across the river. We know that they were planting dispersedly in towns, and that soon after they arrived at Charlestown some had already gone to Trimount. It is probable that Blackstone called their attention to a spring, and that to a greater or less extent they settled near it.

But while the big spring near Blackstone's house was "excellent," hardly a soul lived there till the middle of the eighteenth century; and the locality around Lynde's spring in Howard Street was pasture land for years after the settlement. The land near the Cotton spring was not taken up for two or three years after the people came over. The "Governor's spring" was at the South End of the town, and the neighbors came there about 1634. The first settlement was not made by any of these springs.

We must bear in mind the fact that this band of invalids could not carry their sick and their goods far from the shore.

The head of the cove was the most desirable spot for persons coming to Boston by water. It was easy of access by boats, and offered the best harbor and shelter. It was at the centre of the peninsula. Here they could get shell-fish, either in the cove, or near at hand in what they called Centre Haven or the Mill Pond; and they needed food as much as drink, and had to procure it daily from the sea. Here we find the common landing-place, and the thickest settlement in early days. Here also was the largest supply of fresh water; and since we have shown that no other big spring was Mr. Blackstone's "excellent Spring," we may reasonably suppose that it was the Tyng "Spring or fountain," which

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we have seen was led down to the conduits and furnished abundance of water to those living at the head of the cove.

But if "running water" seemed to the colonists at first an absolute necessity, they soon found there was plenty of good water in Shawmut; and, scattered along the shore of the North End or "the Island," as they often called it, and to the south of the cove, they laid out their "Broad Street leading to the Sea," where the gentlemen of quality lived.

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ADJOURNED MEETING OF THE COUNCIL

19 NOVEMBER, 1907

AN ADJOURNED MEETING of the Council was held on Tuesday, 19 November, 1907, at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Present, Messrs. Henry Winchester Cunningham, Henry Herbert Edes, Frederick Lewis Gay, George Lyman Kittredge, and Albert Matthews.

President GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE occupied the chair.

The following minute, offered by Mr. EDES, was adopted:

The Members of the Council of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts wish to place on their Records an expression of their appreciation of the services rendered to the Society during the past seven years by President GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, who has declined a re-election. They would also record their regret at his decision, since it will deprive them of his delightful fellowship at this Board as well as of his wise counsel and of his ability as its presiding officer. In his retirement from office Mr. Kittredge will carry with him the affectionate regard of his associates, who will ever cherish the years spent with him in service to the Society as a delightful memory.

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ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER, 1907

THE ANNUAL MEETING was held at the New Algonquin Club, No. 217 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, on Thursday, 21 November, 1907, at six o'clock in the afternoon, the President, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, LL.D., in the chair.

The Records of the last Stated Meeting were read and approved.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY *pro tempore* reported that a letter had been received from Mr. HENRY LELAND CHAPMAN of Brunswick, Maine, accepting Corresponding Membership.

The gift to the Society was reported of two medals: one from the American Philosophical Society, struck in commemoration of the celebration by that Society of the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin; and one from the Cambridge Historical Society, struck in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. The gifts were gratefully accepted.

The Annual Report of the Council was presented and read by the PRESIDENT.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

In accordance with our established calendar, five Stated Meetings have been held since the twenty-first of November, 1906. We are indebted to the American Unitarian Association for a continuance of its gracious hospitality. No practicable plan has yet been conceived which provides our Society with quarters of its own.

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The Stated Meetings have been well attended and interesting. Papers have been read, and documents and other historical objects have been laid before us, in great variety. This department of our activities appears to be in excellent condition.

The same may now be said of our Publications, thanks to the expert and indefatigable labors of the Editor. The second serial of Volume X, comprising the Transactions from December, 1905, to April, 1906, has been in the hands of members for some time. The bound volume, bringing the Transactions down through last November, is ready for distribution, but cannot be actually published because of our poverty. Meantime, a new volume of Transactions is well under way, everything being in type, including the April meeting. Volume IX, our first volume of Collections, has just appeared. Another volume of Collections is almost finished. The volume of Harvard College Records, which we owe to the generosity of one of our members, is nearly ready for the composing-room. One thing is evident, — we could publish more if we had more money.

During the year there has been only one death among our fellowship — resident, corresponding, and honorary — that of JOHN ELIOT SANFORD, which occurred on the eleventh of October at his home in Taunton. Mr. Sanford was too old and infirm to attend our meetings, but he gave practical evidence of his interest in the Society. He was a citizen of great distinction, both for his abilities and for his high standard of public duty.

Four Resident Members have been added to the Society:

ARTHUR LORD
EDWARD EVERETT HALE,
CALEB BENJAMIN TILLINGHAST,
THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS.

The name of DENNISON ROGERS SLADE has been transferred from the Resident to the Corresponding Roll, and two other Corresponding Members have been elected:

THOMAS WILLING BALCH,
HENRY LELAND CHAPMAN.

In conclusion, the Council begs leave to remind the Members once more that the Society has obvious and pressing needs.

The TREASURER submitted his Annual Report, as follows:

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REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, the Treasurer submits his Annual Report for the year ending 18 November, 1907

CASH ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

Balance, 19 November, 1906		$543.25
Admission Fees	$40.00	
Annual Assessments	640.00	
Commutation of the Annual Assessment	300.00	
Sales of the Society's Publications	54.19	
Cambridge Historical Society, paper sold it	30.60	
Interest	2,651.18	
Gift of Robert Hallowell Gardiner	100.00	
Editor's Salary Fund	850.00	
Mortgages paid or assigned	20,650.00	
Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank, amount withdrawn	1,190.00	$26,505.97
		$27,049.22

DISBURSEMENTS.

University Press: printing	$702.62		
paper, 26 reams	449.40	$1,152.02	
A. W. Elson & Co., photogravure plates and plate printing		315.93	
Folsom & Sunnergren, relief plates		12.58	
Henry Mitchell, engraving		4.50	
J. F. Sachse, making negative		7.00	
Charles S. Bradford, making negative		3.25	
Mary H. Rollins, Indexes of Volumes IX, X		143.00	
Clerk hire		127.80	
Library Bureau, Index cards		6.75	
Stationery		6.23	
Boston Storage Warehouse Company		24.00	
William H. Hart, auditing		5.00	
Albert Matthews: salary as Editor of Publications		1,000.00	
travelling expenses		11.60	
Carnegie Institution, subscription for 1907 toward printing Bibliography of American Historical Writings		50.00	
Miscellaneous incidentals		419.60	
Deposited in Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank		843.22	
Mortgages on improved real estate in Boston		21,700.00	
Interest in adjustment		299.80	$26,132.28
Balance on deposit in State Street Trust Company, 18 November, 1907			916.94
			$27,049.22

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The Funds of the Society are invested as follows:

$49,500.00	in First Mortgages, payable in gold coin, on improved property in Boston, Cambridge, and Brookline.
203.22	deposited in Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank.
$49,703.22	

TRIAL BALANCE.

DEBITS.

Cash		$916.94
Mortgages	$49,500.00	
Charlestown Five Cents Savings Bank	203.22	49,703.22
		$50,620.16

CREDITS.

Income		$916.94
Editor's Salary Fund	$1,500.00	
Publication Fund	2,700.00	
General Fund	7,503.22	
Benjamin Apthorp Gould Memorial Fund	10,000.00	
Edward Wheelwright Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Charles Billings Fund	10,000.00	
Robert Noxon Toppan Fund	5,000.00	
Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. Fund	3,000.00	$49,703.22
		$50,620.16

HENRY H. EDES,
Treasurer.

BOSTON, 18 November, 1907.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts for the year ending 18 November, 1907, have attended to that duty and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched, and that proper evidence of the investments and of the balance of cash on hand has been shown to us. This examination is based on the Report of William H. Hart, Auditor.

WALDO LINCOLN,
ARTHUR LORD,
Committee.

BOSTON, 20 November, 1907.

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The several Reports were accepted and referred to the Committee of Publication.[1]

On behalf of the Committee appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year, the following list of candidates was presented; and, a ballot being taken, these gentlemen were unanimously elected:

PRESIDENT
HENRY LEFAVOUR

VICE-PRESIDENTS
WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN
MARCUS PERRIN KNOWLTON

RECORDING SECRETARY
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
JOHN NOBLE

TREASURER
HENRY HERBERT EDES

REGISTRAR
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR THREE YEARS
HENRY ERNEST WOODS

MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL FOR TWO YEARS
JOHN ELIOT THAYER

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS offered the following appreciation of the services rendered by GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, who had declined re-election to the presidency of the Society; and it was unanimously adopted by a rising vote:

[1] When it became known that the invested funds of the Society lacked only three hundred dollars of fifty thousand dollars, three members generously gave one hundred dollars each.

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The Colonial Society has been singularly fortunate in its selection of Presidents. Although it was obvious at the time when the Society was founded that there was room enough for such an organization in its chosen field of labor, still it was clear that without the assistance of a leader of distinction — one whose name should be a tower of strength, whose interest in the Society should inspire him to the sacrifice of his time in its behalf, and the attraction of whose personal qualities should draw to us a desirable membership — reputation could only be gained through a long period of dubious struggle.

Benjamin Apthorp Gould, eager and earnest in our behalf, a man of international repute, blest with a host of friends among those whose names we needed upon our rolls, saved us from this period of trial and enabled us from the first to present attractions to those to whom we tendered membership, even though the Society was without traditions, without reputation, and possessed neither house, library, nor funds. Our gratitude to him for his influence and for his labor has been often expressed, but can never be over-stated through reiteration.

His successor found the Society already possessed of reputation. Its membership was of such a character that throughout the community those interested in its work were desirous to have their names upon its rolls, and its publications had already shown that not all the working capacity of this vicinity had been monopolized by the older societies. To him was given the task to maintain the character of an established and prosperous society. How well Edward Wheelwright did this, with what urbanity and dignity he presided at our meetings, and how thoroughly his interests in the success and endurance of the Society had become a part of his life, were not only constantly apparent to his fellow-workers in the ranks of the Society while that work was going on, but became known to the world at his death through the munificent bequest which he left to us.

There was something audacious in calling upon the busiest man in Cambridge — one who was engaged in professional work, day and night, and, if there is any intervening time between day and night, during that intervening time also — to take charge then of the affairs of the Society. True, it had by this time gained distinction. True, the position of President of the Society had secured for itself recognition as a place of honor; but still it was asking a good deal to call upon George Lyman Kittredge to abandon, even for the few hours each month required for the performance of the duties of President, the engrossing labors which pressed upon him at his home.

Fortunately for us, he yielded to the pressure which was brought to bear upon him and brought into our midst the stimulus of an active

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intellect, full of energy and vivacity, which has proved helpful not only in spurring others to exertion, but has enriched our publications through communications from himself which very likely would never have been undertaken except for the direction given to his thoughts by attendance at our meetings. How much the Society owes to him, those know best who have attended our meetings and witnessed his unflagging efforts in our behalf. That these pleasant relations should be severed is a source of regret to all of us, and as a partial expression of our appreciation of his services in our behalf, it is moved:

That the thanks of this Society are due to GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE for his active, energetic, and valued services as President.

Mr. WINTHROP H. WADE spoke of the long and severe illness of the Corresponding Secretary, Mr. John Noble, of his valued services to the Society, and of the regret felt at his absence from this meeting; and on his motion, it was unanimously —

Voted, That an expression of the sympathy of the Society and of the pleasure with which the members have learned of the improvement in his condition be sent to Mr. Noble.

The EDITOR called attention to an error that had crept into the recently published Volume IX of the Society's Publications. The Lenox Library owns a copy of the issue of the Boston News-Letter dated 13 March, 1710. On page 89 this is correctly entered; but on page 21, owing to a typographical error not detected until too late to be corrected, it is wrongly entered under date of 13 February, 1710.

Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS made the following communication:

At a meeting of this Society held four years ago to-day, Mr. John Noble communicated a document written in April, 1672, in which Richard Saltonstall propounded a certain person for the presidency of Harvard College to succeed Charles Chauncy, who had died February 19, 1671–72. Mr. Noble reached the conclusion that this person, though unnamed, was the Rev. John Knowles.[1] On March

[1] Publications, viii. 193–196.

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25, 1672, Saltonstall wrote a letter offering the presidency to Knowles.[1] When, however, Dr. Leonard Hoar reached here in July, 1672, it was found that he had brought with him a letter, dated May 10, 1672, from the Rev. John Collins to Governor Leverett, which began as follows:

I would not let this ship goe without a few lines to you, however I have little to say, saving the recommendation of the gentleman the bearer hereof, being Dr. Hoar, who is in fellowship with us, and yet more yours than ours, through his ardent desire to serve God in what worke hee will allot to him in your parts, where hee hath had his education, which in the judgment of wiser men than myselfe is thought to bee in your colledge employment, to which hee is very well qualifyed in many things. I know whatever countenance or encouragement yourselfe can give him or the magistracy he shall not want it, for I beleeve hee will deserve it and continue soe to doe.[2]

Dr. Hoar was elected President July 30, and was inaugurated December 10, 1672.

From the document I am about to communicate, it appears that on May 1, 1671 — or nearly a year before Saltonstall drew up his proposition — the Rev. John Knowles had written to the Overseers in regard to the condition of the College. While his letter, unfortunately, has apparently not been preserved, there is in the Massachusetts Archives a copy of a reply which it called forth on August 21, 1671. This reply to Knowles's letter is addressed to nineteen ministers in England. It was known to Quincy, who writes:

In addition to these external discouragements, the particular condition of the seminary, during the latter part of Chauncy's presidency, was critical and apparently hopeless. Its buildings were "ruinous and almost irreparable," "the President was aged," "the number of scholars short of what they had been in former days."[3]

But Quincy gives no hint as to what or where the documer from which he quotes; and, so far as I have been able to ascertai.. it has never been printed. Hutchinson, however, as long ago as 1769, printed a "Copy of a Letter from several dissenting Ministers

[1] 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, i. 16.
[2] Hutchinson, Collection of Original Papers, p. 435.
[3] History of Harvard University (1840), i. 29, 30.

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in and about London to the Magistrates and Ministers in the Massachusetts-Bay." This is dated February 5, 1671–72, and begins as follows:

We received yours dated from Boston Aug. 21. 1671. directed to many of us, which also we have severall times considered, as the providence of God hath permitted to us opportunities of meeting together.[1]

This letter is signed by the following thirteen ministers: Matthew Barker (1619–1698), Thomas Brooks (1608–1680), Joseph Caryl (1602–1673), George Cokayne (1619–1691), John Collins (H. C. 1649), George Griffith, William Hooke (1600–1677), John Knowles (1600–1685), John Loder (died 1673), Philip Nye (1596–1672), John Owen (1616–1683), Anthony Palmer[2] (1618–1679), and John Rowe (1626–1677).

The letter to which the thirteen ministers sent a reply is as follows:

Honoured, reverend, & beloved in our Lord Jesus

When we recount the singular favour of God to his people in these utmost ends of ye earth, & wherein he hath, by a line of his admirable loving kindnesse, distinguished us from the rest of the plantations in this Western world, This is not the last in the catalogue thereof, that he hath planted such a nursery of learning amongst us, we mean the Colledge in our Cambridge, whence have sprung up so many choice plants, as by whose pleasant fruits (we hope we may say it without carnall boasting, but) through grace, the heart of God, & man hath been cheared; whence both this Land hath been in a great measure provided for as to a Supply in the Ministry, & whence also have issued forth those streams into remoter parts, that have made glad the citty of God. And allthough it hath been, partly through the poverty of the Country, or what other cause, at times, languishing, & is so still, yet we have found the Lord tenderly affected for it, & stirring up ye hearts of divers in England, & elswhere, to afford noe small contribution of incourragement for it's reviving (for all which we desire to bless the Father of Lights, & to be duely thankfull unto those worthy persons, who have not yeilded to any temptation of despising the day of small things with us) And we still find *that your care of us is flourishing again for this School of the prophets with us as in part we have been informed, by a*

[1] Collection of Original Papers, p. 429.

[2] Hutchinson gives the name as "Arth. Palmer" — doubtless an error in transcription for "Anth. Palmer," as I can find no trace of an Arthur Palmer.

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Letter directed to the Governor, & other persons of note among us wherein it is advised that the Overseers of the Colledge might be consulted with, & that the present state of the Colledge, in order to some assistance from such as are nobly disposed, may be represented to persons of speciall Interest, zeal, largnesse of heart, & singular affection to this weighty concernment of the glory of God, who may have a leading, & successfull influence thereinto; The fullness of our persuasion that your selves are persons of that character, hath occasioned this our Application to your selves in particular.

There are three things (much honoured in the Lord) which we shall therfore take the boldnesse to acquaint you with, which have matter of affliction, & fear accompanying them to our hearts.

1ly. The ruinous, & allmost irreparable state of the Edifices, in conjunction with our inability to erect some other more capacious, & accomodate; This notwithstanding, upon a serious, & late debate, a new structure, of stone, or brick, is resolved upon,[1] & that speedy preparations shall be made toward the same: The Country (we hope) may be enabled to contribute about a thousand pound, which added unto, by the favour, & beneficence of such our worthy friends as have set their affection to this so seasonable, & important designe of supporting, & advanceing the Interest of Learning, & Religion in this Willdernesse, will (we trust) in some good measure attaine the end proposed, & desired . . .

2. The danger of our loosing the aged, & reverend President of the Colledge. As we cannot but acknowledge it to the praise of God, that he hath continued him, with a rich blessing, hitherunto in the service of his Generation, so neither can it be expected by himself, or us, that (in an ordinary course of providence) it should be long before he must sleep with his fathers, & receive his reward; Now to have none in view that might, as Eliazar be invested with the dignity of succession to dying Aaron (to be left destitute of one to whom in that noble race the Lamp might be delivered, when the other hath finished his course, & is to receive his crown) your selves cannot but understand how great an exercise of afflictive thoughts of heart it doth occasion; In which respect we begg that we may be so happy as to prevail with your selves to make it your joynt Interest with us to advise & assist toward our supply, as there may be need in this case . . .

3. The paucity of Scholars in the Colledge; the number of whom falls now far short of what hath been in former daies. It is wel known to

[1] The allusion is to the second Harvard College, erected between 1672 and 1682, and burned in 1764.

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your selves what advantage to Learning accrue's by the multitude of persons cohabiting for Scholasticall communion, whereby to acuate the minds one of another, & other waies to promove the ends of a Colledge-Society; We have experienced noe small blessing from heaven upon the studies of those who have been hitherto trained up therein (& in that respect dare not complain) but yet were the number of Scholars much more multiplyed, we think it would render the same much more desirable, and add an higher reputation thereunto; In which respect, we shall account it a smile of providence, if any of those, in whose hearts are the waies of God, may be inclined to look this way, for the education of their children.

But as to the premises, & what els we might suggest, we may give you a further account, by word of mouth, from our worthy friend m^r^ Richard Saltonstall,[1] than our present straits of time will permit us to commit unto this paper:

The good Lord influence all hearts by his holy Spirit, & guide, & lead in the way that is pleasing before him! We pray that the Lord may direct your, & our hearts, more & more, into the love of God, & into the patient wayting for Christ, & that the good will of him that dwelt in the bush may abide with your selves, & us! In whom we are

Your Servants in ye Lord
& for ye Gospell

	CHARLES CHAUNCY	RICHARD BELLINGHAM
Boston. 21. Aug.	JOHN ELLIOTT	JN^o^ LEUERETT
1671	JOHN OXENBRIDGE	DANIEL GOOKIN
	THOMAS THACHER SEN^r^	RICHARD RUSSELL
	JOHN MAYO	EDWARD TYNG
	JAMES ALLEN	THOMAS DANFORTH
	SAMUELL DANFORTH	WILLIAM STOUGHTON[2]
	THOMAS SHEPARD	
	INCREASE MATHER	

[1] In his Genealogical Dictionary of New England (iv. 8), Savage stated that Richard Saltonstall, the son of Sir Richard Saltonstall, was not in this country after 1664. In his paper alluded to in the text, Mr. Noble showed that Saltonstall was here in April and June, 1672, and that he had been here in May, 1671(Publications, viii. 193 note 3). The present document proves that he was here in August, 1671.

[2] The names in the first column are those of ministers, in the second column those of magistrates. The persons are too well known to need comment.

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[*Endorsed*]

1. 3. 1671
m^r^ John Knowles
letter to the over-
seers of the Colledge

21. 6. 1671
Their Answeere

[*Addressed*]

These
~~ffor the Hono^ble^ Rev^d^ & well beloved~~
~~faueurers & Patrones to Learning~~
~~in ye Colledge of Cambridge in~~
~~New England~~
~~Deliuer~~
~~To the R^d^ & Beloved m^r^ John Knowles~~
~~& Dr Leonar Hore or either of them~~
~~to be Comunicated as~~
~~aboveasid~~
~~in London.~~
To ye Reu^d^ & much honn^rd^ Doct^r^ Goodwin
Dr Owen m^r^ Nye m^r^ Carrill m^r^ Greenehill m^r^
Lockier m^r^ Knowles m^r^ Hooke m^r^ Griffith m^r^
Brooke m^r^ Barker m^r^ Cockin m^r^ Palmer m^r^
Rev. m^r^ Venning m^r^ Loather m^r^ Mead m^r^ Lee
m^r^ Collins & Dr Hoare
These p^r^sent
In
London [1]

Of the nineteen ministers to whom this letter is addressed, twelve — Barker, Brooks, Caryl, Cokayne, Collins, Griffith, Hooke, Knowles, Loder,[2] Nye, Owen, and Palmer — had signed the letter in reply dated February 5, 1671–72. The other seven ministers were: Thomas Goodwin (1600–1680), William Greenhill (1591–1671), Leonard Hoar (H. C. 1650), Samuel Lee (1625–1691), Nicholas Lockyer (1611–1685), Matthew Mead (1630–1699), and Ralph Venning (1621–1674).

Mr. HENRY L. CHAPMAN, a Corresponding Member, communicated a copy of an order dated 15 February, 1693–94, commanding Sir William Phips, then Governor of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, to appear before the Privy

[1] Massachusetts Archives, lviii. 72, 73.

[2] As stated in the text, the letter is a copy. Hence we should expect certain discrepancies in the spelling of names. In the copy the name of "m^r^ Loather" occurs. I cannot find any trace of a dissenting minister of that name at the time, and I suppose that it was the copyist's error for "Loder." It is possible, too, that my identification of certain of the names is incorrect. Notices of all the dissenting ministers will be found in S. Palmer's edition of Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial, while sketches of all except Griffith and Loder are given in the Dictionary of National Biography.

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Council to answer sundry charges of illegal and arbitrary acts attributed to him. The copy which follows is taken from the original manuscript in the Bowdoin College Library.

Wm. R.

Trusty & well beloved we greet you well.

It haveing been rep^r^sented unto us by ye Lds of o^r^ Privy Council appointed a Comittee of Trade & Plantac̃ons upon ye severall comp^ts^ of Jaleel Brenton[1] Coll^r^ & Survey^r^ Gen^al^ of o^r^ Customs in N. England & Capt Richd Short[2] late Com^dr^ of o^r^ ffrigott ye Nonsuch That by sev^r^all Informations upon Oath it appears That after Seizure made by the s^d^ Jaleel Brenton of divers goods & merchandizes to ye value of 1000^lb^ for being imported contrary to Law into o^r^ province of ye Massachusets Bay in N England under y^or^ Govern^mt^ you had wth ab^t^ fifty persons attending you violently taken the same out of o^r^ storehouse at Boston in N. E. beating & evilly entreating the s^d^ Brenton, And haveing discharged the goods from ye s^d^ seizure you had afterwards som of them for y^or^ own use & y^t^ o^r^ s^d^ Collector had been otherwise hindered & discouraged by you in ye Execuc̃on of his Duty by forbidding ye m^rs^ of sev^r^all Vessells arriving from Engl & other pts & loading ye enumerated Com̃oditys in N: Engl to swear with o^r^ sd. Collector or to produce ye Certificates to him you declaring that he had nothing to do therewith and directing them to apply themselves to a Navall Officer appointed by you for this purpose, That Capt Short had suffered divers great hardships from you by Illegall Imprisonment for the space of nine months & suspended him from ye com̃and of o^r^ s^d^ ffriggot & y^t^ afterwards turning him out you had appointed ye Guñer of o^r^ s^d^ ship to take ye chief com̃and in his Room contrary to ye Direc̃on you had rec'd from us whereby ye next officer in ye Ship should have succeeded in y^t^ com̃and according to ye usuall practice of ye Navy, That haveing caused him to be putt on board a merch^t^ Ship to be brought in Custody into England you had afterwards forbidd the mast^r^ of ye Ship to bring him over & going on board ye s^d^ m^r^chant Ship you had broken open ye Cabbin Dore & taken away by force Capt Shorts Chest with his money & cloathes leaving him without any means to come over to make his comp^lt^ unto us of ye severall hardships he had suffered there until the arrivall of o^r^ Squadron under the

[1] Jahleel Brenton (1655–1732) was a son of Governor William Brenton of Rhode Island. The manuscript is obscure and may read "Taleel" Brenton.

[2] For a notice of Short, who died May 23, 1702, see Charnock's Biographia Navalis, ii. 403.

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comand of Sir ffra: Wheeler[1] in those parts That Capt Short with or sd ffriggot ye Nonsuch haveing in April 1692 taken a ffrench ship of abt 1500lb value upon his arrivall in N. England you had caused ye sd Ship to be brought to tryall & condemned as prize before you sitting yorself as Judge abt sd condemnacon, But it does not appear yt any acct has been made so far for any pt. of ye sd prize or to ye seamen of ye Non-such for ye Share belonging to them That ye St Jacob of Rochell loaded with Wine & Brandy from ffrance to Canada valued at abt 9970lb haveing been taken in Augt 1692 by the Ships the Swan & the Briganteen ye Eliz: & Sarah & brought to New E: was condemned by you as prize to the Capt without reserving any pt thereof to us (notwithstanding you had many men & some great gunns & other Stores of warr to be prest and taken from french owners) for fitting out ye sd Ship Brigentine under pretense of their being imployed for or service without taking Care any satisfacon should be given to ye sd owners for ye great Gunns or Stores so taken from them Upon all wch compltt Wee have thought fit to signify or Royall pleasure And we do hereby strictly require & comand That at ye first opportunity after yor Receipt hereof you forthwith give yor attendance here in England to answer in or privy Council ye sevrall matters of Compt above menconed And to ye end all who may be fully prepared to be heard thereupon we are further pleased to direct & require that free Libty may be allowed to all persons to give their Informations & proofs upon oath relating to ye sd compts before or Trustye & well beloved Wm Stoughton Esqr or Lt Govor of or sd province of the Massachusetts Bay & or Council of or sd province, And that Authoritative Copys of all Records & Evidence of what nature soever relating thereunto be duly transmitted to us under the public seal of or sd province of ye Massachusets Bay wherein you are not to intermeddle in any other manner than by ye offering to or sd Lt. Govr & Council such proofs as you shall desire may be made before them on yor behalf we haveing likewise signifyed or pleasure to or sd Lt. Govor that he do all that in him lys to see these or Direcons put in Execucon and that he take upon him the Goverm't of or sd province during yor absence from thence or untill or further pleasure shall be signifyed concerning ye same according to or Comission & Instrucons granted unto you for ye Gover'ment of or sd province, And so not doubting of yor ready obedience to ye significacon of or Royall pleasure herein we bid you farewel.

Given at or Court at Whitehall ye 15th day of Febr 1693/4 in ye 6th year of or reign. By his Matys comand

J. Trenchard.

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[1] For a notice of Sir Francis Wheler, see the Dictionary of National Biography.

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Mr. HENRY H. EDES made the following communication:

It is well known to many of the members that for more than sixty years the date of Judge Edmund Trowbridge's birth has been diligently but unsuccessfully sought by historians, genealogists, and editors. The approximate date has just been discovered in a business letter written by Chief-Justice Dana to Mrs. Frances Shirley Western, in which he refers to the health and age of his uncle, Judge Trowbridge, whose wife (Mary Goffe) was aunt to Mrs. Dana. As Judge Trowbridge lived for several years, after the death of his wife, with the Chief-Justice and Mrs. Dana, there is scarcely room to doubt the accuracy of his nephew's statement.

Mrs. Western, to whom the letter is addressed, was the daughter of William Bollan, long the agent of the Province in London, and Frances, daughter of Governor Shirley, who died at the birth of her only child.[1] During her father's absence in London, her early childhood was spent on the Ten Hills Farm estate with her maternal aunt Harriet, who had married Robert Temple, a brother of Sir John Temple, whose son Sir Grenville Temple married Elizabeth (Watson) Russell, widow of the Hon. Thomas Russell, a son of the Hon. James Russell and nephew of Judge Chambers Russell. While living with the Temples, and when only thirteen years old, young Theodore Atkinson[2] of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, fell in love with Frances Shirley; and notwithstanding her tender age his suit was encouraged by her uncle and aunt without the knowledge or consent of her father. Indignant at such conduct, Bollan removed his daughter from the care of the Temples and placed her with his friends Judge and Mrs. Trowbridge, with whom she remained until she sailed for England, in September, 1765, to join her father, who was then residing in Lisle Street,

[1] The wife and daughter of Governor Shirley are commemorated by a beautiful monument in King's Chapel, Boston, and in Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes's poem, "King's Chapel." See Foote, Annals of King's Chapel, ii. 131, 626. Mrs. Bollan was buried 18 February, 1744–45; and her daughter (Mrs. Western) was baptized on the ninth of March following (King's Chapel Registers).

[2] Atkinson subsequently married his cousin Frances Wentworth, who, a fortnight after his death, married her early lover, another cousin, Sir John Wentworth, afterward Governor of New Hampshire and of Nova Scotia. Her portrait by Copley is in the Lenox Library. See Wentworth Genealogy (1878), vol. i. pp. xxviii, xxix, 299, 318, 548, 549. An engraving of Copley's canvas faces p. 548.

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Leicester Square, London. She very soon married Charles Western of Rivenhall and of Felix Hall, Kelvedon, Essex, who died 24 July, 1771. Their eldest son, Charles Callis Western, baptized 9 August, 1767, was educated at Eton and at Cambridge, and after forty-two years' service in Parliament in the Whig interest was created, 28 January, 1833, Baron Western of Rivenhall.

The letter of Chief-Justice Dana follows.

(N° 10.)

CAMBRIDGE, DEC^{r} 6th 1789.

MADAM

My last letter to you was of the 11th of May, 1788, and the last I have been honoured with from you, was of the 4th of Feby of the same year. — In N° 7 I requested you to furnish me with a copy of your Father's will duely authenticated in the proper office, under the seal of it; which, by the law of our government, will serve in all cases as well as the original will: and without it no suit whether real or personal can be brought in your favour. This has now become more necessary to be attended to, as we have a statute limiting actions against Executors and Administrators to three years, and near half of that time is already elapsed. And I fear an action must be instituted against the late Judge Russell's[1] Executors, upon his bond to your Father: for notwithstanding his brother,[2] who is one of them, wrote you long since that "he had settled the accounts and was ready to pay you Seven hundred & Twenty five pounds lawful money" yet I have never been able to obtain more than one hundred pounds which he paid me on the 17th of Septr 1785,

[1] The Hon. Chambers Russell (H. C. 1731), Judge of the Admiralty and of the Superiour Court of Judicature. A son of the Hon. Daniel Russell, long a member of the Executive Council, he was born in Charlestown, 4 July, 1713, and died in Guilford, Surrey, England, 24 November, 1766. See Wyman, Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, ii. 831, 832; Publications of this Society, viii. 159.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that Judge Russell was succeeded on the Bench of the Superiour Court by Edmund Trowbridge (Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, p. 70).

[2] The Hon. James Russell of Charlestown, where he was born 5 August, 1715. He held many offices of trust and honor in the Province, including a seat in the Executive Council (1761–1773). He was also appointed, in 1774, one of the Mandamus Councillors, but refused to qualify. He was a Judge of the Inferiour Court of Common Pleas (1771–1774); and died in Charlestown 24 April, 1798 (Wyman, Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, ii. 831, 832; Whitmore, Massachusetts Civil List, pp. 61–64, 88).

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and is endorsed upon the bond, as I before informed you. Let such a copy of the will therefore be forwarded as soon as may be. I shou'd wish to know the time of your Father's death also. In the mean time I shall not fail to press Mr Russell to make the payment he has declared himself ready to make.

Since my last viz. in Octr 1788, I sold your moiety of the 58 acres in Dighton[1] (or rather 56 as it proved on measuring) which [Jotham] Burt conveyed to your Father & [Henry] Laughton, at 10⅓ Doll^rs^ p^r^ acre, agreeably to the agreement mentioned in N° 8: and have taken the purchasers Notes of hand upon interest for the consideration being £88:4:0 lawful money. They stand bound for each other, and I am told the debt is safe.

Nobody has yet offered to buy any of your other lands, thô I have employed some persons in the neighborhood of them to look out for purchasers.

Your demand against the Government[2] must for the reasons I formerly mentioned, remain in its present state. But the moment I see an opportunity to obtain even the interest, you may rely upon my improving it.

Shou'd I have omitted anything about which you want information, you will be pleased to suggest it in your answer to this; which I shall hope to receive by the earliest opportunity.

Judge Trowbridge is still living and will be eighty years of age this month.[3] Both he and Mrs Dana join me in begging your acceptance of

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[1] Bristol Deeds, lxvii. 312–314. The deed, dated 23 October, 1788, conveys this property to Rufus Whitmarsh, gentleman, and William Brown, merchant, both of Dighton, and Jedediah Briggs, gentleman, of Berkeley, all in the County of Bristol. With it is recorded Mrs. Western's power of attorney to Francis Dana, dated in London, 14 March, 1787. It refers specifically to this and several other pieces of real estate belonging to her. Some of these parcels in the County of Bristol were subsequently sold by Dana (1790–1795). See Bristol Deeds, lxix. 240, lxxiii. 377, 378. Cf. Publications of this Society, vii. 91 note, 92 note. For these facts I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Joshua Eddy Crane.

[2] This demand was for money due Mrs. Western's father, William Bollan, for services as agent of the Province in London. It was finally paid. See Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1784–85, chap. 23 of Resolves, May Session, 1785, p. 637; ibid. 1790–91, chap. 142 of Resolves, January Session, 1790, p. 233.

[3] In a subsequent letter, dated 22 March, 1793, Dana writes: "Judge Trowbridge, who is in the 84th year of his age, I think can now live but a few days." He died 2 April, 1793. For a sketch of Judge Trowbridge, see Publications of this Society, v. 74–77.

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our very sincere regards and wishes for the happiness of yourself and your children.

I am, dear Madam,
with much respect and esteem
your most obedient humble servant[1]

Mrs Frances S. Western

[*Filed*]
Letter to Mrs. Western
Decr 6th 1789 — Nº 10.
Sale of Dighton Lands to
Whitmarsh, Brown & Briggs.

The Hon. ANDREW DICKSON WHITE of Ithaca, New York, was elected an Honorary Member, and Mr. FRANCIS PHILIP NASH of Geneva, New York, a Corresponding Member.

The Rev. Dr. ARTHUR LAWRENCE communicated a Memoir of ROGER WOLCOTT, which he had been requested to prepare for publication in the Transactions.

After the meeting was dissolved, dinner was served. The guests of the Society were the Rev. Dr. James De Normandie, the Rev. Charles Edwards Park, and Messrs. Melville Madison Bigelow, Charles John McIntire, Roger Bigelow Merriman, William Roscoe Thayer, and Julius Herbert Tuttle. Mr. KITTREDGE presided.

[1] This letter is wholly in Chief-Justice Dana's handwriting. It is one of a series of copies of numbered letters written by him to Mrs. Western, some of which are signed and some, including this one, are not. The Chief-Justice had charge of all Mrs. Western's property and business affairs in this country, and was her duly appointed attorney.

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MEMOIR

OF

ROGER WOLCOTT, LL.D.

BY

ARTHUR LAWRENCE.

ROGER WOLCOTT was born in Boston on July 13, 1847. He was of English and Puritan descent, and came of a family in which loyalty to conscience and devotion to public duty have reappeared, generation after generation, with the persistency of a type.

Henry Wolcott, the first of the name in this country, was an English gentleman of fortune, owner of Goldon Manor and of other estates near Tolland, in the county of Somerset. Those who have visited the neighborhood tell us that the beauty and charm of the place still suggest the elegant and dignified surroundings of the life of an English country gentleman, with the attraction and solid comfort which we associate with that position in life. Henry Wolcott was a devout member of the Church of England, his convictions and sympathies allying him with the Puritan element in that Church, and he finally, shortly before the accession of Archbishop Laud, cast in his lot with those who for conscience sake abandoned possessions and home, and after he was fifty years of age he emigrated to the new world. On March 20, 1630, he embarked with his wife and children on the ship Mary and John, and after a seventy days' voyage reached Boston on May 30. He settled first at Dorchester, but not long after removed with Mr. Warham's church to Windsor, Connecticut, in which place he became a "chief cornerstone." In the first General Assembly held in Connecticut, in 1637, he was made a member of the lower house, and six years later became a member of the house of magistrates, to which he was annually re-elected during the rest of his life.

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His son, Simon Wolcott, who was captain of the train band and one of the townsmen or selectmen of Simsbury, married Martha Pitkin, sister of the Governor of the Colony. His son, Roger Wolcott, born in 1679, was a man of distinction. He married Sarah Drake, from Plymouth, England, whose family counted among its members the famous admiral. Her mother was Elizabeth, daughter of the Hon. David Clark, whose mother was Mary, daughter of Thomas Newbury of Dorchester.

Roger Wolcott began his public career as selectman before he was thirty. In 1709 he was representative to the General Court; in 1710 a justice of the peace; in 1711 he was commissary of the American forces in the expedition against Canada; in 1714 a member of the Council; in 1721 a judge of the County Court; in 1732 a judge of the Supreme Court; in 1741 Deputy-Governor and Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court; in 1745, with the rank of Major-General, he was second in command to Sir William Pepperrell in the expedition against Cape Breton which resulted in the capture of Louisburg; in 1750 and for four successive years he was Governor of Connecticut, and in 1754 he retired from public life and devoted his leisure "to literary pursuits and to the reading of the scriptures, meditation and prayer."

In this first Roger Wolcott's funeral sermon, the preacher said:

> At the head of the government Roger Wolcott was a wise and able governor: at the head of the army a general true to his King and country: on the bench a just and upright judge: and at the bar an able lawyer. In his own person he was frugal, chaste and temperate. View him at the head of his family he was a kind husband, a good father and a compassionate master. He was a steady professor of the Christian name, a constant and devout attendant upon public worship and holy ordinances. He was able to make a good figure among the learned upon almost any subject, and had a good acquaintance both with men and things. He was easy of access: no forbidding air sat upon his countenance: free, affable and unaffected in conversation he had peculiar talent in making himself agreeable to all sorts of company so far as innocency would permit. He was a man of ready wit and great humour.

There seems to be in this description a foreshadowing of the Roger Wolcott of nearly two centuries later.

Oliver Wolcott, son of the foregoing, commanded in early manhood a company of volunteers in the war against the French. In

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October, 1751, on the organization of the County of Litchfield, the Legislature appointed him the first high sheriff of the new county. He was a representative in the Legislature from 1764 to 1770; a member of the Council or Upper House from 1771 to 1786; judge of the Court of Probate from 1772 to 1795; Chief Judge of the Court of Common Pleas from 1773 to 1786; a member of the Continental Congress from 1775 to 1784 (with the exception of two years), and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. In the early part of the War of the Revolution he was commissioned Brigadier-General, and Congress appointed him a member of the Indian affairs for the Northern Department with General Schuyler and others. In May, 1779, he was elected by the Legislature and commissioned by Governor Trumbull Major-General of the militia of Connecticut. In this important station he rendered the country valuable service. At the same time he was a member of the Committee of Safety, and when at home was equally zealous in the affairs of the town, officiating as moderator, selectman, etc. No man in the State discharged so many and so varied public duties as he. A rather amusing and suggestive incident illustrates the patriotism and loyalty of his family. Before the Revolution an equestrian statue of George the Third stood on the Bowling Green in the city of New York. At the breaking out of the war this was overthrown by the Sons of Liberty, and the lead being highly valuable it was decided to send it to Governor Wolcott at Litchfield — that historic and beautiful town — where it was cut up and moulded into bullets by Governor Wolcott's daughters and some of their friends.

Oliver Wolcott, Jr., son of the last named, took part as a volunteer in several of the skirmishes which followed the attack of the British upon Danbury. He was also in Congress and served as Quartermaster in the army. In 1781 he was admitted to the bar; in 1784 he was appointed with Oliver Ellsworth a commission with full power to adjust and settle all claims of the State of Connecticut against the United States; in 1788 he was appointed Comptroller of Public Accounts; in 1789 he received from Washington the appointment of Auditor of the Treasury; in 1791 he was made Comptroller of the Treasury, and in 1795 he succeeded Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, and then became a member of Washington's cabinet.

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On the accession of President Adams, Mr. Wolcott tendered his resignation, which was declined; but on the overthrow of the Federalist party he again sent in his resignation, which was accepted in 1800. He was soon after nominated judge of the United States Circuit Court of the Second District and was unanimously confirmed by the Senate. In 1815 he retired to his ancestral town, and for ten succeeding years was elected Governor of the State.

Frederick Wolcott, son of Oliver Wolcott, and brother of the Secretary of the Treasury, also served his State on the bench and in the legislature. He was more than once solicited by the prevailing political party to accept a nomination as Governor, but refused his assent. He was a member of and an officer in many educational and charitable associations, a member of the corporation of Yale College, and one of the founders of what was believed to be the oldest temperance organization in the world. He married Elizabeth Huntington, an alliance which united two families of marked distinction.

Jabez Huntington, the grandfather of Elizabeth, who had served several years as a member of the General Assembly of Connecticut, after graduation at Yale College entered into the West India trade, and by an honorable business career laid the foundation of one of the largest fortunes of the age. One recorded act of his stamps the man. At the beginning of the Revolution he was the owner of a large amount of shipping which was very greatly endangered by the rupture with the mother country; but his patriotism prevailed over his commercial and pecuniary interest, and he cheerfully sacrificed his property and consecrated himself and his family to the cause of independence. In the year 1774 he and his wife called together all the members of their family, and after an earnest supplication for divine guidance he said to his children that he and their mother had been deciding the question of duty to their country — a question which was seriously to affect their worldly circumstances and prosperity; but before a final decision which should bring them personally into an act of hostility to their "dear mother land" — he wished them personally to count the cost. Then, deliberately addressing each member of the family by name, he slowly asked the question, "are you ready to go with your parents and share our risks and our rewards?" The children unanimously pledged themselves to their country; and in the words of Gilman's

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oration at the Norwich Centennial celebration, "if the annals of the Revolution record the name of any family which contributed more to that great struggle, I have yet to learn it."

In 1776 Jabez Huntington was appointed by the Assembly one of the two Major-Generals of the militia of the State, and the following year was appointed to the command of the entire militia of Connecticut. His son Jedediah, as Colonel in command of a regiment, joined the army at Cambridge just one week after the battle of Lexington. After the evacuation of Boston and while the American army was on the march to New York, he entertained the Commander-in-Chief at Norwich. In 1777 he was promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General, at General Washington's request. He took part in all the active campaigns of 1776 and 1777, and endured with Washington the hardships of Valley Forge. In July, 1778, he was a member of the court martial which tried General Lee for misconduct at the battle of Monmouth, and in September sat upon the court of inquiry to which was referred the case of Major André. At a meeting of the Revolutionary officers May 10, 1783, he was appointed one of the committee of four men to draft the constitution of the Society of the Cincinnati.

Another son, Ebenezer, went as a volunteer to Cambridge on receipt of the news of the battle of Lexington. He was appointed Brigadier-General by President John Adams on the recommendation of Washington, and was a member of Congress from 1810 to 1817. Still another brother, Zachariah, attained the rank of Major-General, and another brother, Andrew, was commissary of brigade during the Revolution, and Judge of Probate.

Joshua Huntington, a brother of the preceding, was the father of the Elizabeth Huntington who married Frederick Wolcott. Immediately after the battle of Lexington he led, as Lieutenant, one hundred men to join General Putnam's brigade, with which he later went to New York, where he was promoted to the rank of Colonel.

One other ancestral strain is to be mentioned in the Wolcott family history. Through the marriage of Elizabeth Huntington the Wolcotts were descended from William Pynchon, founder of Springfield. Pynchon headed the inhabitants of Agawam in adopting a form of government and in the assumption of the right of self government, and especially of independence of the authority of

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Connecticut. This action led to prolonged controversy, and the position of Pynchon and the people of Agawam was finally sustained by the General Court of Massachusetts, which on June 2, 1641, adopted an elaborate paper which asserted the claim of the Massachusetts Colony to the plantation, and ordered that William Pynchon should have full power and authority to govern the inhabitants of Agawam, now Springfield, and hear and determine all causes and offences, both civil and criminal, that "reach not to life, limbs, or banishment, according to the lawes heare published." Through the marriage also of Elizabeth Huntington, the Wolcotts are descended from Elizur Holyoke and Governor Thomas Welles.

Governor William Leete was another of Mr. Wolcott's ancestors.

Joshua Huntington Wolcott, father of Governor Roger Wolcott, was the son of Frederick Wolcott and Elizabeth Huntington above named.

It may seem as if the Wolcott genealogy had been dwelt upon at undue length; but it has been deemed worthy of such record as a conspicuous instance of a family which for more than two centuries and a half produced a remarkable succession of men, distinguished generation after generation for high character, marked ability, patriotic fervor, and aptitude for public service, exhibiting a persistent trend toward patriotic devotion and exalted service of the State, which in this generation found such high expression in the character and life of Roger Wolcott. It discloses an heredity which must be taken into large account in estimating his own traits and gifts.

Those of us who remember the Boston of the late fifties and early sixties will recall the face and figure of J. Huntington Wolcott, the Governor's father. It was from him that the son inherited much of his physical beauty and personal charm. Huntington Wolcott came to Boston as a very young man and entered the counting-room of the well-known firm of A. and A. Lawrence and Company. At the early age of twenty-six he was admitted to the firm, becoming eventually senior partner and so continuing until the firm was dissolved in 1865. Attractive and dignified in his appearance, kind and courteous in manner, upright and high-minded in character, he was a marked figure as he walked the streets; the impression which he made upon the writer in his boyhood days was one which has never faded from his mind.

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He married on November 12, 1844, Cornelia Frothingham, and the two sons of that marriage were Huntington and Roger, both of these being, as will be remembered, family names. Huntington was eighteen months the older. They both attended the well-known school of Mr. Epes S. Dixwell, once the head of the Boston Latin School, and who afterwards conducted a private Latin school in Boylston Place, very near the Wolcott residence. There was much personal charm about them both, and an unusual strength of brotherly affection. Stress is laid upon this fact as partly explaining the very deep and powerful influence which the example and memory of his brother had to the very end upon Roger's life. They were school boys when the Civil War began. From its beginning the call to arms was intensely felt by the older brother. He was too young at first to enter the service, but his consuming desire was to be enabled to do so. His parents long refused their consent, but toward the end of the war they could no longer resist his appeal, and he was commissioned Second Lieutenant in the Second Regiment of Massachusetts Cavalry, and served with gallantry in the Shenandoah Valley and in the closing campaign of the war. But the strain was too great. He took part in the grand review in Washington in May, but the poison of fever was already in his veins, and he came home only to die, on June 9, 1865.

As has been already said, his life and death made an extraordinarily deep impression upon the mind and heart of his brother, an impression traceable all through his career, a potent influence in intensifying that devotion to the soldiers of a later war which was so conspicuous an element in his last years as Governor of Massachusetts.

The young soldier's death told heavily upon both Roger and his parents. Roger was taken for a while from school, and the family spent a year abroad, a year which in the usual course he would have spent as a freshman at Harvard, but which was passed in foreign travel and study; a part of the time was spent in England, and a visit was made to the ancient manor house and the graves of earlier Wolcotts — or rather Walcotts, as the name is more commonly known in England.

Bishop Lawrence relates an incident which reveals, even at that age, young Wolcott's sturdy Americanism. While in England his mother gave him a seal ring with the family coat of arms. The seal-maker called attention to the fact that the arms were

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identical with those of the English Walcotts. A few days later a member of the Walcott family called upon Mr. Wolcott to compare notes on the subject. Being convinced that the American branch was from his own family, he invited Roger, then a boy of seventeen, to lunch with him in order to give him copies of the family records. In the course of conversation this gentleman said, "Mr. Wolcott, if you intend to hitch onto the English branch of the family you must change the spelling of your name." "Sir," said Roger, "we do not intend to hitch onto any family." "Then," was the answer, "the purpose of this interview is misunderstood;" and the Englishman tore the records in pieces.

Roger tramped in Switzerland, studied in Paris, and came back with renewed health to enter College as a sophomore. His college course was marked by a certain maturity of mind and depth of purpose unusual for one of his years. Not that he was unsocial or failed to enter into the diversions and pleasures of college life. He possessed a gift of humor and a social charm, a fondness for out-of-door life, and a fellowship in the varied scholarly and social interests surrounding him; but there was a certain seriousness and reserve in his character which seemed in a way to differentiate him from the common type of college student — a maturity of thought and earnestness of purpose which made him a marked man. His brother's memory, already referred to, was a continuous and inspiring influence. He said himself, in his senior year: "I feel it more every day, that every high aspiration, every yearning after nobleness, which I sometimes feel is to be traced directly to Hunty's influence and example; and that if there is ever to be developed in me any spark of true worth, it will be his memory that kindles it." He was interested in history, literature, and languages. He did work on the Advocate, was an organizer of the O. K. Society, a member of the Hasty Pudding Club, and finally of the Phi Beta Kappa. At graduation he was Class Day orator, and his oration is well remembered. It was marked by a certain depth and seriousness uncommon on such occasions — a plea for enthusiasm of heart and head, prophetic of his own career. General Sherman, who was present, used to say in later years, "When shall we hear of that young man Wolcott, who spoke on Class Day?" He had a part at Commencement, his subject being the early Franciscans.

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He entered the Harvard Law School, and for a year taught French and history in the College. He passed another year in the law office of Lothrop, Bishop and Lincoln, and for two years more was at the Law School, taking his degree of Bachelor of Laws; and was admitted to the Suffolk bar in 1874. But he did not long yield to the exacting demands of the legal profession. He gave himself to varied interests — political, business, and philanthrophic. Love for and devotion to public service ran in his blood and urged him in the direction of his final career. He interested himself first in city elections, went to ward meetings, helped to get the vote registered, and distributed ballots at the polls. In 1876 he entered the Common Council of the City of Boston, served for three successive years and was the candidate of his party for the presidency of that board.

But his activities were far from being confined to political matters. His business abilities were soon recognized. He was made a director in the Stark Mills, the Boston and Albany Railroad, the New England Trust Company; a trustee of the Suffolk Savings Bank, a vice-president of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company; and he declined the offer of the treasurership of a large manufacturing corporation. He was actively interested in philanthropy — a visitor of the poor of the Boston Provident Association, a member of the board of managers of the Boston Dispensary, a trustee of the Eye and Ear Infirmary, and of the Massachusetts General Hospital. He was active in the preservation of the Old South Church and a member of the Old South Corporation. He delivered a lecture in one of the Old South courses upon the historian Prescott. He was a trustee of the Boston Public Library, and was interested in the Social Science Association. He was a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and a resident member of this Society, to which he was elected April 19, 1893. He was also a member of the Society of Colonial Wars, toward whose objects his ancestry and traditions naturally impelled him strongly. He was an overseer of Harvard College, and a member of various visiting boards. He was a vestryman also at King's Chapel.

In 1881 he was elected a member of the Massachusetts Legislature and served in that capacity during the three years following. As a leader on the Republican side he was opposed to the election of Benjamin F. Butler as Governor.

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On September 2, 1872, he had been married to Miss Edith Prescott, daughter of William Gardiner Prescott and granddaughter of William Hickling Prescott the historian. There were already interesting associations between the Wolcotts and the Prescotts. As has been already said, Roger Wolcott of Connecticut was second in command to Sir William Pepperrell in the French War. William Prescott of Groton, Massachusetts, served in Nova Scotia under Sir William Pepperrell. The name of the town of Pepperell, set off from Groton and for generations after the home of the Prescotts, is an historic reminder of the fact. William Prescott, like Ebenezer Huntington, reported at Cambridge after the news of the battle of Lexington, being then a colonel of minute men. His statue stands to-day on Bunker Hill. His son was Judge William Prescott, and his son, William H. Prescott the historian, was grandfather of Miss Edith Prescott, Roger Wolcott's wife. Her family tradition, therefore, and her own personal gifts most happily blended to bring sympathy and strength into a union and companionship which were a support and joy to his whole after career. One of their children died in infancy; the widow and five children survive.

As early as 1883 his name had begun to be mentioned in connection with the Governorship. In the Boston Evening Transcript of July 24 of that year a letter appeared, advocating his election to that office. In 1884, about the time of his retirement from the Legislature, there came an important crisis in his political career. He had always been a thorough-going Republican, though never a narrow partisan. To him party was a means but not an end. He did not feel himself bound to acquiesce against his convictions in any mere party action. In the course of national politics Mr. Blaine received the Republican nomination for the presidency. The party had fallen, in Mr. Wolcott's opinion, into untrustworthy hands. Mr. Blaine was to him, as to many others, the representative of an element which he distrusted. He refused, at the cost of distress to himself and his friends, to support the nomination. He still stood by the principles of, and maintained his allegiance to, the Republican party; but as a matter of conviction and conscience he cast his vote for the man who commanded his confidence, Grover Cleveland.[1] The act was a strain upon the loyalty of many of his friends and political supporters. But he maintained his position

[1] See Publications of this Society, iii. 354 and note.

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and his standing as a Republican. At the next caucus his vote was protested, but he stood his ground and was sent in 1885 as an alternate delegate to the Republican State Convention, and as a delegate took part in its proceedings.

For some five years, however, he was practically retired from public life. His father's health was failing, and to his last years the son gave up with complete and singular devotion his own pursuits in a beautiful example of filial devotion.

About the time of his father's death, when he was left free to resume the activities of political life, a new movement was begun among the younger men of the party which resulted in the formation of the Republican Club of Massachusetts, and he was called to its presidency. His speech at its first public dinner in January, 1891, marked an epoch in the new life of his party and in his own career. In 1892 he was elected Lieutenant-Governor, William E. Russell, a Democrat, being Governor. It was in a way a trying position, but he bore himself with his usual courage and fairness, and commanded the respect of friends and foes alike.

Governor Russell retired at the end of 1893. Mr. Wolcott was not at that time nominated as his successor, but was once more chosen Lieutenant-Governor, with Mr. Greenhalge as Governor. In his speech of acceptance Mr. Wolcott said:

> We pledge again our allegiance to the principles from which the Republican party has never swerved in its support. We believe in an honest and stable currency; we believe in and demand a dollar that shall not be the poorest and cheapest dollar in the world but the best dollar in the world. We believe in a tariff policy which, while it protects the American laboring man fosters and encourages American industry.

Mr. Wolcott as Lieutenant-Governor ran ahead of Mr. Greenhalge on the ticket by 1630 votes. He continued Lieutenant-Governor until March, 1896, when Mr. Greenhalge's death advanced him to the Governor's chair. It has been noted as an interesting coincidence, that just a century before, in the year 1796, Oliver Wolcott, then Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut, announced to President Washington that in consequence of the death of Governor Samuel Huntington he had entered upon the office of Governor. For three years more he served, re-elected each year

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by large majorities. Many important matters came before him for action. A high ideal directed and dominated his course. Nothing escaped his interest or eluded his watchful and patient care. Prisons, asylums, the care of the poor, insurance, street railways, harbors and lands, parks, roads, and endless other matters came within his range and received conscientious, steady, and painstaking personal attention. In official appointments he was specially careful in leaving nothing to hearsay, in investigating personally the fitness of applicants, and he was impartial in the exercise of the power of appointment. Patient industry, sound judgment, fairness of mind, and scrupulous honor commanded the respect of the community rather than any special brilliancy of mind or showy accomplishments. He was fearless in his decisions, and regardless as concerned himself of personal consequences. He never shirked a veto or evaded a responsibility. No personal interest or desire of advancement ever deflected his judgments. Though like other men he liked popularity, he never yielded to its temptation. With him the compass always pointed true to the pole. "He stood four-square to all the winds that blew." And in the confidence and respect of his fellow-citizens he had his reward. Each year he was re-elected by large majorities; each year he grew in the love and admiration of Massachusetts.

Williams College gave him in 1897 the degree of LL.D.

His presence was greatly sought at the graduating exercises of schools and colleges and he enjoyed the work. To the students of one college he said:

> We speak of college life and of entering the life that lies beyond college. That life has already begun to each one of you. There is no real dividing line. You ascend from the life of preparation to the life of achievement. If culture serve to make the feeble hermit, if it makes him the critic of the acts of others, it is of little worth.

At Holy Cross College he said:

> If I have learned nothing else since I have held office, I have learned to believe in the American people. I have learned to believe that virtue is more common than vice, that noble manhood and womanhood have not died out from among us: I believe that God has made the law of progress, not a law of retrogression: and I urge you,

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young men, not to give way to pessimism. Be courageous, be hopeful: believe in the destiny of America: believe in the purpose of Almighty God and believe with all hope in the future.

At the same (Roman Catholic) college, protesting against the word Irish-American, he said: "My friends, you will agree with me, I am sure, that the name 'American' gains nothing by any other word coupled with it by a hyphen." At a meeting of the Christian Endeavor Convention, he said: "Christian Endeavor. I know of no two words in the English language that are more freighted with deep significance. — I know of no title that you could have chosen that could be more heavily weighted with blessing and divine inspiration than those two words."

Mr. Wolcott had a happy gift of coining phrases and uttering pithy sentences. His characterization of the men who in the other party stood for sound money as "honor Democrats," caught the ear of the country. "There is no sanctity," he said, "in a percentage." Again, "The independent who prides himself upon being a total abstainer, until the day of election, from all lot or part in political movements, should be treated as those who skulk when the bugle sounds." When the Spanish War came, Massachusetts, as at the opening of the Civil War, had already a war governor. John A. Andrew and Roger Wolcott were alike ready. No troops were better or more fully equipped than those of Massachusetts. Colonel Sohier says: "It was no accident that the Massachusetts troops were properly equipped. In December, 1896, the Adjutant General of Massachusetts was sent to Washington, by the Governor to secure the arms which enabled him to arm the Massachusetts troops. He cared for the men as they went and when they returned." The Massachusetts troops were furnished at once and properly equipped by the Governor. On the very day after the Spanish War was declared, the First Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, fully armed and equipped, was sent to Fort Warren, and on May 9 it was mustered into the service of the United States, that service to date from April 26; and it is believed to have been the first regiment so mustered into service in the Spanish War. And not only that, but the sick and needy soldier was cared for by the State and by the society which the Governor formed.

One tribute which was paid him in the Spanish War he greatly valued. In response to his message to the Legislature, asking for

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a war emergency fund of half a million dollars, the bill in half an hour had passed both Houses and the money was in his hands.

He was never finer in executive force and in manly tenderness than during that war. It recalled the early associations of the Civil War and revived the intensity of feeling aroused in youth by his brother's military service and early death, and which found opportunity for ardent expression in ministering to another generation of Massachusetts soldiers. In the person of every suffering soldier he saw his brother. No pains were too great, no labors too exhausting, in cheering and exhorting the troops as they went off, in relieving the sick and wounded, and in welcoming the survivors as they returned. Senator Lodge says:

> In all his career of distinguished public service I like best to think of Roger Wolcott as he appeared at that moment, and the recollection of that gracious, stately figure among the sick, the wounded, and the dying, bringing hope and comfort with the authority of high place and the tenderness of love, will ever be one of the cherished and beautiful memories of Massachusetts.

In 1900 Mr. Wolcott retired from office for a well earned rest. The country would gladly have had more of his services. President McKinley offered him the post of Commissioner of the Philippines — at the time a most important one, but he felt obliged to decline it. The President also offered him the appointment of Ambassador to Italy: but that also he refused. Apart from other reasons he longed for freedom from official cares that he might enjoy and give enjoyment in that domestic life for which he was so admirably fitted and by his own earlier experiences attracted.

He went with his family to Europe, returning at the end of six months in time to make a campaign speech at Quincy on the fifth of November, and to vote the next day for President McKinley and Governor Crane, and for the Republican party, of which he was a Presidential Elector.

It had been hoped that he would be one of the four speakers at the centennial celebration of the national Capitol at Washington on the ninth of December. The governors of the States and the national officials were expected. But on the sixteenth of November he was taken ill with typhoid fever, and on the twenty-first of December he died. He was buried from Trinity Church, Boston,

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which had been offered for the services, the pastors of King's Chapel, Boston, and the Unitarian Church of Milton officiating, and on the day before Christmas his body was laid to rest.

On the eighteenth of April following a memorial service was held in Symphony Hall. It was a military one. The audience were escorted to their seats by members of the Governor's staff, assisted by officers and men in full dress uniform, of the First and Second Corps of Cadets and Troop A of the National Lancers, a soldier being stationed at each door on the floor and balcony, and a detail in charge of an officer at each entrance. A representative assemblage crowded the building to its doors. The Rev. Edward Everett Hale offered prayer. Senator Lodge delivered an eloquent and beautiful address, and Mr. B. J. Lang had charge of the music. It was an impressive and memorable function.

And so ended a brilliant and noble career. Roger Wolcott was great, first of all, because of character. "As the man is so is his strength" might well have been said of him. He had many gifts, but the man himself was best of all. He was splendidly endowed physically. Rare beauty of face and figure, a commanding presence, a strong and penetrating voice, commanded attention the moment he rose to speak. He was a good horseman and was a fine figure in the saddle. He was favored in his heredity. He had inherited gifts and traits from generations of men in whom public service and patriotic loyalty seemed an instinct. He was of gentle birth and high breeding — a gentleman to the finger tips. Any act or word that was mean or low from that very fact repelled him. His presence never checked the flow of wit or genial mirth, but it made vulgarity and indecency impossible. "A merrier man within the limit of becoming mirth," as Shakspere says, one would not ask for. He was one of that favored class which our country so needs, who, born to the possibilities of a life of idle wealth and self indulgence, rise above the temptation and dedicate themselves to the public good. He had the love of culture and the industry and strength of purpose to make the best of his mental powers. He loved the intellectual life, but he never sacrificed to mere scholarly enjoyment the claims of patriotism or philanthropy. He was firm in purpose, strong in will, fearless in word and deed. He was fair; a believer in party, but never a partisan; strong in his own convictions, but tolerant toward the convictions of others; decided in

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opinion, but always ready to hear the other side; constantly ripening in judgment and growing in breadth of view, he gained in the confidence of men of all parties. Each year he grew in statesmanship, in fame, and in the love and respect of the country at large; and greater things than he had yet done were looked for from him, had he lived.

He was a faithful member of the Unitarian Church, a regular attendant at divine service and the Holy Communion, and he strove to bring up his children, as he himself had been brought up, in the faith and fear of God.

Senator Hoar said of him: "He was a type of character of which George Washington was a peerless example. Simple, modest, quiet, and conservative, he always reminded me in the simple beauty of his character of a beautiful, clear and flawless crystal."

Said Governor Greenhalge, his predecessor: "A truer servant of the people I have never found. Petty jealousy or an inordinate desire for political preferment never entered his mind. Through all the trials of a difficult year I found but one line of action on his part, and that was patriotic, business-like service to the commonwealth. He is a true son of Massachusetts, with a great record of his ancestry before him, which even as a stranger I am bound to revere."

But we need not multiply quotations. His record speaks for him. His memory will linger long in the hearts of the people of Massachusetts; his name will stand high on the roll of her governors — a roll of which she is justly proud. She has placed his statue in the State House among those of the men whom she has delighted to honor.

When it was proposed to erect this memorial, a committee of citizens offered to receive subscriptions. More than ten thousand persons and organizations representing from fifteen to twenty thousand persons, within ninety days made an offering of forty thousand dollars. Then the committee asked that no more should be sent, and the books were closed.

He had lived admired, beloved, and trusted, and when he died, as Motley reminds us was said of William of Orange, "the little children cried in the streets."

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DECEMBER MEETING, 1907

A STATED MEETING of the Society was held at No. 25 Beacon Street, Boston, on Thursday, 26 December, 1907, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the President, HENRY LEFAVOUR, LL.D., in the chair.

On taking the chair, the PRESIDENT delivered the following address:

In opening the first session of the new year, gentlemen, I can assure you that the position to which you have called me is one the opportunities and honor of which I deeply appreciate. I am sensible of the compliment conveyed in your selection, and I know that I am sure of your co-operation in my attempt to meet the obligations of the office. The Society of which we are members, when compared with similar historical societies in this country, is a very young organization, yet we have reached the middle of our second decade. Although our membership is limited to one hundred associates, there stand on our membership roll nearly one hundred and fifty names, one-third of whom have already ended their earthly labors, thus showing that the Society in its fifteen years of activity has represented to a considerable extent the maturity of the community.

The work of the Society is shown in the seven valuable volumes already published, and these are a contribution to the history of the colony that not only justifies the hopes of the founders of the Society but will serve always to keep alive the enthusiasm of those who are to follow us.

The study of history has always interested mankind, for not only have we craved the answer to our natural curiosity but, just as in the material sciences we are enabled only by the observation of

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repeated phenomena to forecast the results of a new combination of forces, so, in the realm of human activity, we are dependent upon the experience of the past in forming judgments regarding the wisdom of new policies. But history, if it is to be of service, must be founded on clear observation and accurate knowledge, and here is found the field of usefulness of such a society as ours in the search for the data and the collection of the evidence that shall enable us to determine the flow of events and the causes of results.

Whatever may be the influence of Massachusetts in the present or in the future, there can be no question in our minds as to her position in the past. To every student of Massachusetts history, and more especially to every student of Massachusetts legislation, it is clear that there have been certain traditions, certain conservative influences which it is not difficult to trace back to their sources. For these influences and traditions which find expression not only in our own Commonwealth, not only in the sister colonial States, but even in the constitutions and statutes of the newest States of this nation, and which are in some measure at least the explanation of the enviable character of much of the Massachusetts legislation, have their sources back in the lives and deeds of the men of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. It was these men who, unfettered by the traditions and restrictive influences of the autocratic and monarchical governments of Europe, found the chance here to study the real problems of society, to search for the laws and rules of human justice, and to elaborate those forms of political organization which should contribute most largely to human happiness. Their results — mistaken perhaps, in part, but largely wise — have been the foundations of our public policy, and we may well propose to ourselves the worthy task of making such studies and investigations as shall enable us to appreciate more justly the characters and motives of those men, to clarify the obscurity and confusion which surround many of the controversial points, and to secure a better foundation for future historical research.

We are all proud that our ancestors were of and among these men; but it is not a selfish pride, rather, it is a filial devotion, which leads us to strive, as best we may, to make their lives more effective and to perpetuate the influences of which they were the source.

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The Records of the Annual Meeting in November were read and approved.

The PRESIDENT announced the death of STANLEY CUNNINGHAM, a Resident Member, in Cohasset, on the twenty-eighth of November last, and stated that Mr. LINDSAY SWIFT had been appointed by the Council to write the customary Memoir for the Transactions.

Mr. HENRY E. WOODS, the Corresponding Secretary *pro tempore*, reported that letters had been received from the Hon. ANDREW DICKSON WHITE of Ithaca, New York, accepting Honorary Membership, and from Mr. FRANCIS PHILIP NASH of Geneva, New York, accepting Corresponding Membership.

The Rev. WILLIAM WALLACE FENN of Cambridge was elected a Resident Member.

Professor James K. Hosmer of Washington, who had been invited to repeat to the Society the address on John Harvard in England which he had delivered in Cambridge before the Harvard Memorial Society on 18 November, 1907, was then introduced to the members, and spoke as follows:

JOHN HARVARD IN ENGLAND.

There is a story current at Cambridge that a husband and wife, well endowed with means, and entertaining the praiseworthy purpose of establishing a new university, once visited Cambridge, and were shown through the institution by a high officer. Having completed their tour of inspection, and standing in Memorial Hall, about to say farewell, the husband remarked in commercial phrase, and perhaps with a touch of the too common American idea that money will buy everything, "Well, Mr. Eliot, for how much could your plant here be duplicated?" Mr. Eliot mentioned the amount at which the endowment could be estimated, and the probable value of the real estate and apparatus. "Well, husband," said the wife, "we can do better than that, can't we?" "Madam," said President Eliot, with a glance at the portraits

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that hung along the walls, "we have one possession which money cannot buy, and which is very precious, — more than two hundred and seventy years of devotedness."

I think that the President of the University, in touching upon this matter of the past of the institution referred to, touched upon something which, in the idea of Harvard men, is inestimably precious. In other respects the University may be surpassed. Elsewhere there may be a greater number of students, conceivably abler and more famous professors, more splendid buildings; but the fact that at Cambridge there lies around everything this solemn past, stretching through eight generations, each one of which has cherished the institution as the thing in the world best worth upholding, — here Harvard has a unique distinction which cannot be bought, and which cannot be taken away.

If this consideration is just, what shall we say about our debt of obligation, to the man who prolongs this past by fifty years, at least; who prefixes, as it were, to our temple a vestibule which is charged with the most picturesque and romantic associations? This has been done of late years by Mr. Henry FitzGilbert Waters, of the class of 1855, the revealer of John Harvard. Whereas twenty-five years ago John Harvard was almost unknown to us, Mr. Waters has effected an uncovering, to such an extent that there is scarcely another worthy of early New England concerning whose antecedents and surroundings we know so much.

The subject of my address is John Harvard in England. In the first place I wish to say something about the England into which John Harvard was born; and then, against this as a background, to outline the figure, as well as I can, — somewhat shadowy, it must be confessed, in spite of all that has been done.

At the time of the Reformation things in England proceeded somewhat conservatively. While in many ways there was a change, the authority of Rome being thrown off, together with a considerable modification of doctrine and ceremony, yet, at the same time, much was retained. There was a retention of the old hierarchy of bishops and archbishops; of much of the old form, of many of the old doctrines. There was a party in England to whom this half-way Reformation was greatly unsatisfactory. They were for going to extremes of congregationalism and individualism; and they, as the age of Elizabeth proceeded, became known as the Separatists,

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Robert Browne being their leader. Nor within the Church of England itself were things harmonious. One strong party was reactionary, going back towards Rome; they cherished more and more ancient forms; they made of importance the position of the altar at the east, vestments and postures; they retained the practice of confession; in some instances they retained the old doctrine of transubstantiation. This party was found on the one hand, and on the other a party which subscribed to the stern theology of Calvin, and would hear of nothing but simplicity in the matter of the ceremonies; and these, as time went on, became known as the Puritans. The rift, at the outset narrow, widened gradually into a chasm which could be filled only with blood.

The Stuarts succeeded the Tudors; and at last, in 1625, came to the throne Charles I. He was by no means a man without ability; he had great courage and thorough sincerity; but at the same time he was narrow-minded. He felt that he reigned by divine right; that his subjects had no rights which the sovereign was bound to respect. He undertook to reduce the nation to conformity with his will. He found efficient instruments in Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford; and between 1620 and 1640 twenty thousand emigrants, Puritan middle class English, took refuge in New England.

We reach at length 1640, the date of the assembling of the Long Parliament. John Harvard had already been in his grave two years; his life had come to an end; but Puritan England had not yet come to an end; and if we may say that the life and spirit of the founder went on in his foster sons, and if it is the case that there were Harvard men who made their mark in those years in England, we may certainly go a little further, to the end of Puritan England. The war which for so long a time had been merely of words became at length one of weapons. At first the King seemed likely to succeed; but an alliance was made between the party of Parliament, the nation in the two Houses, and the Scotch Covenanters; and the tables were presently turned. The battles of Marston Moor and Naseby occurred, and the cause of the King was at length utterly prostrate. "Gentlemen," said old Sir Jacob Astley, a general of the King in his last defeat, sitting on a drum among his captors, "Gentlemen, you have done your work, and may now go to play, unless you fall out among yourselves."

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It was a significant remark. Straightway they fell out among themselves. The Scotch Covenanters and their English sympathizers on the one hand went in for a temporizing policy; they were willing to make an agreement with the King; but there was on the other side the party of the Independents, who would hear of no half-way measures, and were determined to push things to the radical extreme. The Independents had in Cromwell a matchless general in the field; they had in young Sir Henry Vane a matchless statesman in Parliament. The war broke out afresh, and at the end of a year England was in the hands of the Independents. And just here came a very memorable manifestation. The rank and file of the Ironsides, Cromwell's soldiers, the Independents in arms, issued a manifesto which they called an Agreement of the People, substantially to this effect: "Henceforth there shall be no longer in England a King; henceforth there shall be in England no longer a House of Lords or a privileged class; henceforth the government of the nation shall be with the Commons, and no authority shall be superior to that of the Commons but that of the people who elect them to be their representatives; and that authority of the people shall be supreme in all respects save one, — no man shall be restricted in his liberty of conscience." That was the programme that was laid down by the Independents, and with it the English Commonwealth began at the beginning of the year 1649. It was nothing more or less than government by and for the plain people, as distinctly outlined as if Abraham Lincoln himself had written the document.

But it was all premature. The years from 1649 to 1658 were very strenuous years, when England was, as Milton put it, "indeed a mighty and puissant nation." But the effort was premature. It was impossible to bring about government by the people in a country that was so hampered by monarchical and feudal survivals as was England at that time. Cromwell soon grew discouraged, and planned a Protectorate, a setting up of arbitrary power, which he intended should be only temporary. Vane persisted longer, in the year 1656 making the suggestion which should be to Americans forever memorable. It was this, that the nation should select out from itself its wisest men, and that they, having assembled, should lay down certain fundamentals; not, he says, laws by which the nation shall be governed, but fundamentals by which

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those who make the laws shall be restrained and guided. What Vane proposed for England was a written constitution, laid down precisely on American lines.

But it was all premature. When Cromwell died things fell into chaos. In 1660 came the Restoration, and Charles II came back among the plaudits of multitudes. Failure never seemed more complete; and yet John Richard Green — a historian who believes that England to-day is substantially a democratic republic, although characterized by feudal and monarchical survivals — Green has said that the history of England from that day to this is nothing more than a coming round, slowly and tentatively but very surely, to the programme which was laid down by the rank and file of the Ironsides in the Agreement of the People at the beginning of the English Commonwealth.

So much for Puritan England. What had all this to do with New England; or what had it to do with John Harvard? It is a bit startling to make the statement that the English Commonwealth, with its mighty heroes and martyrs, and its splendid record, came out of Boston here, — that it came, in fact, from this hill, within a few rods of the place where we are assembled now; but it is said by reputable historians that John Cotton lived here on the shoulder that was then called Cotton Hill, near where Pemberton Square is at the present time; and that John Cotton was the greatest of the Nonconformist ministers, whether in England or in America; and regarded in his time as, more than any other man, the source and the spring of the Independency (we call it here Congregationalism) which did such a magnificent work. Owen, Goodwin, and Nye, the three great Independent advocates, the spiritual leaders of the Independents in England, declared that they got their ideas from Cotton's books. Cromwell had known him, and wrote to him repeatedly, asking for advice, and signing himself "your affectionate friend." Vane, as an impressionable young man, lived with Cotton and was trained practically in Cotton's study. There were other leaders who went from America and who had great influence in England. Hugh Peter, the minister of Salem, went back to England and had a most picturesque and influential career. Roger Williams vibrated back and forth between the two hemispheres, almost equally effective in both in behalf of toleration and freedom. Independency was

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called, both by friends and enemies, "the New England Way;" and it is curious indeed that even at that early time, when the Colony was clinging most precariously to the edge of the continent, a reaction went back from it to the Old World which was productive of remarkable results.

And now as to John Harvard. What can be said about his foster sons? It was in 1636 that the General Court passed a vote to establish the College, but the College was not on its feet until 1638, when it received Harvard's bequest. The first class graduated in 1642, and more than half of them went back to England. Some of them had illustrious careers. From other classes also many returned. Let us spend a few minutes in reviewing the career of one. George Downing was the son of John Winthrop's sister Lucy. He graduated in the first class at the age of eighteen. He was full of brilliancy and insatiable ambition. At first as a minister he went to the West Indies, and preached there with great effect; but very soon appearing in Old England, he became a chaplain among the Ironsides. Nor did he adhere long to the clerical duty to which he was first appointed; he soon assumed the character of a soldier, and rose rapidly to the rank of Scout Master General, or chief of the intelligence department, as it would be nowadays, a place requiring the greatest alertness and vigor of mind. He so distinguished himself that he grew to be a favorite with Cromwell, who after peace came made George Downing his principal diplomatic agent. He sent him to Italy, where he was the instrument of Cromwell in his interference to prevent the massacre of those

> slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold,

as Milton puts it, the Waldensian Protestants in their valleys of Piedmont. Later we find him in France, where, in conference with Cardinal Mazarin, the ruling spirit, he caused the English power to be respected. Thence he proceeded to The Hague, then, as now, a centre of diplomatic influence; and while there he had negotiations with Russia, with the Scandinavian countries, with Germany, with Holland itself. His work was conducted with ability; and it was through him, to a large extent, that there was such a recognition as came to prevail upon the Continent of the greatness of the power which had sprung up across the channel.

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His Harvard culture had done great things for him. As an accomplished logician he could deal with intrigue and indirection. He was an expert Latinist, and Latin was the diplomatic medium of those days. The thoroughly efficient instrument of the English Commonwealth, he did man's work in bringing about a nobler state of things in England.

Alas that there should be another side to the picture. At the Restoration George Downing went over to Charles II, and served him as resolutely and as zealously, apparently, as he had served Cromwell. With treachery which seems execrable, he was the means through whom old comrades of his were arrested and turned over to torture and execution. He enjoyed fat things at the hands of Charles II as a reward for the baseness which even in that degenerate age seemed extraordinary. If he could only have died when Cromwell died! If the wounds which Benedict Arnold received at Saratoga had been mortal, he would have been now one of the greatest figures of our Revolutionary War. And so, if George Downing had died at the close of the English Commonwealth, there would have been few names among the long list of Harvard worthies that better deserve to be honored.

So much for the England into which John Harvard was born. Now to outline the figure against this background! How distinct can we make it? We are told by wise men that heredity and environment are two factors which, working upon the personal element, are almost omnipotent in shaping the man. What can we say as to heredity in the case of John Harvard?

The river Avon is one of the most beautiful and interesting of English streams. I have a pleasant recollection of following it many scores of miles through the English Midlands. Rising not far from Naseby, flowing through Northamptonshire a thread-like rill, from there bordering Leicestershire, a silver ribbon, it reaches Warwickshire. At Stratford, with the resting-place of Shakspere near by, I had one evening the river, lighted with the hues of sunset, at my feet, a broad and brilliant scarf. Of course, the great association with Stratford is and always will be with Shakspere. Here it was that he passed his youth; here it was that he got the color and setting for As You Like It and A Midsummer Night's Dream; became acquainted with the maidenly grace which he embodied afterwards in Perdita; the awkwardness of his clowns and the

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clumsiness of the country justices; and from the neighboring castles of Warwick and Kenilworth he received impressions of those feudal grandeurs of which he was afterwards to make such magnificent portrayal. We shall always associate Stratford with Shakspere. But henceforth, for Harvard men, there will be a most interesting association with the family of John Harvard. Hither some twenty years ago came Mr. Waters, an antiquarian. He had satisfied himself by a course of investigation, — the record of which reads like a thrilling detective story, the culprit in the case being unfriendly Fortune, who has undertaken to steal from the world the memory of a benefactor, — he had satisfied himself by his investigation that the maiden name of John Harvard's mother was Katherine Rogers, and that she was a daughter of Thomas and Alice Rogers of Stratford. Mr. Waters came to Stratford to see what further he could find out, putting up at the Golden Lion. Walking through the street he noticed, as visitors generally notice, a beautiful old Elizabethan house in the High Street that attracted his interest, and he asked the landlord what the story of the house was. It had no story; nobody in Stratford knew anything about it. It was simply the old house in High Street. But Mr. Waters, again in the High Street in the afternoon, when the western sun falling strongly on the front brought out its beautiful carving, saw beneath the great window the date 1596 and the initials T. R. and A. R.; and it flashed upon him as by spiritual suggestion that those were the initials of Thomas and Alice Rogers, and that he had found the home of the grandparents of John Harvard. Practised antiquarian as he was, he at once pursued the matter. He went to the birthplace of Shakspere, where the borough records were kept, and there, in an upper room, discovered the proofs that in the time of Elizabeth the house was the home of Thomas and Alice Rogers, his wife, and he made it certain that from that house Katherine Rogers went forth to be married to Robert Harvard.

Thomas Rogers was a substantial burgess in the time of Elizabeth at Stratford. He was what we should call a market-man, a provision dealer, a butcher; he prospered in his private affairs and also won the esteem of his townsmen, being elected to be the bailiff or mayor. Now he built the old house in High Street, the handsomest place in town, where he lived with his wife Alice. Sons and daughters came to them in good number, and at length among

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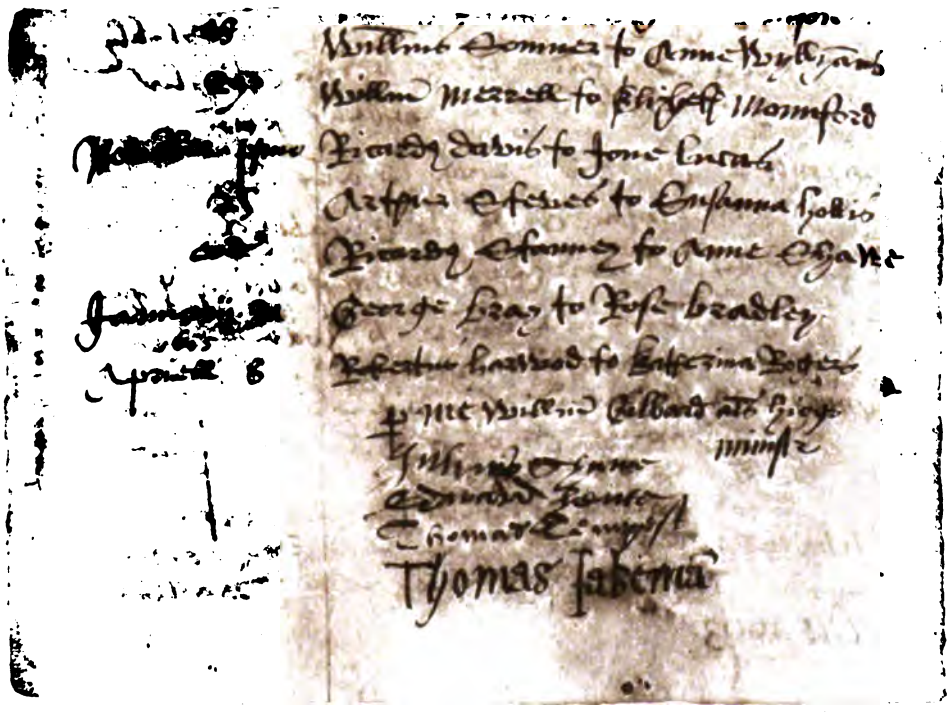
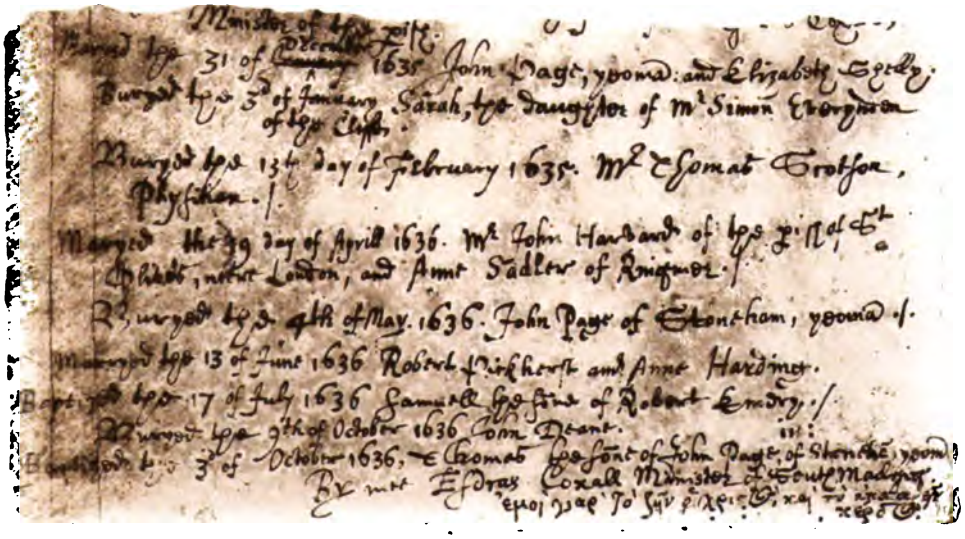


Record of the Marriage of Robert Harvard and Katherine Rogers in the Parish Register of Holy Trinity, Stratford on Avon.



Record of the Marriage of John Harvard and Anne Sadler in the Parish Register of St. Michael's, South Malling, Sussex.

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seen in him an eligible son-in-law. At any rate, in the year 1605 Robert Harvard was married to Katherine Rogers, she being then twenty-one. The wedding procession went from the door of the house in High Street to the church of Holy Trinity, where, standing on the flag-stones which a few years later were to cover the dust of William Shakspere, Robert Harvard and Katherine Rogers were united in marriage. They set up their home in Southwark, in the shadow of St. Saviour's Church, and very close to the Globe Theatre, in which at that time the ruling spirit was Katherine's fellow-townsman, William Shakspere. And there, in November, 1607, John Harvard was born. Shakspere at that moment was at the zenith of his career. So much for heredity. In John Harvard's case it seems as though we had a pretty definite story of the stock from which he came.

Now as to environment, what can be said? Who were the friends that came to the house of Robert and Katherine Harvard in the shadow of St. Saviour's Church? It can scarcely be otherwise than that Shakspere was sometimes a visitor there. Shakspere had been a comrade of Charles, Katherine Rogers's elder brother, and naturally, although Shakspere was twenty years older than Katherine, he would look in upon his young towns-woman there, far from home. Can we believe that Shakspere rocked John Harvard's cradle? Very possibly. Can we believe that he held the little boy on his knee and told him stories? It is very possible that he did. Can we go further and say that John Harvard grew up to *write* Shakspere? I am not equal, quite, to that, though dealing with the story is a gymnastic that inclines one to bold ventures. In other ways we know narrowly about John Harvard's environment. He must have gone to the grammar school of which his father, who became a vestryman of St. Saviour's, was a trustee. We know the excitements which came into the life of a London boy there in the reign of James I. We know from old prints and charts of which Mr. Lane, the librarian of Harvard, has had such an interesting exhibition in Cambridge, something about the look of his surroundings. We know the sights upon which his boyish eyes fell; the narrow streets, the upper stories of the houses overhanging their lower stories, and beyond the streets the green fields; and up High Street only a few rods, the gateway of London Bridge, the heads of the malefactors,

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each one upon its pole, a gruesome spectacle which we are told was always present. We know quite narrowly as to the boy's environment. When he had reached the age of eighteen a sad crisis came in the prosperous and peaceful family. The plague struck the city, and in the year 1625 Robert Harvard, two sons, and two daughters died within five weeks of each other, leaving Katherine a widow with her two sons, John and Thomas. It was only following what was then the custom of the world that Katherine Harvard within five months married again, this time a rich cooper, John Elletson; and he having died within a year, she married a third time, this time a most substantial man, Richard Yearwood, a member of Parliament during several terms, from 1620 to 1629.

We can tell why it was that John Harvard went to Cambridge, choosing that as his university. There is documentary evidence that an intimate friend of the family was Nicholas Morton, a chaplain at St. Saviour's who had been a fellow of Emmanuel College at Cambridge; and it is only reasonable to suppose it was through his advice that Emmanuel College was selected. There he went when he was twenty years old.

And here again, at Cambridge, we need be in no doubt as to the environment of the young man. We know narrowly the curriculum of studies; we know the names and the reputations of the teachers under whom he must have sat; and we know the excitements which must have come into the life of the Cambridge students of those days. The Duke of Buckingham, the French Ambassador, and finally, even the King and Queen, were entertained at Cambridge by elaborate pageants, of which we have careful descriptions. Those John Harvard must have witnessed, and in many of them, as a member of the student body, he must have taken part. As regards the great movements of the world outside, we know exactly what was doing and what would be the things that came to his notice. Cambridge is in eastern England, in the heart of the country from which the twenty thousand emigrants were going who came over to New England. Close by was old Boston, and from there John Cotton was permeating the whole of eastern England with his influence. A great noble, whose seat was not far from Cambridge, the Earl of Lincoln, was deeply interested in the emigration, sending over two of his daughters to this country, for he was the father of the Ladies

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Weddinges

Sibill Elbourne

16. John Newton &
Winifred Hall

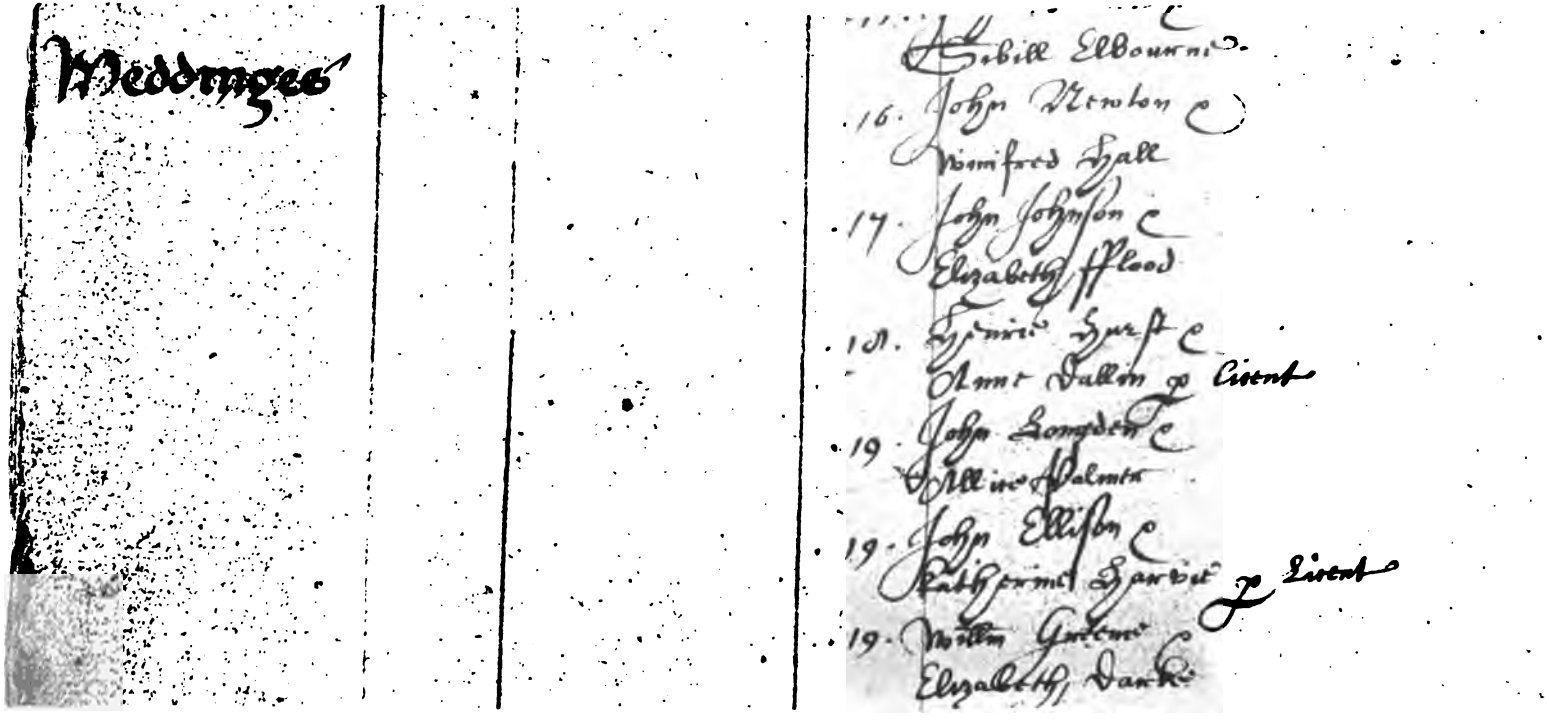
17. John Johnson &
Elizabeth Flood

18. Henrie Hurst &
Anne Dallin p Licent

19. John Longden &
Alice Palmer

19. John Ellison &
Katherine Harvie p Licent

19. Willm Greene &
Elizabeth Darke



Record of the Marriage of John Ellelson and Katherine Harvard
19 January, 1625
in the Parish Register of St. Saviour's Southwark

Copied for the Colonial Society of Massachusetts

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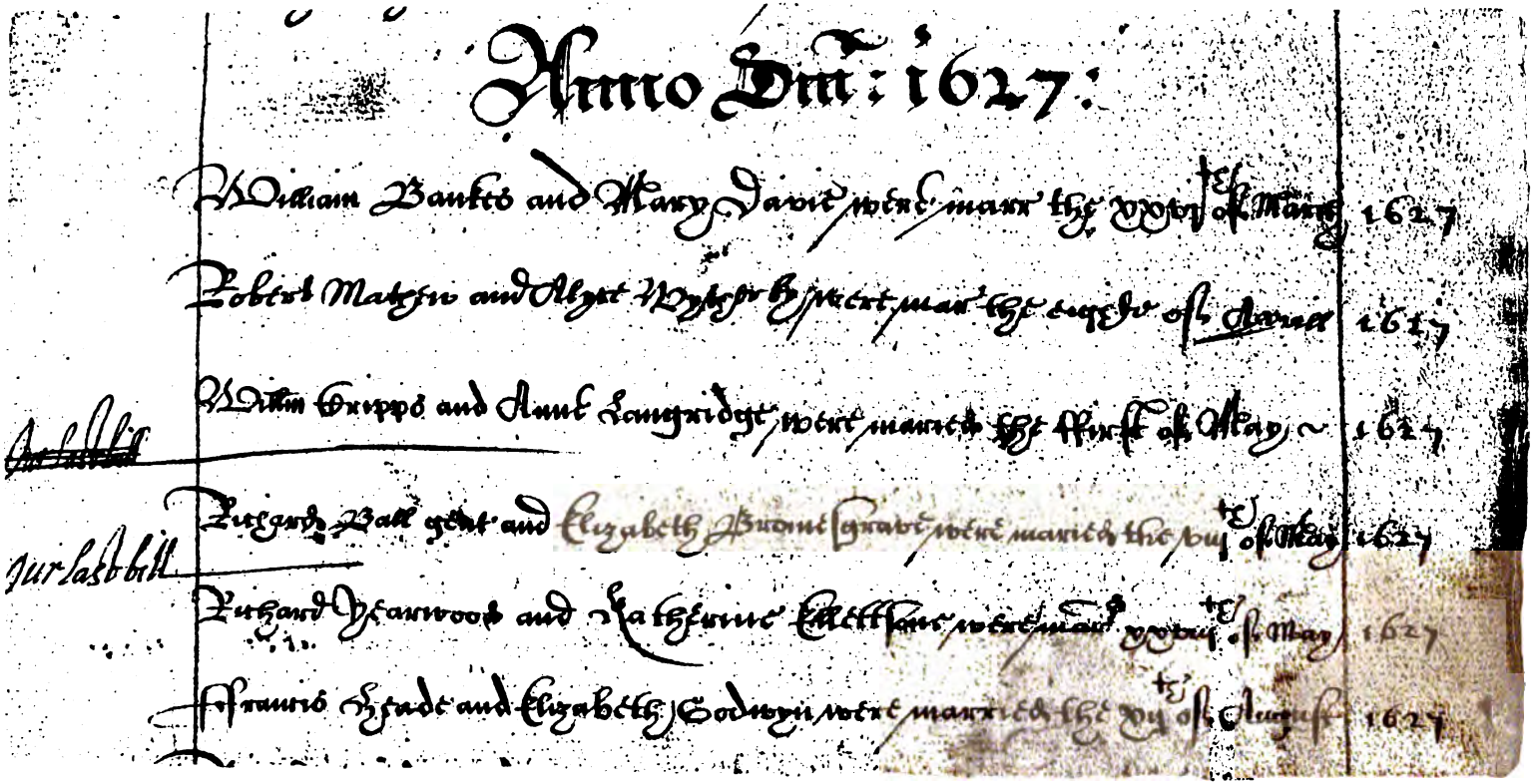

Anno Dni: 1627:

William Bankes and Mary Davie were marr the xxvj^th of March 1627

Robert Mathew and Alyce Wyshorby were mar the eighth of Aprill 1627

Willm Cripps and Anne Langridge were maried the first of May ~ 1627

Richard Ball gent and Elizabeth Bromesgrave were maried the xvj^th of May 1627

Richard Yearwood and Katherine Elletsone were marr xxvij^th of May 1627

Francis Heade and Elizabeth Godwyn were married the xij^th of August 1627

Jur last bill

Jur last bill

Record of the Marriage of Richard Yearwood and Katherine Elletson in the Parish Register of All Saints, Wandsworth, Surrey

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Arbella Johnson and Susan Humfrey. John Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, and others of the New England emigration, had an important meeting at Cambridge during John Harvard's time. His atmosphere was that of Puritanism, and he must have been affected by it.

We can tell, too, who John Harvard's associates were. Jeremy Taylor was a student at Caius; Thomas Fuller, at Queens'; William Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ralph Cudworth, author of The Intellectual System of the Universe, a marvel of erudition, even in that day of erudite men, were at Emmanuel. The most interesting contemporary, however, of John Harvard at Cambridge was undoubtedly John Milton. Can we infer that there was a contact between John Milton and John Harvard? Let us see. When John Harvard was twenty years old, Milton was nineteen. They were together there for four years, at least, perhaps for five years. Milton was a student at Christ's College, it is true, and not of Emmanuel, but Christ's is not far from Emmanuel, and one thinks that the Puritan reputation of Emmanuel must have attracted Milton sometimes thither. We know that there is nothing like a common friend to build up friendship. Can we make out that Milton and John Harvard had a common friend? We can do something, I think, in that direction. An interesting character in the Cambridge of those days was Thomas Hobson, a carrier, whose cart, going back and forth to London, once a week, was the only regular means of communication between the two cities. He was the postman and general messenger, and the two young men from London would inevitably do business with him. He had also another function. Sir Richard Steele, in a paper long afterwards in the Spectator, says that Hobson was the first man in England to keep a livery stable; that he kept forty horses for hire; and that he had a rule that when a customer came to hire a horse he must take the one that stood nearest the stable door, where Hobson took pains to have tethered the horse which it suited *him* to let out to that particular customer. Hence the phrase "Hobson's choice," says Dick Steele, which even to the present day, everywhere in the English-speaking world, we know as a practical synonym for inevitability.

As to the relations of the two Johns, with Hobson, they were both London boys of about the same age; their families of about

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equal means and station in life; and in the long vacations, if not at other times, they would be travelling back and forth. In those days the northern road was unsafe because of highwaymen, and the boys would naturally be intrusted to the sturdy guardianship of the old carrier. It is Mr. Waters's surmise that the prevalence of the phrase in New England, "Hobson's choice," is due to the fact that the leaders here were largely Cambridge men, John Harvard among them. As to the fact that Milton was interested in Hobson, we have ample evidence: after his death Milton wrote two epitaphs, labored expressions of humor, but perhaps the closest approach to humor in all his writings. It seems to me entirely probable that the young men must have touched elbows in Hobson's cart or jostled one another when experiencing Hobson's choice at the stable door. At any rate the suggestion is thrown out for whatever it is worth.

So much for environment and heredity. Those are the two factors which, according to wise men, are almost all-powerful in shaping men. It seems as if we ought to be able to put our finger on John Harvard; and yet, in spite of all, the man eludes us.

It was the most natural thing in the world that he should come to New England. In 1637 when he came over, the emigration from England was at its height. Laud and Strafford were pushing their policy of Thorough; and so John Harvard only swam with the current.

Now as to the man himself. He never said a word or wrote a line or did a deed, except his one ever memorable deed of gift to the College, of which any of his contemporaries thought it worth while to take notice and hand down. We can get at a few things indirectly. It is good negative evidence, as Mr. Shelley brings out, that his conduct was correct, that his name was absent from the list of admonitions during the seven years at Cambridge. We can tell something about a man from the friends he chooses. The one man with whom we know John Harvard was on very friendly terms was John Sadler, who afterwards attained honorable distinction. He was a favorite of Cromwell, who offered him high judicial position, and it is said to have been from a suggestion of

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Hoc Emmanuelis Collegij Sacellum à Rever.mo in Xto Patre ac Dno D.no Wilhelmo Sancroft Archiep.co Cantuar. auspicia per ejus Successorem Johan: Breton S.T.P. prosperè continuatum, per Rever.dum demum Thom: Holbech S.T. Clarissimi Dni Caroli Comitis de Westmorland, Rev.di admodum Patris Dni Iohan: Cosins nuper Dunelm: Epi. Thomæq; Holbech, Aliorumq; Quorum Nomina Licet vix tota Æternitas, nedum hæ infelices angustiæ, illa capere ad hanc decoram Sacrisq; convenientem faciem & nitorem pervenit.

View of Emman

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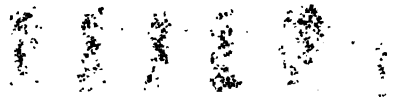

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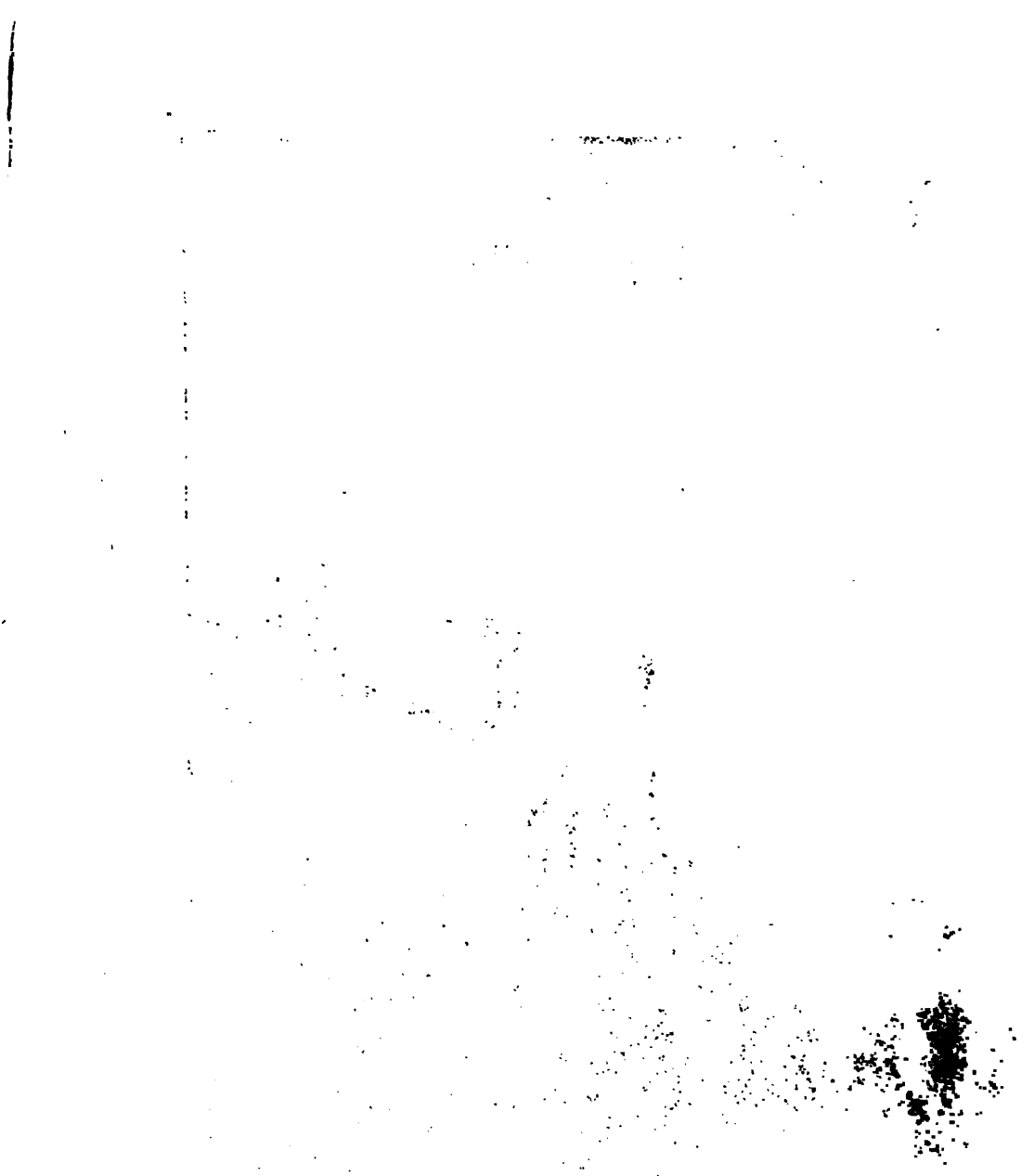

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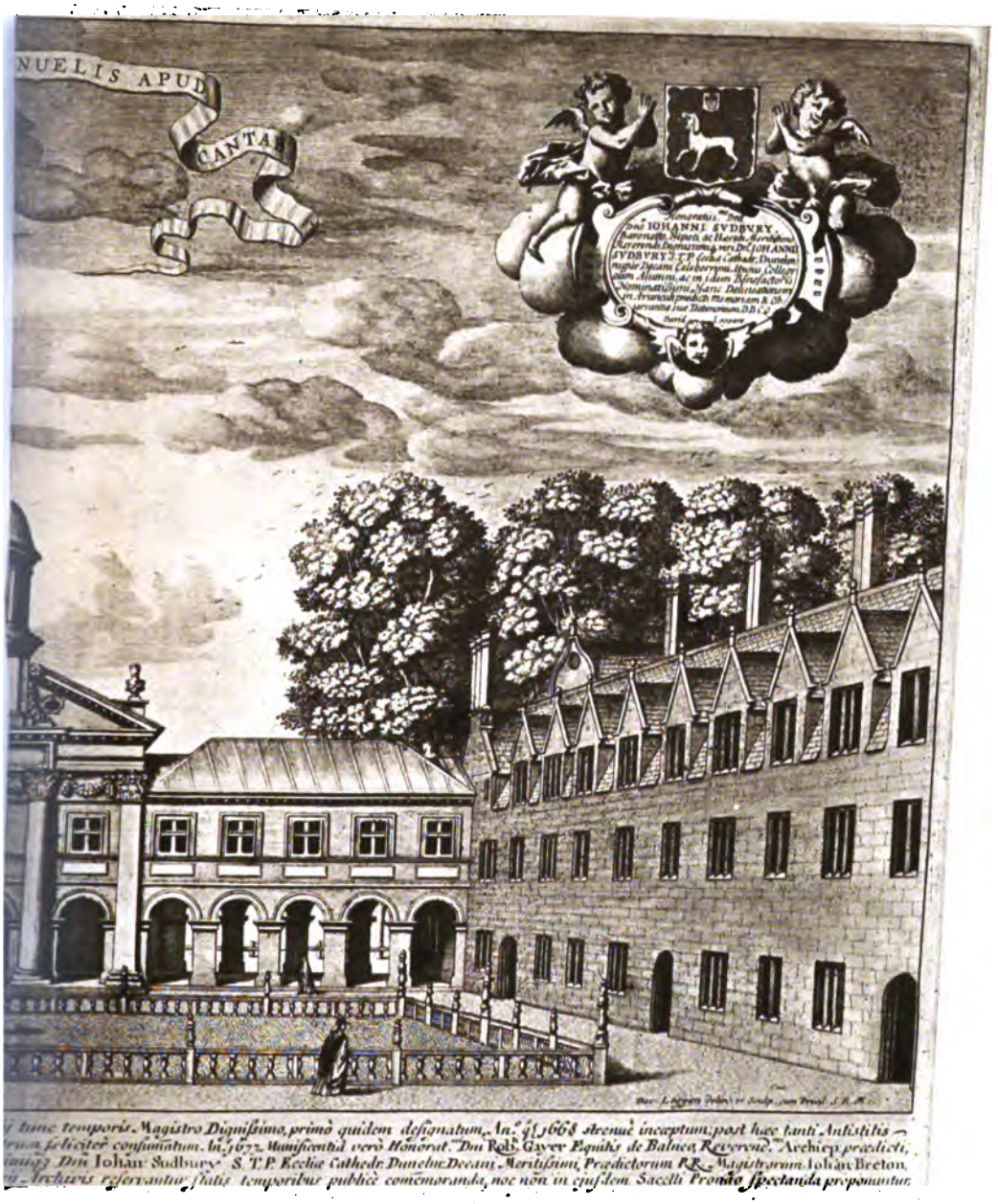

...j tunc temporis Magistro Dignissimo, primò quidem designatum, An.° q.° 1668 strenuè incœptum; post haec tanti Antistitis ...rum feliciter consumatum. An.° 1672 Munificentiâ verò Honorat.mi Dni Rob. Gayer Equitis de Balneo, Reverend.mi Archiep. praedicti, ...iniq; Dni Johan. Sudbury S.T.P. Ecclie Cathedr. Dunelm. Decani Meritissimi, Praedictorum R.R. Magistrorum Johan. Breton, ...ij Archivis reservantur statis temporibus publicè comemoranda, nec non in ejusdem Sacelli Pronao spectanda proponuntur.

...llege Cambridge

...plate in David Loggan's Cantabrigia Illustrata

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Sadler's that he performed one of the creditable acts of his career. The Jews had been excluded from England since the days of Edward I, and at the suggestion of Sadler Cromwell took off the disability, enabling them to open a synagogue in London. In the year 1636 Harvard married Anne Sadler, the sister of his friend. There is a document dated 1637, showing that John Harvard parted with certain property to a ship captain named John Man, presumably passage money for himself and his wife, his library and his belongings, to America.

A word ought to be said about his library. We judge a man a good deal from the books that he buys. What kind of a library was it that John Harvard gathered around him and brought to this country? You can see it at Cambridge; Mr. Lane has it on exhibition there. It was an up-to-date library for the time. Of course there was a prevalence of Calvinistic theology, but there were also represented the Catholic controversialists. In general literature we find there Bacon's Essays, Chapman's Homer, and one or two other books of that kind; while a refined scholarship was indicated by the fact that there were good editions of some of the best Greek and Latin classics.

I think we can say that he was a man of low vitality, both in body and mind, his vigor being sapped, probably, by the presence in his constitution of the insidious disease by which he was so early swept away. A personality refined, correct, scholarly, colorless, and yet in a wonderful way absorbing and reflecting color. A personality very vapory, but yet how marvellously prehensile! He takes hold in the strangest way of great events and of great men. It seems almost as certain as anything can be in the past that he was in contact with Shakspere and with Milton. As a young man from Cambridge, he must have heard his step-father, Richard Yearwood, talk; and what would he say, coming home from his seat in Parliament at St. Stephen's to Southwark? He might say that he had just looked into the face of Hampden, and listened to the eloquence of Pym; that he himself, perhaps, had taken part in the debate on the Petition of Right; and how Sir John Eliot had exclaimed: "None have gone about to break Parliaments but in the end Parliaments have broken them." It seems altogether probable that he must have come face to face with

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young Harry Vane, for, arriving in Boston in the same month in which Vane sailed thence for England, what more natural than that Vane should seek out the intelligent new arrival for the latest news from the great arena whither he was going back to play so conspicuous a part?

In connection with John Harvard's proprietorship of the Queen's Head Inn, which was the principal item of his mother's bequest to him, and the estate out of which it is supposed that the money came, for the most part, for Harvard College, he comes, almost uncannily, into relations with Chaucer; for next door to the Queen's Head was the Tabard Inn, which was, some three hundred years before, associated with the Canterbury Tales; and he reaches forward two hundred years to Dickens, for closely adjacent to the Queen's Head Inn was the White Hart in which Mr. Pickwick met Sam Weller.

Will it be said that the basis of fact is really small for such a biographical superstructure as Mr. Shelley has reared, a book of three hundred pages? I find a figure to suit the case in the Elizabethan house in the High Street of Stratford. I was talking with a friend the other day who said he had paced the front of it, and it seemed to him from that rough measurement that it was not more than sixteen feet wide. The house rises until it seems to need the support to the right and left of the substantial masses of masonry that are there. And in the front each story overhangs one below, culminating in the beetling gable which fairly threatens the street: you think it needs to be buttressed. Yet, it has stood there into its fourth century; and, cherished as it will hereafter be by all Harvard men as the early home of John Harvard's mother, it will stand for centuries more. And so the story of John Harvard, it seems to me, is authentic and likely to stand.

It seems inappropriate to speak of a worthy of the old New England time except by a scriptural parallel. Let us say, in that connection, that John Harvard was like Apollos. Apollos is no significant figure in the apostolic story, but he was associated with great men, and had to do with epoch-making events. Paul planted and Apollos watered; and what our New England Apollos watered was the perishing seed which the great Pauls of the New England Church had too feebly planted; and God gave the increase.

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Mr. WILLIAM C. LANE exhibited some photographic facsimiles of documents relating to John Harvard, lately received by the Harvard College Library, and spoke as follows:

The two most important of these are the will of Katherine Yearwood, John Harvard's mother, and the will of Thomas Harvard, his brother. Both of these wills were first noted by Henry F. Waters, and together establish the identity of John Harvard. In the first, his mother refers to him as "John Harvard Clarke." The second made John Harvard and Nicholas Morton executors. It was proved in the Surrogate's Court, and letters of administration were issued on May 5, 1637, to Nicholas Morton alone, with provision that letters should be issued to John Harvard, the other executor, when he should come to seek them. This date is just about the time when it is known that the John Harvard who founded Harvard College left England, and the fact of the absence at this time of Thomas Harvard's brother and executor, and of his never having qualified as executor afterwards, may be regarded as proof that he had left England. Taken in connection with the statement in the mother's will, it identifies the founder of Harvard College.

The other documents are photographs from the parish registers of Southwark, containing the marriage of Katherine Harvard and John Elletson, and of Wandsworth, containing the marriage of Richard Yearwood and Katherine Elletson, 28th of May, 1627; of the parish register of South Malling, containing the marriage of John Harvard of "the parish of St. Olives near London" and Anne Sadler of Ringmer, April 19, 1636; and of the record of a conveyance made by John Harvard and his wife, Ann, of a messuage and three cottages to John Man, February 16, 1637. Mr. Waters discovered that this John Man was a sea-captain, and finds from his will that the four houses described were situated in Bermondsey Street. He infers that the sale may have been in consideration of a passage to America in Captain Man's vessel. The record of Harvard's mother's first marriage, to Robert Harvard, we expect to have from the Stratford parish registers. One other interesting document I hope to get, of which a facsimile was made

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in 1887, namely, the counterpart of the lease from St. Catherine's Hospital to "John Harvard, clerk, and Thomas Harvard, citizen of London and cloth-worker," of certain tenements in the parish of All Hallows, Barking. These facsimiles were for sale at the time by a London bookseller, but a recent inquiry brings the reply that all copies have been sold. I hope, however, that it will be possible to obtain a copy from some source, so that the expense of rephotographing it may be avoided.

Mr. LANE also exhibited a view of Harvard College as it appeared during the Revolutionary War, engraved by Paul Revere after a drawing by Josh. Chadwick, concerning whom Mr. Lane solicited information. Only three other original impressions of this plate are known.[1] The copy exhibited was recently bought at auction in Boston and given to Harvard College by seven graduates, of whom four are members of this Society.

On behalf of Mr. WORTHINGTON C. FORD, a Corresponding Member, Mr. HENRY H. EDES made the following communication:

The following letters were written by William Plumer, whose long public career requires no detailed account. They describe an outbreak in New Hampshire which was the counterpart of that of Shays in Massachusetts, and are written with the vivacity of an eye-witness and participant, and with all the freedom of a young man confident of himself. His criticisms of men and measures are of interest. That he was unjust in some of his opinions he would have confessed in after years; but he could hardly have expressed himself so forcibly if there had been no common belief prevailing at the time of the truth of the characters thus drawn. He gives definite pictures of the daily events during the uprising, and conveys much information on the leading actors. Thus the letters are good material for history. They are copied from the originals in the Library of Congress, Washington.

[1] They are owned by the Essex Institute, Mr. Zachary T. Hollingsworth, and Mr. Frederick L. Gay. The view was reproduced and described in the Harvard Graduates' Magazine for December, 1903, xii. 338, 339.

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William Plumer

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from a proof of Mr. Plumer's plate in the possession of
William James Campbell, Esquire

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LETTERS OF WILLIAM PLUMER, 1786–1787.

I

TO WILLIAM COLEMAN.[1]

LONDONDERRY, May 31, 1786

MY DEAR SIR,

'T is near a year since I have had an opportunity of writing to you, and it is longer since I have received a line from your pen. Was I certain this would reach you I should write things that prudence restrains me from trusting to my present uncertain mode of conveyance.

We have both met with disappointments. At Amherst[2] we expected to have compleated our tuition under Mr. Atherton.[3] From thence you went to Mr. Shannon,[4] at Hollis, and from thence I am told you went to Mr. Payne's[5] office at Worcester. I hope you find your account in each change.

From Amherst I returned to my parents at Epping.[6] To increase my attachment to that town my father purchased me a farm value £700. I then resolved to oversee my lands and trade a little; but the scarcity of money, the trouble and scanty gains of a Country trader, still induced me to think of the study of law. In March, 1785, the town, to increase my attachment to it, elected me their representative to the General Court. This amused and pleased me a few months; but in November, with the full consent and approbation of my parents, I came to Mr. Prentice's[7] office, where I now am diligently plodding over Coke, Littleton and other sages of the Law. How vain is the attempt of even parents and friends, to oppose the voice and inclinations of Nature!

If I had continued at Mr. Atherton's office, I should have been 18 months nearer an admission to the Bar than I now am; which to a man twenty seven years of age is a matter of some consequence. But by this delay I now am reading law with my parents' approbation, am the owner of a small farm, have a decent house wherein to lay my head, and have formed connections with several influential men in the State which may prove useful to me in the profession. Whether these changes will eventually terminate in my favor time only can determine. The

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[1] At Worcester. In 1801 Coleman established the New York Evening Post.

[2] New Hampshire.

[3] Joseph Atherton.

[4] Richard Cutts Shannon.

[5] Probably Timothy Paine.

[6] William Plumer (1759–1850) was the son of Samuel and Mary (Dole) Plumer. Sketches of most of the persons mentioned in these letters will be found in Bell's Bench and Bar of New Hampshire.

[7] John Prentice.

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belief that they will reconciles me to my condition. From the accounts I have received your changes have been fortunate.

The aspect of public affairs in this State are gloomy. Money scarce, business dull, and our feeble government unhinged. Our Courts of Law are firm, and in these degenerate days, dare to be honest. The Inferior Court of Common Pleas have resolved that the Law authorizing justices to try actions under £10 is unconstitutional. This law was passed at the close of the last November session,[1] at a time when there was scarce a quorum of the House present, and the number of Justices who were members was more than ten to one who was not in Commission. Singly and alone I entered my protest against the law, and I am glad the Court have had firmness to act their own opinion. If our elective government is long supported, it will owe its existence to the Judiciary. That is the only body of men who will have an effective check upon a numerous Assembly.

Write me when you have opportunity, and believe me to be your affectionate friend,

WILLIAM PLUMER.

II

TO SAMUEL PLUMER, JR.[2]

LONDONDERRY, June 6th 1786

MY DEAR BROTHER,

To morrow morning I intend to go to Concord. My business will defray my expences, and I shall have an opportunity of visiting several of my friends from different parts of the State, with whom I shall keep the Election festival. . . .

[CONCORD,] June 9th.

I wish I had leisure to narrate the adventures of this and the preceeding day. Several towns have sent delegates to form a Convention, to petition the legislature to emit paper money, open the ports, prohibit the proprietors of Allen's claim[3] from holding offices, abolish the Inferior

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[1] Probably "An Act for the recovery of small debts in an expeditious way and manner," enacted by the House, November 9, 1785.

[2] At Epping.

[3] In 1691 Samuel Allen (1636–1705), a London merchant, bought of the heirs of Capt. John Mason their title to lands in New Hampshire. Thus began a controversy which, upon the death of Governor Allen, was continued by his son, Thomas Allen. The death of the latter in 1715 "put an end to the suit, which his heirs, being minors, did not renew." See Belknap, History of New Hampshire (1784), ii. 239, 288–328. See also New Hampshire Provincial Papers, iv. 43, x. 276.

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Courts, restrain lawyers, &c. A number of active young gentlemen joined them, and at the instance of some of my friends I took an active part with them. The scene was farcical, and the name of a Convention is here a term of reproach. . . .

17th. General Sullivan is elected President by a majority of 51 votes.[1] John Langdon is speaker of the House. They have changed places. There is much animosity between them; Mr. Langdon appears mortified. There are 45 Representatives who were not members of the House the last year. The change is not for the better. If men are born legislators you may expect good laws; but if talents and extensive information are requisite to form the statesman, you will in vain look for them in the General Court. Our government is feeble, and some of our laws are better calculated to aid vice than to reward virtue. But we shall have no paper money this session, though much I fear the next.

Joseph Pearson Esq. is Secretary, vice Ebenezer Thompson Esq. This change is thought to be for the better! The fact is the former is but a few removes from an idiot, and the latter is a shrewd, cunning man. . . .

WILLIAM PLUMER.

III

TO SAMUEL PLUMER, JR.

LONDONDERRY, July 22d, 1786.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

We have no news except what relates to Conventions. Of these we have more than our share. On the 10th, 150 men met at Emery's tavern in this town. They were from 15 towns, but were not elected by the towns. This meeting elected 67 of their own number, who met, chose a chairman, and appointed two clerks. After two days spent in debate, they resolved that they would adopt such measures as should compel the General Court to emit paper money. They appointed a committee of 18 to devise a plan and draw a petition to the legislature, and then adjourned to meet at Chester, the 20th of this month. The Convention is now in session in that town. They propose that the Gen! Court shall issue paper bills equal to the amount of the State notes, and that the holders of the notes shall receive the bills in payment for their notes. That if the holders of notes do not exchange them for bills by the 1st. of January next, the interest shall cease after that time; and if not exchanged by the 1st. of July next, all notes then outstanding shall be void, and of none effect.

[1] See New Hampshire State Papers, xx. 614.

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They propose to issue a further sum to build ships, which are to be sold and appropriated to the payment of our foreign debts.

The money to be a legal tender for the payment of all debts.

The bills to be redeemed by the State by taxes to be assessed on the people, payable into the treasury by seven annual equal payments.

This is the most correct account I have been able to obtain from one of the best informed of their body.

I am personally acquainted with many members of this Convention, and I assure you they are men of feeble intellect. Very few of them know what they do, or are apprehensive to what their measures tend.

I hope these visionary schemes will not end in acts of rebellion against the constituted authorities — tho' much I fear it.

My love to the family. Adieu!

William Plumer.

IV

TO JOHN HALE.[1]

Epping, August 13, 1786

Dear Sir,

In Londonderry and its vicinity, there is much clamour upon the subject of the revival of Allen's obsolete claim and the making of paper money. The Convention is again to meet the 22d at Chester. There are about 60 members. They were not elected by the towns, but by 150 men from 15 or 18 towns, who of their own motion assembled to do what seemed good unto them. The characters of this self-created Convention are not unlike King David's pious companions — *men in distress involved in debt and discontented.* They have no leader; they want one who possesses David's cunning and Joab's valour. Talents, knowledge of history, civil government and an intimate acquaintance with the human heart, are requisite to form the statesman. No man is *born* a statesman. Knowledge must be acquired by patient laborious investigation. Tis preposterous to suppose that those who never opened the page of history examined a paragraph of the statute book, or read the title page of the human heart, should be able to direct the affairs of state!

> In other times unnotic'd they might pass,
> These times can make a statesman of an *Ass!*

The want of talents and information renders this Convention less dangerous to the State. An ignorant mob may however destroy a much better government than they can establish.

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[1] Of Portsmouth.

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The paper money of Rhode Island has already depreciated 500 p^r^ Cent, although it is founded on real estate. It seems the zealous advocates of paper currency intend to convince an infidel age of the truth of a part, at least, of the Scriptures, by demonstrating *that riches take to themselves wings and flee away;* that notes, bonds and other obligations are *vanity and vexation;* that it is best to revise the Apostolical age, *and have all things in common;* that the indolent, extravagant and wicked may divide the blessings of life with the industrious, the prudent and the virtuous.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

V

TO JOHN HALE.

EXETER, Septr 18th 1786

MY DEAR SIR,

The Inferior Courts in the counties of Hampshire, Worcester and Middlesex in Massachusetts have within this three weeks been prevented, by *armed men*, from transacting their official business. Previous to the meeting of the Court in Middlesex, the governor[1] of that Commonwealth, with advice of his council, issued his orders directing a portion of the militia to assemble at Concord in the County of Middlesex to protect the county Courts and suppress the daring insurrection. But on examining the laws he had no authority, and before the militia assembled he rescinded his orders. Two hundred and fifty insurgents met and forcibly prevented the Court from proceeding to business. The governor has issued his proclamation requiring the attendance of the General Court on the 27th. I hope they will pass a law giving their governor authority to call forth their militia when necessary. A state may suffer as much from not giving power to their officers, as by the officers abusing their power.

Most of the Massachusetts insurgents are men of desperate fortunes, some of them infamous, and most of them ignorant. It is feared that those who now appear as the ringleaders are kept in countenance by others of more consequence, but by men who are bankrupts in fame and fortune, by men who are disaffected with the government because they are unable to obtain offices of honor and profit. I hope these will be discovered and suffer the vengeance of an insulted government.

A self-created Convention has twice met at Rochester in the County of Strafford in this State. Their views are similar to that of the Chester Convention, but they have more information. Jonathan Moulton,

[1] James Bowdoin.

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Esq. of Hampton, in this County, is their President. This man is one of our Brigadier Generals of the militia.

Apropos, of his biography. His parents were poor and lived in obscurity.[1] Jonathan was bound an apprentice to a Cabinet maker. When he was about 20 years of age he purchased the residue of his time of service of his master, and opened a huckster's shop, and by his unwearied attention in buying and selling small articles he soon became an extensive dealer in English and West India goods. The property that he obtained from a valuable ship that was wrecked on Hampton beach gave him increased credit and business. There is too much reason to believe that he aided David Folsom, one of his Clerks, in forging and passing counterfeit bills of exchange. The instances of his fraud and deceit, injustice and oppression, are numerous. He has reduced many families from affluence to beggary. For 20 years he has been a constant suitor in the Courts of law. He has often attempted to corrupt judges, bribe jurors, suborn witnesses, and seduce the Counsel employed by his opponents. I am in possession of evidence of his conveying a right of land to a judge who was to decide the title to that and all the other land he claimed in that township. The fact was discovered and the judge never decided the cause. I know an instance of his making liberal promises to an influential juryman. His influence in the Courts was extensive, and his success ruined many; but now he is unable to obtain justice. It is difficult to find a jury, but some of whom or their relations or connexions he has wronged. A few months since he lamented to me his condition. He said, "Such were the prejudices against him that he could not obtain that common justice which is administered to the most obscure man." So true it is that the successes of the wicked accelerate their ruin.

He is the owner of immense tracts of uncultivated wilderness. He has expended much money in making settlements in new townships, and in opening and making and repairing roads. And in this point of view his labours have been useful to the Country. But many of those whom he hath settled in his townships complain of his having ruined them. Those who are most intimate with him censure and condemn him the most.

He is a man of good natural abilities; his address is pleasing and his manners easy. He has uniformly and sedulously flattered the views and follies of mankind. He does business with great despatch. He is hospitable at home and abroad, he is more, he is often generous, even to profuseness.

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[1] For a sketch of Jonathan Moulton (1726–1787), the son of Jacob and Sarah Moulton, see J. Dow, History of Hampton, i. 278, 279, ii. 866, 870.

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The hand of time has visibly impaired his talents and injured his person; he is now sixty.

Notwithstanding the immense tracts of land he now owns, the money due to him and the relief he has obtained by the Tender law, yet his taxes, debts and suits threaten him with imprisonment. This has made him the advocate for paper money.

I am sorry that Capt. Horne of Dover,[1] with his well disciplined troop of Horse in their uniform, escorted Moulton and several of his party to and from the Convention. I hope our militia will find better employ than paying homage to those who are sapping the foundations of our government.

The Rockingham Convention are disgusted with the Court for refusing to make paper money. It is whispered that the Convention intend to adopt coercive measures.

Thursday a bill was bro't in to carry into effect the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain. This bill was drawn with great caution nearly in the very language of the treaty. Yet the House negatived it, 42 to 34.[2] This too much resembles sporting with things sacred; it discovers a want of both honor and policy. Public faith ought to be scrupulously guarded. National honor ought to be estimated higher than national wealth. On Friday the bill was again brought forward, and passed by a bare majority.[3]

This bill owes its passage to the talents and eloquence of John Pickering, Esq. On the preceeding day he was absent. Mr. Pickering is a lawyer of considerable eminence. He is a man of strict integrity, unblemished honor and of great humanity. He has a retentive memory, and possesses a vast fund of humor and pleasantry. His company is much sought for, and in him the poor have a substantial friend. As a lawyer he does more business, particularly as an advocate, than any other in the State; but obtains much less money from his practice than some little contemptible pettifoggers. He has no avarice; his fault is inattention to property. With a promising family of children, he has very little property for their support. He is very moderate in his fees. Of the poor he claims nothing; of those in easy circumstances he often trusts to their generosity, and frequently suffers thereby. Although the popular prejudices are strong against the Bar, yet no man accuses, but all repose entire confidence in him. As a member of the legislature he possesses the confidence of his brethren;

[1] Probably Capt. William Horne. See Quint, Historical Memoranda, p. 320.

[2] See New Hampshire State Papers, xx. 697.

[3] The vote was 44 to 34.

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but by his often speaking he has very much lessened his influence in that court. But he has read more than he has digested; his mind is a vast storehouse, in which the goods are placed in a promiscuous condition. He wants clearness of perception, accuracy of distinction, decision and firmness. He is peculiarly afraid of water; he travels far to avoid a ferry. He is a very zealous and sincere professor of Christianity, and is a member of Mr. Buckminster's [1] Church at Portsmouth.

The law relative to the British treaty prohibits all further confiscation of the estates of absentees. It permits those who did not take up arms in the late war against the United States to return and live in the State. It allows those who were in arms to return and live a year without any molestation to collect their debts and settle their affairs; and that none of them shall be subject to prosecution for any thing by them done during the war. Some of the members, particularly those from Londonderry, Runnels [2] and McMurphey,[3] reported, "That the Act authorized the tories to return, and obliged the State to repurchase and restore to them the confiscated estates, and that a heavy tax would be assessed on all the people for that purpose." These reports have inflamed the minds of many, and enraged the members of the Rockingham Convention. They are now collecting an armed force to compel the Court to repeal the law and emit paper currency. They contemplate a great accession of numbers from every town in the vicinity, and aid from several members of the Legislature. I am &c.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

VI

TO JOHN HALE.

EXETER, September 20th, 1786

MY DEAR SIR,

At 11 oClock A.M. we received information that a body of armed men were at Kingston Plains marching under the orders of the Rockingham Convention. At three this afternoon they encamped on the plains in this town. From thence they sent the following request to the Legislature:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire:

Inasmuch as we conceive the prayer of our former petition has not yet been granted, and as we are determined to do ourselves that justice which the laws

[1] The Rev. Joseph Buckminster.

[2] Daniel Runnels.

[3] Archibald McMurphy.

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of God and man dictate to us, therefore we pray your Honors to grant us the requests of our former petition and not drive us to a state of desperation.

We pray your honors to give us an immediate answer.

JOSEPH FRENCH, *Moderator.*
RICHARD ADAMS, *Clerk.*

Exeter Plain, Septr. 20th 1786.

The House appointed a Committee of five,[1] to be joined by such as the Senate should appoint, to take the subject into consideration. The Senate, with a spirit that did them honor, unanimously non-concurred the vote. The two houses met in Convention. While they were together, the Insurgents marched into town. Joseph French was their commander. He had heretofore supported the character of an honest, inoffensive, weak, ignorant man. There were several militia officers associated and present with him, Major James Cochran, Capt. James Cochran, and Lt. Asa Robinson of Pembroke; Capt. John McKean of Londonderry, Lt. Clough[2] and Ensign Thomas Cotton of Sandown. The whole number assembled were about 200 — 80 of whom had fire and side arms, and the others had clubs and staves. Some of them were on horseback, but most of them on foot. They affected military parade. They marched thro' the town with the drum beating and their arms clubbed. They then drew up before the meeting House, where the Legislature were sitting. This mob was a collection from Londonderry, Hampstead, Hawke, Sandown, Bedford, Goffstown, Raymond, and a few other towns. They made a miserable appearance — dirty, ragged fellows — many of them were young and most of them ignorant.

While this banditti were drawn up before the house and many of them in it, President Sullivan stated to the house the reason why the Senate refused to concur with them in the choice of a Committee. After stating the impropriety and injustice of the former petition, he observed that the present application was an outrageous insult upon the Legislature, and that if the request was in itself reasonable, yet coming from a body of men in arms, they ought not now to listen to it. That a compliance with a request from an armed mob would, in his opinion, be a sacrifice of their duty. That for his own part he was determined that no consideration of personal danger should ever compel him to betray his trust.

Immediately after this the Insurgents beat to arms, and surrounded the Meeting House in which the Legislature were sitting, and placed centinels at the doors and windows, with bayonets fixed to their muskets, and forbid any person going in or coming out. They uttered

[1] Ephraim Robinson, John Waldron, John Duncan, Jeremiah Stiles, and Moses Dow.

[2] Lt. Jonathan Clough.

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severe threats against the Court if they did not immediately grant their request, many of them declaring they would never consent to release the Court from their confinement untill after their petition should be granted. But the Court proceeded to business without regarding their menaces.

I went up to the mob. Some were clamouring against the Court for passing a law authorizing the return of the Refugees, declaring that those who voted for it ought to be punished with death. Some demanded paper money; others, an equal distribution of property. Some the annihilation of debts, freedom from taxes, the abolition of lawyers, the destruction of the Inferior Courts, the reduction of salaries, and all of them exclaimed against law and government. I reasoned with several of them upon the unreasonableness of their demands and the impropriety of their conduct; but the answer I received was the bayonet pointed to my breast.

At sunset the President and Senate made an attempt to leave the House, but the mob forcibly prevented them. He then assured them that the State would support their own government, and reasoned with them upon the fatal and dangerous tendency of their conduct. They insulted the President, the senate, house and spectators with the most insulting language, by threats and by presenting their arms to them.

The Inhabitants of the town were much alarmed at the idea of an armed mob traversing their streets in the night. Application was made to the President to permit the spectators to disarm the mob; but he prudently refused. Twenty men, of whom I was one, agreed to raise a party, walk up immediately to the mob, and without weapons disarm them. We formed in the street below, huzzard for government three times, ordered the drum to beat, and marched towards the mob with haste. The spectators separated from the mob, repeated the huzzahs and resorted to us. The mob were greatly frightened, and in their confusion some ran, and others leaped into the graveyard. At this instant the President assured the Insurgents that if they would suffer him to pass he would prevent the effusion of blood. They consented, and he went into his lodgings and sent two of his aids to inform them that they must disperse for the Court would not do any business for the night. Their commander, after a moment's consultation, ordered them to retire to the plains, and assemble again at nine oClock to-morrow morning. They dispersed accordingly.

The Legislature unanimously authorized and directed the President to call out the militia to suppress this daring insurrection. He immediately issued his orders to the officers of the militia to repair to this town tomorrow morning with their arms. I am &c.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

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VII

TO JOHN HALE.

EPPING, Septr 21st, 1786

MY DEAR SIR,

I have just retired here for the purpose of rest, for Exeter is thronged with company. After giving you a sketch of the proceedings of the day, I will surrender myself a prisoner to Morpheus.

At 4 oClock in the morning I was under arms. At six oClock a party of six, of whom I was one, was detached in quest of Capt. John McKeen. I arrested him and he was put under guard. The Insurgents very soon sent a party of six to demand his liberty. They were arrested and committed to the custody of the guards.

The Insurgents embodied and marched within a mile of the town. By 8 oClock a body of cavalry and light infantry arrived, accompanied by many gentlemen of the first rank and education, who appeared as volunteers. Major Gen [Joseph] Cilley was the commanding officer. I joined with the company of volunteers commanded by Nicholas Gilman, Esq.[1] We marched to meet the mob, but they having received information of our movement, the unarmed part of them retired to the Great Hill. Those of them who were armed kept their ground till the Horse appeared in view, when they fled in great precipitation and disorder, several of whom were taken and secured. At the bridge at King's falls they rallied, armed and unarmed, and exhibited the appearance of an intention to dispute the troops. But a few of our officers, and gentlemen of the horse, arrested their principal officers and most active men; the remainder fled in every direction for their respective homes. Major Cochran and Mr. Morse, of Londonderry, urged their men to discharge their arms at our troops, but they refused.

We returned to town in great order and regularity, without the loss of blood on either side. President Sullivan has acquired credit by his prudence, caution and firmness. There were about 2000 men under arms, and a number nearly equal unarmed, all of whom appeared anxious to give their aid to support the government.

The troops were drawn up on each side of the road; the President, accompanied by the general and field officers, rode through and bowed to them. The thirty nine prisoners we had taken, with their heads uncovered and their hats under their arms, marched twice through the columns, that in that humiliating condition they might behold a few of

[1] See p. 242 note 2, above.

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the many who were ready to defend the government. This was a mortifying situation to Cochran, M^c^Keen and others. They were then remanded to prison, and the gaol is now guarded by a band of soldiers.

Thus happily has the most dangerous mob we have ever had been suppressed, and that without any untoward accident. I think the government will gain strength by this event. Its warmest friends are animated by seeing the promptness with which all orders and classes of men came forward in its support. The timid are encouraged and supported; and the vile race of time-servers no longer hesitate — they speak loud in support of law and order. If our rulers have wisdom and prudence to improve the present moment, this disturbance will terminate to our advantage. The militia may be arranged, officered and disciplined. And if the legislature will maintain their dignity within their own walls, they will receive ample support and revenue from without. The complaints against Courts and against taxes will cease, when men are persuaded that the government is permanent. The Legislature ought to give, and not receive, the *tone* to the people. The *few*, and not the many, are *wise*, and ought to bear rule.

I am glad that the mob thus *early* disclosed their views. Had the same spirit of jealousy, distrust and uneasiness increased for two years to come as it has done for eight months past, their numbers would have rendered them formidable. I think it is a favorable circumstance that they attacked the Legislature, the fountain head of law and order, and not the Inferior Courts, as did the insurgents of Massachusetts. Theirs struck at the streams, but ours aimed a bold stroke at the fountain head. This has brought the contest to a single point — whether we would yield up our government and all our dearest rights to an ignorant lawless band of unprincipled ruffians! I am &c.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

VIII

TO JOHN HALE.

EXETER, Septr 26th 1786.

MY DEAR SIR,

On the 22d the two houses met in Convention, and the prisoners were brought before them. The principals were examined separately and alone, but the rest of them were brought in together, questioned, admonished and remanded to prison.

Capt. French discovered great contrition. He gave satisfactory evidence that he was an honest man, but had been deceived and seduced by designing men. He frankly confessed that he had forfeited his life,

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and implored their mercy. He produced a letter signed by Jonathan Moulten, Esq. president of the Strafford Convention, directed to him as president of the Rockingham Convention. In this letter Genl. Moulten requested that the Rockingham Convention would pursue the measures they had began; that they should resolutely demand paper money; that should their first request be denied, that committees from the two Conventions should be appointed to meet with committees from the other counties to deliberate on and determine what means should be pursued for the redress of public grievances. The letter was dated, I think, the 10th instant and was written in an artful manner. It did not advise to violent measures. Genl. Moulten was present, and blushed whilst it was read. French stated to the Court that last Monday Col. Benjamin Stone came to him and declared that Nathaniel Peabody Esq.[1] informed him that the Legislature had passed a law authorizing the tories to return to the State; that their farms were to be re-purchased and restored to them, and that a heavy tax would be levied on the people for that purpose. That Stone advised him (French) to go immediately to Londonderry and see what could be done, and that in consequence of this he went there and collected men and marched to this town in arms.

Major Cochran said but little, but was much affected. He acknowledged he had forfeited his life and fortune to the State. He said that in the revolutionary war he had at the hazard of his life, cheerfully served his country; that since then he had been appointed a major in the militia; that he had been deceived by false representations; that he had taken a false and hasty step, but as it was his first offence, he now humbly entreated that Court whom he had so daringly insulted a few hours since, to save him from ruin.

French, Cochran, and ten others were released and pardoned, and the residue remained in gaol. They were reprimanded with merited severity. Cochran was informed that a Court martial would be called, and they would brake him.

The next day the Legislature appointed a committee of militia officers to re-examine several of the prisoners, and upon their report released and pardoned all of them except five. Many of those wretches are but mere machines operated on by others. I have been as anxious and as busy to have them discharged as I was on Wednesday to capture them. Those who were most forward in taking were most desirous of having the bulk of them released. But those who in the hour of danger were in the back ground were now the most vehement against the deluded prisoners.

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[1] See p. 241 note 2, above.

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Captains McKean and Cochran, Lt. David Batchelder, Ensign Cotton[1] and John Gregg were detained. Some of the members of the Court were in favor of releasing them all; and it was with difficulty a majority was found to deliver over these five to the Superior Court to be indicted and tried *for a riot, and a riot only*. The fears of some were alarmed least they should be indicted for high treason, convicted and executed.

Last evening Major Cass[2] with seven brave men took a warrant from a Justice of the Peace, rode to Sandown and Londonderry, and took Eaton and Morse[3] from their beds, and bro't them to this town, where they were examined and committed to prison.

Yesterday the Attorney General[4] filed an Information against the five prisoners in the Superior Court. They plead not guilty. They were ordered to recognize with sureties in the sum of £100 each for their appearance &c at the next term. No testimony appearing to criminate Cotton, except his coming into town with the mob, he was discharged on finding sureties for his good behavior in the sum of £50.

Information was also filed against Morse and Eaton. When the Clerk read it and enquired of them whether they were guilty or not guilty? Morse immediately fell on his knees, and answered, "Guilty, very guilty." Eaton fainted and fell, and it was some time before he was able to answer *guilty*. They all obtained sureties, and of course are discharged from prison.

I confess, I am surprised and disappointed in the Superior Court's ordering these high handed offenders released from prison, on recognizing in such small sums. They could have found sureties for much larger sums. It has the appearance of estimating rebellion only as a petty offence. Too much lenity is as fatal to government as too much severity. I am &c.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

IX

TO JOHN HALE.

LONDONDERRY, Octr 6th 1786

MY DEAR SIR,

Peace and quietness prevail here. The insurgents who threatened me at Exeter are now humble and fawning as spaniels. James McMurphey is deranged. He goes armed, and several others dare not sleep in their houses, for fear they should be removed as Eaton and

[1] Thomas Cotton.
[2] Maj. Jonathan Cass.
[3] Samuel Morse.
[4] John Prentice.

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Morse were. John Gregg and his associates now boldly declare that *they* should never have carried their opposition to government so far had not the Representatives from this town given them encouragement. Col. Runnels and Archibald M^c^Murphey Esq. are the representatives from this place. The Colonel's friends and companions were at Exeter in arms against the government. His apprentice and journeyman were of the number and his own son Daniel actually joined them, and marched part of the way to Exeter, and then left the mob for fear he should kill his father in the contest. The colonel is a man of little property, is intemperate, illiterate, and fond of low grovelling company.

A. M^c^Murphey Esq. was not so much connected with the mob. He is an arbitrary, conceited man. He has read a few volumes of history, and can repeat the title pages of some others. Of this information he is very profuse in his speeches in Court. He will sacrifice every sentiment of honor and honesty to the applause of the rabble. His head is better than his heart. He has, however, more of cunning than wisdom. He is becoming intemperate in the use of inebriating liquors.

I have no doubt of General Peabody's[1] being the friend of the mob. His pecuniary circumstances led him to wish for paper money.

Moses Dow Esq. is a brigadier general, a lawyer, a member of the House of Representatives and a Councillor. He is a man of moderate abilities, more specious than solid; he scims the surface. As a lawyer he is not respected. Avarice is his God, and popularity the idol he worships. I heard him say that he "wished success to the mob, and that they were pursuing out of doors what he had ineffectually sought for in the House." He is civil in his carriage, and always appears to have an entire command of his passions. I never saw him discover any passion. At the Barr, and in debate in the Legislature, he never discovers any animation, but his hearers are doomed to hear the same dull, monotonous sound. He has several times been elected as a Delegate to Congress, but never took his seat there.

Peter Green Esq. of Concord has been suspected of favoring the views of the mob and of giving them countenance; but I know of no evidence to support these suspicions. This man is a lawyer, the pupil of our present Chief Justice Livermore;[2] but he is destitute of both his talents and information. He has drawn many writs and done much of what is called *default business;* but he is not a good or a safe councillor. He never attempts to act as an advocate. I never knew him to argue a single cause; and although often a member of the General Court, he spoke none in debate. He is one of the proprietors

[1] Nathaniel Peabody.

[2] Samuel Livermore.

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of the Allen claim, and is devoted to the interest of General Peabody. These two circumstances has injured his popularity. His thirst for office is great; to attain it he would sacrifice his interest and the little reputation he has acquired. He is now Lt. Col. of the Cavalry and justice of the peace. His attachment to the British interest in the time of the revolutionary war, brought him to Exeter prison, where he was some short time confined by order of the Committee of Safety. He has not the reputation of an honest man, and I am confident he is now contracting habits of intemperance, which will prove his ruin.

Runnels, Dow and Green are the intimate friends and companions of Gen! Peabody. I am &c.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

X

TO JOHN HALE.

LONDONDERRY, Octr 14th 1786

MY DEAR SIR,

In my last I gave you a brief sketch of the character of some of the most intimate friends of Genl Peabody. This man has been more than once a member of Congress from this State. He has several years been a representative from Atkinson in our state legislature, a senator, and two years a Councillor. In March, 1785, he was voted for as president of the State, an office he is very ambitious of obtaining. In June of that year he was elected member of Congress, and in the autumn session he was again re-elected. But at last June the General Court passed a resolve to recal him and directed him not to proceed to Congress.[1] He was appointed General of the Cavalry and a Justice of the Peace throughout the State. At this session a resolve passed the House of Representatives to remove him from said offices, but the Senate did not concur therein. He is not only an infidel, but is according to our statute laws a *Blasphemer*. He does not hesitate in public mixed companies to call Jesus Christ *Mary's bastard*, the Trinity, *simple old women*, and talks of committing fornication with thunder and lightning. His conversation is disgusting on this subject to all prudent, and much more so to all religious, men. If a man does not believe in the religion of his country he ought not to ridicule or scoff at it. No gentleman of good breeding will ever wittingly ridicule a religion to a people who sincerely believe and profess it. It is cruel unnecessarily to wound the feelings of others. His irreligion and prophanity have contributed to his present unpopularity.

[1] State Papers, New Hampshire, xx. 627.

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He possesses an uncommon share of vanity. At a time when he was member of Congress, he was appointed one of the Committee who were to consult Genl. Washington upon some arrangements relative to prosecuting the war. On this occasion he hinted in very plain language to that great General of our armies, *that had he been Commander he should have managed to more advantage.*

With all his vanity he possesses, on some subjects, much caution and cunning. And in his view the end always justifies the means. His moral sense never restrains his actions, but his pride sometimes checks him. John T. Gilman, Esq, the present Treasurer, when at Philadelphia found that the better people held Peabody in contempt, and reproached the State for appointing such a man to that high office. On Mr. Gilman's return to the State, he stated the fact to the Committee of Safety, and requested them to use their influence to procure Peabody's recall from Congress. When Peabody heard of this application, he said, "When I return to New Hampshire, I will do for that young lad." On his return, he found that Mr. Gilman and his friends and connections, were influential, and instead of opposing he flattered him in the most abject manner.

He is very attentive to his dress and equipage. He has a Clerk, whose time is principally employed in copying his letters. He boasts of immeasured tracts of land, but has not a single deed recorded. He has notes and bonds to the amount of more than thirty thousand dollars, which his clerk has carefully numbered and recorded, but which I am confident were fabricated by himself. 'Tis now two years since he has not dared on account of debts to appear at Haverhill, which is not more than five miles from his house. A reward of ten guineas has been publickly offered to any person who would carry him there. Within this two years he has kept close within his own house. I have no doubt of his utter inability to pay his debts. His house has at all times been the resort for the vilest of men. There you might find Thaddeus Butler, Capt. Joseph Kelly, Dr. Silas Hedges, Dr. Moody Morse, William Duty, James Saunders, and their infamous associates. Men noted for perjury, forgery, counterfeiting the current coin, horse stealing, breaking gaols, and such high handed offences. When he was at the height of his power and popularity his house was then, as now, always open to those miscreants, and himself always attentive to their requests. He considered these men as firmly devoted to his interest, and more to be depended on than the populace. If this man is to be judged by his companions, he must be condemned.

He is as destitute of honor as of honesty. His promises are regarded only where his immediate interest requires it. He has often traduced,

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slandered and vilified men of much fairer characters than his own. When a member of the Legislature his object generally was to enquire what was popular, not what was just and right. He was always mysterious in debate and conversation. I never knew him explicit. He had no talents for business, was unable to originate and support a measure; but no man I ever saw was better qualified to perplex and embarrass. It was his *forte*.

As his popularity depended on the lowest classes of the people, he pursued measures to please them. His measures were calculated more to introduce anarchy than to support government. Sound policy, great and honorable views formed no part of his system. The man who was regardless of his own solemn engagements, was equally as much opposed to the support of public faith and honor. A bad citizen will be a bad ruler.

He has always advocated measures that had a tendency to relieve debtors from their engagements, and to perplex and embarrass creditors. He was zealous in support of the law making every kind of property so far a tender for the payment of debts, as to exempt the body of the debtor from imprisonment. This law has aided fraudulent debtors.

For two years this man was of the Council and the most influential at that board. The first year, 1784, Meshech Weare was then President, and he was quite superannuated. John M^c^Clary, Joseph Badger, Francis Blood and Moses Chase, Esq. were the other councillors. Peabody did everything in his power to attach them to him. He nominated them to office, and they were appointed. M^c^Clary was old, he was content with being Justice of the Peace throughout the State;[1] but his son[2] was made Colonel of a regiment and justice of the peace, and his son-in-law Captain of a company. Badger, though old, was made Judge of Probate and justice throughout the State. His eldest son[3] was made colonel of a regiment and justice of the Peace. And his son in law, Thomas Cogswell, though he had lived but a short time in the State was appointed a Judge of the Inferior Court. Blood was also appointed a judge of the Inferior Court and a colonel of a regiment. Chase was unambitious, a justice's commission satisfied him. Peabody might have been a judge, but as this would have excluded him from the legislature, and lessened his chance for the presidency, he refused it. He was only appointed General of the Cavalry and justice throughout the State. With such a president and council it is easy to see the course such a man would pursue. He had no children, his influence was

[1] In December, 1784. See New Hampshire State Papers, xx. 255.
[2] Michael McClary. See ibid. xx. 254, 255. [3] Joseph Badger, Jr.

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in favor of his dependant tools, and such men as would be useful to him. By his means the infamous Moody Morse was made a justice of the peace. Benjamin Stone, a worthless wretch, was appointed Justice of the peace, special judge of the Inferior Court and colonel of a regiment. Jeremiah Gilman, a dishonest, vicious man, and a common blasphemer, was made a justice and special judge of the Superior Court. I could enumerate others equally as unworthy whom he raised to office, some of whom has since turned against him.

He possesses considerable wit and pleasantry, and can make himself agreeable to his company; and he certainly is very hospitable at his house.

The President has ordered Col. Stone and eight other militia officers to be arrested, and has ordered a court martial, of whom Gen[l] Cilley is president, to meet the 22d of next month for their trial. I am &c.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

XI

TO JOHN HALE.

LONDONDERRY, Oct[r] 22, 1786

DEAR SIR,

In my last I ought to have added to the offices given to Councillor Badger and his family the following in addition to what I then stated, viz. to himself that of Brigadier General in the militia, and to Abiel Foster, Esq. another of his sons-in-law, judge of the Inferior Court in the County of Rockingham. The Constitution[1] says "Government was not instituted for the private interest or emoluments of any one man, family or class of men," but the Council thought otherwise.

In the commencement of the revolution your friend, Woodbury Langdon, Esq. was a tory. He was one of the five who signed the protest against the war. In 1775 he embarked for England, and was often closetted by the British Minister. On his return to New York he was well accommodated in a British frigate. At New York the British imprisoned him; but it is now understood that it was done to produce an

[1] The following extract is from the Constitution of New Hampshire, drawn up in 1783:

Government being instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the whole community, and not for the private interest or emolument of any one man, family or class of men; therefore, whenever the ends of government are prevented, and public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress are ineffectual, the people may, and of right ought, to reform the old, or establish a new government (part i. art. i. § 10).

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opinion here that he was friendly to our revolution. His principles are formed by his interest, and his conduct has changed with the times. He has been both Whig and tory. When he became a Whig, he inveighed with bitterness against the tories. He is certainly a man of strong mental powers, of a clear discriminating mind. Is naturally arbitrary, and has strong prejudices. His sense of what is right and his pride form a greater security for his good behavior than his love of virtue.

John Sullivan, Esq[r] now President of the State is

> Of praise a mere glutton, he swallow'd what came,
> And the puff of a dunce, he mistook it for fame.
>
> *Goldsmith*

I never knew mortal so greedy of flattery; he swallows the grossest. Like his brother, James, of Boston, he wants what really renders man estimable, *integrity*. From my acquaintance with him I am confident his knowledge as a lawyer, and his talents as a man, are rated too high. His bold, unqualified declarations often supplies the want of knowledge.

The Superior Court have not yet tried the five Insurgents as rioters; they will probably fine them forty shillings each, and costs about as much more. This really will be trifling. It would better become the dignity of the Government to pardon them than to exact a paltry fine of men who had forfeited their lives by their traitorous offences. This is mere conjecture; but is occasioned by a late conversation with the Chief Justice. I am &c.

WILLIAM PLUMER.

XII

TO JOHN SULLIVAN.

EPPING, March 14, 1787.

MY DEAR SIR,

In a late tour through a very considerable number of towns on Connecticut river, I was pleased to find, notwithstanding the many little and infamous tricks practised by the agents and tools of *certain characters*, that very many of the people, and many of the most respectable, were zealous advocates for your re-election. Aaron Hutchinson, Esq[r] was indefatigable in your interest. He assured me that the votes from the river towns would be numerous, and most of them for you. Capt. Cherry[1] was my companion, and at all places and in all companies the

[1] Probably Capt. Samuel Cherry. See New Hampshire State Papers, xx. 812, 826.

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name and interest of *Sullivan* engrossed his attention. I sincerely recommend him to your notice.

The towns of Epping and Londonderry having both of them taxed me in the capitation tax, I thought myself justified in voting, and publicly and privately using my influence in both towns in the choice of State officers. At Londonderry the votes were, for you, 70, Judge Livermore, 69, Mr. Langdon, 27. The Insurgents gave Livermore their votes. At Epping you had 105, and there were only 8 scattering votes. I presume your re-election is certain.

Your friends Prentice[1] and Pinkerton[2] are the representatives from Londonderry. Capt. John McKeen, one of the Insurgent chiefs, was set up against Mr. Prentice, and obtained 110 votes. Unable to elect a Representative, the insurgents exerted themselves to choose McKean one of the selectmen. They polled for it four times, and though respectable men were set up against him, he had nearly an equal number of votes with any one of them. To the honor of the town the friends of order and good government prevailed in every instance. Previous to the meeting the Insurgents were unwearied in their applications to the people. 'T is a misfortune that the disaffected usually take more pains to destroy a government, than its friends do to support it.

From an inviolable attachment to the government and prosperity of the State, I am, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM PLUMER.

Mr. WILLIAM ENDICOTT communicated the following paper, written by Mr. Alfred B. Page:

AN EARLY AMERICAN POEM.

The prevailing idea, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, of the ominous significance of the phenomenon of comets is set forth in verse in a poem "Written by J. W. in New-England," dated March 6, 1680–81, and printed at London by J. Darby in 1683, making a pamphlet of sixteen pages — the title on the recto of the first leaf and the text filling pp. 8–15.

The title reads as follows:[3]

---

[1] John Prentice. [2] John Pinkerton.

[3] While November 18 is the date given in the title, the heading on p. 3 reads: "*A Judicious Observation of that Dreadful* COMET *which appeared on the 20th of* November, 1680."

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A
Judicious Observation
OF THAT
Dreadful Comet,
WHICH
Appeared on *November* 18. 1680, and continued until the 10th of *February* following.
Wherein is shewed the manifold Judgments that are like to attend upon most parts of the World.

Written by *J. W.* in *New-England.*

Nunquam futilibus excanduit ignibus Æther.

Heavens face such Comets ne're did stain,
But mortal Men felt grievous pain.

Heavens face with Flames were never fill'd,
But sorrows great Mens hearts soon thrill'd.

Such Comets when Heav'ns face they cover,
Bespeak aloud that Changes hover.

LONDON, Printed by *J. Darby*, *Anno* 1683.

But it is as a hitherto unnoticed early American poem rather than as a theological prophecy that the production has value and interest now. Being a London publication of an American poem, the pamphlet is of quite as much interest as if it had been issued from the local press; and the circumstance perhaps gives an added distinction to the little book.

The following extracts show the style and tenor of the verses and the poetical fancy and practised hand of the author:

Silence all Flesh, your selves prepare
To read those Lines which written are
In Heavens large *folio*, with the hand
Of him that doth all things command.
My *Genius* moves me to declare,
And to relate what Changes are,

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Like raging Waves of th' Ocean great,
Rouling themselves upon the seat
Of *Vesta* now, whereon we dwell,
And must go hence to Heaven or Hell.
I'le not besmear my Paper with
Volatile Megrim-Fancies, sith
The Eccho of approaching trouble
Upon us now doth daily double.
My Muse grows solid, and retires
From those chill-painted Fancy-Fires
Wherewith sometimes she lov'd to toy,
And therefore crys, *Pardon à moy*.[1]

. . . . . .

You nimble Lads, who *Neptune* ride,
And dreadless through fierce Ocean slide,
Reef it awhile: All hands aloft!
Mind well your Helm; for you'l have oft
Salt breeming Waves, which will not burn,
Yet must become your dismal Urn.
Your Carcasses when you are dead
Will try the Depth, like Sounding-Lead;
Your briny Coats, and swollen Bulks,
Must roul on Shores like Shipwrack'd Hulks.[2]

. . . . . .

A Central Line of darksome Shade
This sweeping Tail to our view made:
Which signifies the House of *Mors*
To those who still without remorse
Are glewed unto fond Tradition,
And to the Truth will not them fashion.[3]

The conclusion of the poem is as follows:

Must Heathen Nations still combine
To ruine what is prov'd divine?
Shall infidels boldly presume
God's holy People to consume?
Shall Hereticks be bold to vent
Such Fallacies as Churches rent?
Shall Truth be trodden to the Ground
By Policy of Hell profound?

[1] Page 3. [2] Pages 7, 8. [3] Page 13.

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Shall Antichrist his Wound now heal,
By trampling down the Common-weal?
Shall Kings and Princes now fall down
Themselves and theirs to th' Triple Crown;
Basely prostrate, and willingly
Adore him who in 's Villany
Doth cheat the World fallaciously,
Imposing on them cuningly?
Shall they their Swords and Spears cast down
At 's Feet, and swear to guard his Crown,
Who is their Vassal, and no Prince,
As will appear when he goes hence?
Shall th' Golden Cup of Mountebanks
Cheat all Men, yea, Men of all ranks?
Shall no Man see and shun the Cheat?
Sure when 'tis thus, God's Wrath is great.
If any ask how this can be?
Let him anatomize these three:
I mean the *Pope*, the *Turk*, the *Devil*,
Grand Architects of all that 's evil.
My Heart is cold, my Quill grows dry,
And must awhile in silence lie.

Sic Cecinit. J. W.
March 6. $168\frac{9}{1}$.

As to the authorship of the poem and the identity of "J. W.," it is striking that so many names with these initial letters can be easily picked out among the scholars and poets of New England at that time as the possible author. There was the famous minister and publicist, John Wise, of Ipswich, the Rev. John Woodbridge, the father (of Andover), or the son (of Wethersfield, Connecticut), any one of whom might have written the poem; then of the Winthrop family, a name which naturally suggests itself, there was [Fitz-]John, and strangely enough there is among the Winthrop family papers a carelessly made manuscript copy which plainly shows, after a careful comparison, evidence of having been taken from the printed poem.

Of the Rev. Ichabod Wiswall, of Duxbury, it has been stated by excellent authority, Alden Bradford, that "he wrote a poem which was occasioned by the appearance of a comet, and which was published in London."[1] Samuel Deane, in his History of Scituate,

[1] 1 Massachusetts Historical Collections, ii. 8.

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and Justin Winsor, in the History of Duxbury, also refer to the existence of such a poem by Wiswall. These several references to the poem and its author seem to leave no doubt as to its identity with the one under consideration; but this is the first time that the identification has been noted and established in print.

So far as is known this poem constitutes Mr. Wiswall's only literary production, and it is worthy of notice and of reproduction on account of its excellence as verse and of its rarity.

The result of this investigation as to the authorship of this unrecognized American poem is confirmed by an entry in the Rev. Thomas Prince's Manuscript Catalogue, which I have since seen, where the authorship is also attributed to Ichabod Wiswall. There is not now, however, a copy of the work in the Prince Collection at the Boston Public Library, although in the general collection of the library is the copy sold at the Aspinwall-Barlow sale a few years ago. In the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society is another copy which has been there many years.

It is not the purpose of this paper to furnish a biography of Mr. Wiswall, however deserving he may be of a place of rank among the early scholars of New England, but the following brief sketch may serve as an outline of his life.

Ichabod Wiswall was born in Dorchester in 1637, and was admitted to Harvard College, although he did not graduate, as will be seen further on. In 1655 he was teacher of the Dorchester school, and for many years in his later life was the noted teacher of Duxbury. The period of Mr. Wiswall's life spent in the settlements on the Kennebec River was described in 1896 by the Rev. Henry O. Thayer.[1] In Duxbury Mr. Wiswall was ordained as the minister of the church in 1676, and here for a quarter of a century he was the faithful minister and helpful citizen until his death in the year 1700. In 1689–1690 he was the chosen Agent of the Plymouth Colony, as Increase Mather was of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, at the English Court, which mission kept him there many months. The expressions in his letter to Governor Thomas Hinckley at this time[2] also show his interest in astronomy and his familiarity with that science.

[1] Ministry on the Kennebec, 2 Maine Historical Collections, ix. 113–123.

[2] See Morton's New England's Memorial (Davis's edition, 1826), p. 475; 4 Massachusetts Historical Collections, v. 299–301. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. Frederick L. Gay.

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The following account of the earliest "rebellion" among the students of Harvard College, about the year 1655, was written by the Rev. Thomas Prince in 1757, with reference to the Rev. Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth, Massachusetts; but it is equally applicable to the Rev. Ichabod Wiswall. The account appears in the Preface to Mr. William Torrey's A Brief Discourse concerning Futurities [1687], and is as follows:

I suppose he was admitted into Harvard-College, *about* 1650 [1651 in the case of Wiswall], *and should, according to the preceeding Custom, have taken his* first Degree *in* three Years. *But the Corporation making a Law that the Scholars should study at College* four Years *before they commenced* Batchelors *in* Arts; *several Scholars tho' they were accounted as good as any before them, and I suppose of* different Classes, *went off, and never took any Degree at all. There were at least* Five *of them, who after made a very shining Figure in* NEW-ENGLAND: *viz. Gov.* Josiah Winslow; *this Rev. Mr.* Samuel Torrey; *the Rev. Mr.* Ichabod Wiswall *of* Duxbury, *Agent* for PLYMOUTH-COLONY *at the Court of* England *upon the Revolution; the Rev. Mr.* Samuel Wakeman *of* Fairfield; *and the Rev. Mr.* Brinsmead *of* Marlborough: *who would all have been a great Honour to our* Harvard-Catalogue: *and I could wish their Names might be yet inserted, as educated there and qualified for their First Degree, tho' diverted from it* (pp. i, ii).[1]

It is well to credit Mr. Wiswall at this day with the estimate of his contemporaries, that he was "nearly a faultless man" and was highly regarded for his "talents, piety, and incorruptible integrity;" and it is a pleasure to recall to mind this distinguished man and his forgotten contribution to early American poetry.

On behalf of Mr. ALBERT MATTHEWS, Mr. ENDICOTT communicated the paper which follows.[2]

[1] Cf. Publications of this Society, viii. 200 note.

[2] At the meeting in March last (p. 263, above), Mr. Matthews exhibited photographs of the Constitutional Courant and of several of the snake devices, but was unable to procure others in time to include the paper in the Transactions of that meeting.

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THE SNAKE DEVICES, 1754–1776, AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURANT, 1765.

At three different times the famous snake devices, which presumably originally owed their existence to the suggestion of Franklin,[1] became prominent in the history of the American colonies, — first shortly before the meeting of the Albany Congress in 1754, again about when the Stamp Act went into force in 1765, and finally for a year or so before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. While the influence they exerted may not have been great, yet it was appreciable, and their popularity seems to warrant a somewhat detailed account of their history. Not that historians have neglected them — on the contrary, a good deal has been said about them. But unfortunately what has been said has been mainly inaccurate,[2] and when writers have attempted to reproduce the original snake device they have, almost without exception, reproduced something else.[3] Such being the case, there appears to be ample excuse for facsimile reproductions of some of the various devices and for a correct statement as to their history.

I

In his American Revolution, published in 1891, Fiske wrote:

> In 1754, the prospect of immediate war with the French led several of the royal governors to call for a congress of all the colonies, to be held at Albany. . . . New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland — only seven of the thirteen colonies — sent commissioners to this congress. The people showed little interest in the movement. It does not appear that any public meetings were held in favour of it. Among the newspapers, the only one which warmly approved of it seems to have been the "Pennsylvania Gazette," edited by Benjamin Franklin, which appeared with a union device and the motto "Unite or Die!" (i. 7).

[1] Sparks says that the article quoted later in the text (pp. 415, 416, below) "was undoubtedly written by the editor" of the Pennsylvania Gazette — that is, by Franklin. McMaster asserts that "both the design and the cutting were the work of Franklin" (Benjamin Franklin, 1887, p. 162); but no proof of the statement is offered. It should not be forgotten that David Hall was Franklin's partner in the publication of the Pennsylvania Gazette.

[2] See pp. 419, 420, below.

[3] See pp. 420, 421, below.

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This passage is so misleading, even when not actually inaccurate, as to require comment. First, the call for the Albany Congress was issued December 24, 1753, by the Governor of New York on the recommendation of the Lords of Trade dated September 18, 1753.[1] Secondly, the absence of public meetings in favor of a union is noteworthy only in case public meetings were commonly held at that time. I apprehend that they were not. Thirdly, even admitting that "warm approval" is not too strong language to apply to a single appeal for union made nearly six weeks before the meeting of the Albany Congress, yet the Pennsylvania Gazette was not the only paper to make such an appeal. Fourthly, the statement that the Pennsylvania Gazette appeared "with a union device" gives the impression that such a device was adopted as the heading of the paper. Such was not the case. Fifthly, the motto used in Franklin's device was not "Unite or Die!" but "JOIN, or DIE."

The Albany Congress was called for June 14, but, owing to the failure of the Indians to arrive promptly,[2] did not meet until

[1] In a circular letter to the Governors of Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, the Lords of Trade wrote:

We desire you will lay this matter before the Council and General Assembly of the Province under your government and recommend to them forthwith to make a proper provision for appointing Commissioners, to be joined with those of the other Governments, for renewing the Covenant Chain with the Six Nations and for making such presents to them as has been usual upon the like occasions. . . . As to the time and place of meeting it is left to the Governor of New York to fix it (New York Colonial Documents, vi. 802).

The reason why no commissioners were sent from Virginia to the Albany Congress is thus stated in a letter written (presumably January 29, 1754) by Governor Dinwiddie to the Governor of New York:

Since writing the above I rec'd Y'r Letter of the 4th Dec'r covering that from the L'd's Comiss'rs for T[rade] and P[lantations]. I observe Y'r Intent'on of an Interview with the Ind's at Albany in June next, w'ch am very sorry interferes with the Meeting I have propos'd with the Six Nat'ns and the So'thern Ind's on the 20th of May next, add thereto the Broils we are like to have with the French, w'ch will enhance all my Time, and I am convinc'd the Assembly of this Province will be very backward in sending Com'rs to Albany, as the Charge of the intended meeting at Winchester, and the raising of Men to defeat the Designs of the French will be very considerable (Dinwiddie Papers, i. 66).

[2] The alleged reason for the delay is sufficiently curious to be given. The following paragraph, copied from a New York paper of June 24, is taken from the Pennsylvania Gazette of June 27, 1754:

The Indians of the several different Tribes design'd to form the Congress the 14th Instant, were not come down to Albany the Day appointed, owing, 'tis said, to one of their Sachems having died on or about that Day 12 Months, and their then being busy

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June 19, and ended July 11. It should not be forgotten that at the time the important thing was the treaty with the Indians, a plan of union being looked upon as secondary. After a treaty had been concluded with the Indians and the red men had departed, then a plan of union was taken up in earnest.[1] A careful exami-

with the Ceremonies customary among them, so long a Time after the Death of such Personages: They however were to be in Albany the Monday after, being the 17th Instant (p. 2/2).

[1] In the proceedings of the Congress (printed in New York Colonial Documents, vi. 853–892) there is little about the plan of union until the completion of the treaty with the Indians. In the Boston Gazette of July 18 appeared the following, dated New York, July 8:

From Albany we are told, That the Treaty ended there, in Favour of the British Interest, the latter End of the Week before last, and that several of the Gentlemen who assisted therein, designed to visit the Mohawks Country, being thereunto invited by sundry of the Mohawks Chiefs (p. 2/2).

The plan of union engrossed the attention of the Congress on July 9, 10, and 11.

The idea of a union of the colonies was "in the air" at that time, but a discussion of the subject does not come within the scope of this paper. An excellent account of the attempts at forming a union between 1690 and 1760 is given by Frothingham in his Rise of the Republic (pp. 101–157). See also Winsor's Intercolonial Congresses and Plans of Union, in the Narrative and Critical History of America, v. 611–614. Archibald Kennedy's Importance of Gaining and Preserving the Friendship of the Indians to the British Interest is sometimes assigned to 1752. The London edition was printed in that year, but the New York edition was published in 1751. At the end is printed a letter not signed, but dated "Philadelphia, March 20, 1750, 1." This was first included in an edition of Franklin's works by Bigelow in 1887, the editor's attention having been called to the letter by Edward Eggleston. As early as 1852, however, Bancroft had stated his belief that the "voice from Philadelphia" was "in tones which I believe were Franklin's" (History of the United States, iv. 91). This attribution was repeated in 1876 (ibid. iii. 59), but in 1883 (ibid. ii. 370) was withdrawn. In 1754 Kennedy wrote another pamphlet on the subject — Serious Considerations on the Present State of the Affairs of the Northern Colonies. The pamphlet was advertised in the Boston Evening-Post of August 19 (p. 2/1) and August 26 (p. 2/2) as "Just published at New-York, And sold by Thomas Fleet, at the Heart and Crown in Cornhill, Boston." Yet internal evidence seems to indicate that it was written before the meeting of the Albany Congress. One sentence reads:

Will not the Commissioners from the several Colonies, and it is to be hoped a Majority will attend, in the first Place consider the Danger we are in at this Point of Time? (p. 23. Cf. pp. 6, 14, 15).

It is not uninteresting to inquire exactly when Franklin worked out his plan of union. The account given in his Autobiography, written not earlier than 1788, is as follows:

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nation of such newspapers[1] as I can find published during the months of May, June, July, and August, 1754, yields the following result. In the Pennsylvania Gazette of May 9 was printed the article presently to be quoted.[2] In the same paper of Thursday, June 6, appeared the following:

The Commissioners appointed by his Honour the Governor in behalf of this Province, for the ensuing Treaty at Albany, set out for that Place on Monday last, accompanied by sundry Gentlemen of this City: And the Commissioners from Maryland left Town the next Day for the same Place (p. 2/2).[3]

In 1754, war with France being again apprehended, a congress of commissioners from the different colonies was, by order of the Lords of Trade, to be assembled at Albany, there to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations concerning the means of defending both their country and ours. Governor Hamilton . . . naming the speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself to join Mr. Thomas Penn and Mr. Secretary Peters as commissioners to act for Pennsylvania, . . . we met the other commissioners at Albany about the Middle of June.

In my way thither, I projected and drew a plan for the union of all the colonies under one government, so far as might be necessary for defense, and other unimportant general purposes. As we passed through York, I had there shown my project to Mr. James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy (Writings, Smyth's edition, i. 386, 387).

Franklin left Philadelphia June 3 (Pennsylvania Gazette, June 6, p. 2/2), reached New York June 5 (New-York Gazette, June 10, p. 2/3), embarked for Albany June 9 (ibid. June 10, p. 2/3), and arrived at Albany June 15 (Pennsylvania Gazette, June 27, p. 2/2). On June 8 Franklin wrote James Alexander as follows:

Mr. Alexander is requested to peruse these *Hints*, and make remarks in correcting or improving the scheme, and send the paper with such remarks to Dr. Colden for his sentiments, who is desired to forward the whole to Albany, to their very humble servant (ibid. iii. 199 note).

And on June 9 Alexander wrote to Colden:

I had some conversation with Mr. Franklin and Mr. Peters as to the uniting the colonies, . . . Whereupon Mr. Franklin promised to set down some hints of a scheme that he thought might do, which accordingly he sent to me to be transmitted to you, and it is enclosed (ibid. iii. 199).

Apparently, therefore, the plan was drawn up after Franklin reached New York, and not on his way thither from Philadelphia.

[1] These include the following, which I think were the only papers published north of Maryland: Pennsylvania Gazette, Pennsylvania Journal, New-York Gazette, New-York Mercury, Boston Evening-Post, Boston Gazette, Boston News-Letter, Boston Post-Boy. The files I examined of the New-York Gazette, Boston News-Letter, and Boston Post-Boy, were incomplete.

[2] See pp. 415, 416, below.

[3] A notice similar, but not precisely the same, appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal, June 9, p. 2/3. The Pennsylvania commissioners were John Penn, the Rev. Richard Peters, Isaac Norris, and Benjamin Franklin.

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With the above exception, every item about the Albany Congress which appeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette was copied directly from a New York paper; and while there are in the Pennsylvania Gazette various items about the Albany Congress, they all relate to the treaty with the Indians or to the commissioners, and there is not a single allusion to the plan of union.[1] On the other hand, other newspapers contained interesting items, some of which were not copied into the Pennsylvania Gazette, about the Albany Congress and the plan of union. The following remarks were made by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts on April 2, as reported in the Boston Evening-Post of April 29:

> Such an Union of Councils, besides the happy Effect it will probably have upon the Indians of the Six Nations, may lay a Foundation for a general One among all His Majesty's Colonies, for the mutual Support and Defence against the present dangerous Enterprizes of the *French* on every Side of them (p. 1/2).
>
> For forming this general Union, *Gentlemen*, there is no Time to be lost (p. 2/1).
>
> His Majesty hath given the strongest Proof of His paternal Care of his Colonies, and constant Attention to their Safety, in directing his Governors to promote this Union within their respective Governments (p. 2/1).

On April 25 Governor Belcher of New Jersey — the only Northern colony which sent no commissioners to Albany — said, as reported in the Boston Gazette of July 16:

> Yet, if, upon the Whole, there becomes a strict Union among all his Majesty's Colonies, we may reasonably hope (with the help of God) the Designs of the French will soon be rendered vain and abortive (p. 1/1).

In the Boston Evening-Post of June 3 appeared the following:

> *Annapolis, in Maryland, May* 16. Yesterday a Vote passed the lower House of Assembly, for granting 3000 *l.* towards the present Expedition; and 500 *l.* for a Present to be made the Indians, at the Treaty to be held at Albany next month (p. 4/1).

[1] It should be borne in mind that my purpose in limiting the examination of the newspapers to the months of May–August was to see what they contained before and during the meeting of the Congress. Later, when the plan of union adopted at the Congress came before the different Assemblies for discussion, there was doubtless much about it in the papers.

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In the Boston Evening-Post of May 20 was printed "The Message of both Houses [of the Massachusetts Legislature] to his Excellency, in Answer to his two Speeches, of the 28th of March, and the 2d of April last," from which the following is extracted:

Your Excellency must be sensible that an Union of the several Governments for their mutual Defence, and for the Annoyance of the Enemy, has long been desired by this Province, and Proposals made for this Purpose; we are still in the same Sentiments, and shall use our Endeavours to effect it (p. 1/2).

In the Boston Evening-Post of August 12 was printed the following:

Charlestown, South-Carolina, June 20. As the Motions of the *French* on the *Ohio* River, and the Measures they are pursuing there, threaten to disturb the Tranquility of the *British* Provinces; it is greatly to be wish'd that the *British* Provinces would unite in some System or Scheme for the publick Peace and Safety. Such an Union would render us respected by the *French*, for they are no Strangers to our Power, tho' they may perhaps suspect our Prudence; let us give them this Proof of our Wisdom, and they will hardly make any Experiment of our Strength (p. 2/1).

In the Boston Post-Boy of Monday, July 22, appeared the following:

On Tuesday Evening came to Town, the Hon. *Thomas Hutchinson*, Esq; Judge of Probate for this County, and one of the Commissioners at the late Convention in *Albany*. — We are informed, That the Indians had all left that City in a good Temper; but that a much smaller Number attended the Interview, than heretofore has been usual. — That the Commissioners from the several Governments were unanimously of Opinion, That an Union of the Colonies was absolutely necessary in order to defeat the Schemes of the French. — That a Representation of the State of the British Interest on this Continent, as it stands related to the French and Indians, has been drawn up and approved of: And that a Plan of Union has likewise been projected, and will, by the said Commissioners, be laid before their respective Constituents. — All the Commissioners left Albany the 12th Instant (p. 2/2).

This paragraph was also printed in the Boston Evening-Post of July 22 (p. 4/1), in the Boston Gazette of July 23 (p. 3/2), and in

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the New-York Mercury of July 29 (p. 2/3), but it was apparently not reprinted in the Pennsylvania Gazette. More than half of the Boston Gazette of October 1 is taken up with a reprint from the New-York Weekly Gazette of September 23 of "A Summary View of the present State of this Continent in general and of the Province of New-York in particular, with regard to our neighbouring Enemies the French," which ends as follows:

To obtain this happy Establishment, WITHOUT which I fear it never will be obtained, May the God of Heaven grant Success to the Plan of Union of the British Colonies on the Continent of *America*. AMEN and AMEN (p. 3/1).

Having thus shown that "warm approval" of a plan of union[1] was by no means confined to the Pennsylvania Gazette, let us return to the article which appeared in that paper on May 9. It occupied the larger part of the first column of the second page of that issue, and is as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, May 9.

Friday last an Express arrived here from Major Washington, with Advice, that Mr. Ward,[2] Ensign of Capt. Trent's[3] Company, was compelled to surrender his small Fort in the Forks of Monongahela to the French, on the 17th past; who fell down from Venango with a Fleet of 360 Battoes and Conoes, upwards of 1000 men, and 18 Pieces of Artillery, which they planted against the Fort; and Mr. Ward having but 44 Men, and no Cannon to make a proper Defence, was obliged to surrender on Summons, capitulating to march out with their Arms, &c. and they had accordingly joined Major Washington, who was advanced with three Companies of the Virginia Forces, as far as the New Store near the Allegheny Mountains, where the Men were employed in clearing a Road for the Cannon, which were every Day expected with Col. Frye,[4] and the Remainder of the Regiment. — We hear farther, that some few of the English Traders on the Ohio escaped, but 'tis supposed the greatest Part are taken, with all their Goods, and Skins, to the Amount of near 20,000 £. The Indian Chiefs, however, have dispatch'd Messages to

[1] That the specific plan of union unanimously adopted at the Albany Congress was rejected alike in England and in this country does not militate against the view that a union was generally desired.

[2] Ensign Edward Ward. See Dinwiddie Papers, i. 147.

[3] Capt. William Trent. See ibid. i. 22.

[4] Col. Joshua Fry. See ibid. i. 7.

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Pennsylvania, and Virginia, desiring that the English would not be discouraged, but send out their Warriors to join them, and drive the French out of the Country before they fortify; otherwise the Trade will be lost, and, to their great Grief, an eternal Separation made between the Indians and their Brethren the English. 'Tis farther said, that besides the French that came down from Venango, another Body of near 400, is coming up the Ohio; and that 600 French Indians, of the Chippaways and Ottaways, are coming down Siota River, from the Lake, to join them; and many more French are expected from Canada; the Design being to establish themselves, settle their Indians, and build Forts just on the Back of our Settlements in all our Colonies; from which Forts, as they did from Crown-Point, they may send out their Parties to kill and scalp the Inhabitants, and ruin the Frontier Counties. Accordingly we hear, that the Back Settlers in Virginia, are so terrify'd by the Murdering and Scalping of the Family last Winter,[1] and the Taking of this Fort, that they begin already to abandon their Plantations, and remove to Places of more Safety. — The Confidence of the French in this Undertaking seems well grounded on the present disunited State of the British Colonies, and the extreme difficulty of bringing so many different Governments and Assemblies to agree in any speedy and effectual Measures for our common Defence and Security; while our Enemies have the very great Advantage of being under one Direction, with one Council, and one Purse. Hence, and from the great Distance of Britain, they presume that they may with Impunity violate the most solemn Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns, kill, seize and imprison our Traders, and confiscate their Effects at Pleasure (as they have done for several Years past) murder and scalp our Farmers, with their Wives and Children, and take an easy Possession of such Parts of the British Territory as they find most convenient for them; which if they are permitted to do, must end in the Destruction of the British Interest, Trade and Plantations in America.

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[1] In a letter dated February 14, Governor Dinwiddie describes "the cruel and barbarous Murder in cool Blood of a whole Family in this Dom'n, Man, Wife, and five children, no longer ago than last Month; and very lately a poor Man on the So. Branch of Potomack [was] robbed of his son." He then goes on to draw a lurid picture of what happened:

Think, You see the Infant torn from the unavailing Struggles of the distracted Mother, the Daughters ravish'd before the Eyes of their wretched Parents, and then, with Cruelty and Insult, butcher'd and scalp'd. Suppose the horrid Scene compleated and the whole Family, Man, Wife and Children (as they were,) murder'd and Scalp'd by these relentless Savages, and then torn in Pieces, and in Part devour'd by wild Beasts, for whom they were left a Prey by their more brutal Enemies (Dinwiddie Papers, i. 74. Cf. i. 119).

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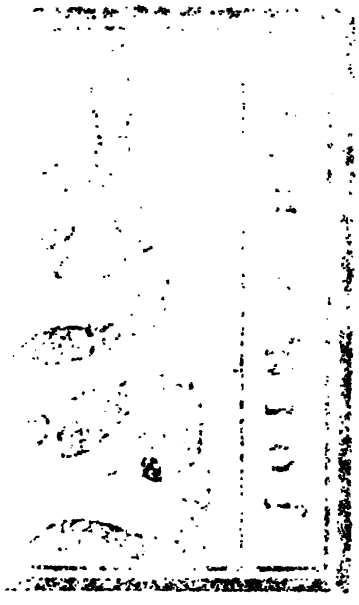

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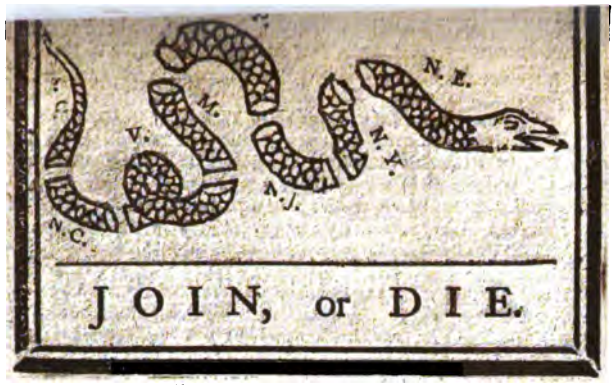

I

Pennsylvania Gazette 9 May 1754
from an original in the possession of the
American Antiquarian Society

II

Boston Gazette 21 May 1754
from an original in the possession of the
Massachusetts Historical Society

III

Boston News-Letter 23 May 1754
from an original in the possession of the
Massachusetts Historical Society

JOIN OR DIE.

IV

Boston Evening Post 7 October 1765
from an original in the possession of the
Boston Athenaeum

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

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This appeal for concerted action on the part of the colonies was enforced by a pictorial design of which a facsimile reproduction is given facing page 416. It was a snake cut into eight parts, the head representing New England, and each of the other seven parts representing respectively New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina — each part being indicated by its appropriate initial letter or letters. It will be observed that Georgia is omitted. Underneath the snake is the motto "JOIN, or DIE." The above paragraph was reprinted, in part or in whole, in most of the newspapers then published in the American colonies.[1] The snake device appeared in the following papers:

Pennsylvania Gazette, May 9, 1754, p. 2/1.
New-York Gazette, May 13, p. 2/2.
New-York Mercury, May 13, p. 2/3.
Boston Gazette, May 21, p. 3/1.
Boston News-Letter, May 23, p. 1/1.

As is to be expected, the devices varied somewhat. Those in the New-York Gazette and in the New-York Mercury differed only in trifling particulars from the original, chiefly in having the initial letters differently placed. The device in the Boston News-Letter is very like the original, except that the legend "Unite & Conquer" is coming from the mouth of the snake. In the device found in the Boston Gazette, the snake is differently designed, and from its mouth, which is open in a very fierce way, comes the legend "Unite and Conquer." In all devices the motto of the original is given beneath the snake, but with an occasional variation in the use of punctuation points. The Boston Evening-Post of May 20 reprinted the article, but did not reproduce the device. There is no known copy of the Boston Post-Boy of May 20. The Pennsylvania Journal of May 9 printed an article similar to the above but much shorter (filling seventeen lines, instead of forty-eight lines in the Pennsylvania Gazette), omitting the appeal for union and without a device. The device was apparently not reproduced in the Maryland Gazette.[2] Not having seen the Virginia Gazette, I am unable

[1] It is believed that every newspaper published in the colonies at the time is enumerated in the text.

[2] For this information I am indebted to Mr. George W. McCreary, assistant secretary and librarian of the Maryland Historical Society.

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to speak of it with certainty. But the following passage, taken from the Boston Gazette of August 13, was presumably copied from the Virginia Gazette of July 19:

Williamsburg, (in Virginia,) July 19.

On Wednesday last arrived in Town Colonel Washington, and Capt. Maccay,[1] who gave the following Account to his Honour the Governor,[2] of the late Action between them and the French, at the Great Meadows in the Western Parts of this Dominion (p. 2/2).[3]

Col. Washington and Capt. Maccay, left Captain Clarke[4] at Winchester, on the 11th last, and his Men were not then arrived there. Thus have a few brave Men been exposed, to be butchered, by the Negligence of those, who in Obedience to their Sovereign's Command, ought to have been with them many Months before; and it is evidently certain, that had the Companies from New York been as expeditious as Capt. Maccay's from South-Carolina, our Camp would have been secure from the Insults of the French, and our brave Men still alive to serve their King and Country.[5] Surely this will remove the Infatuation that seems to have prevailed too much among our Neighbours, and inforce a late ingenious Emblem worthy of their Attention & Consideration (p. 3/1).

That "a late ingenious Emblem" was the snake device is sufficiently obvious, but is capable of proof. I have been unable to find a copy of the South Carolina Gazette of the right date, but in the issue of that paper dated August 22 the above passage was printed, followed by this remark:

[The Emblem here mentioned, was a Figure of a Snake, (exhibited in the Pennsylvania Gazette and other Northern News Papers) divided into 8 Pieces, as represented by the Lines underneath,

SC V P NY
NC M NJ NE

With these Words under the Pieces,
"Join or Die."][6]

---

[1] Capt. James McKay. See Dinwiddie Papers, i. 146.

[2] Robert Dinwiddie.

[3] Washington capitulated at Fort Necessity on July 3.

[4] Capt. Thomas Clarke commanded an Independent Company from New York.

[5] Dinwiddie's letters are filled with denunciations of the other colonies for their dilatoriness in responding to his appeals for aid.

[6] For this extract I am indebted to Miss Mabel L. Webber, librarian of the South Carolina Historical Society.

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From this it may be inferred that the device itself had not been reproduced in the South Carolina Gazette. But be that as it may, certainly the fame of the snake device had been spread throughout the colonies. It lay dormant, however, for over eleven years, when it suddenly renewed its life. Before taking up this second manifestation, let us, in proof of a statement made at the beginning of the present paper, consider some of the descriptions of the original device. I have met with none between 1754 and 1810, in which year Isaiah Thomas described — and correctly described — "the device of a snake, divided into parts, with the motto — 'Join or die,' . . . The snake was divided into eight parts, to represent, first, Newengland; second, Newyork; third, Newjersey; fourth, Pennsylvania; fifth, Maryland; sixth, Virginia; seventh, Northcarolina; and, eighth, Southcarolina."[1] In 1836 Jared Sparks wrote:

> The *Pennsylvania Gazette* for May 9th, 1754, contains an account of the capture by the French of Captain Trent's party, who were erecting a fort (afterwards Fort Duquesne) at the Fork of the Ohio. . . . At the end of the article is a wood-cut,[2] in which is the figure of a snake, separated into parts, to each of which is affixed the initial of one of the colonies, and at the bottom in large capitals the motto, JOIN OR DIE.[3]

In 1864 James Parton remarked:

> *We must unite, or be overcome*, said Franklin. In May, 1754, just before leaving home to attend the Congress at Albany, he published an article to this effect in the *Gazette*, and appended to it one of those allegorical wood-cuts of which he was so fond. It was the picture of a snake cut into as many pieces as there were colonies, each piece having upon it the first letter of the name of a colony, and under the whole, in capital letters, appeared the words JOIN OR DIE.[4]

Referring to the Pennsylvania Gazette of 1754, William E. Foster declared in 1884:

---

[1] History of Printing in America, ii. 329.

[2] It is usually described as a wood-cut, but McMaster speaks of it as "a cut in type-metal" (Benjamin Franklin, p. 162).

[3] Works of Franklin, iii. 25.

[4] Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin, i. 337.

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It was in this paper that he had published only a month earlier, (May 9, 1754), the article in which he introduced the woodcut "Join or die," (the figure of a snake, cut into thirteen pieces), which became a very effective device, ten years later.[1]

Alluding to the Albany Congress of 1754, Colonel Higginson asserted in 1886 that —

It was in this convention that Franklin began a course of national influence which was long continued, and brought forward his famous representation of the snake dismembered, with the motto "Unite or Die."[2]

Writing of the Constitutional Courant of September 21, 1765 — a document presently to be discussed — John Austin Stevens in 1892, ingeniously fell into a double error in stating that —

It bore as a head-piece the device of a snake cut into parts to represent the colonies, with the motto "Unite or die," the familiar symbol used by Dr. Franklin in his "Pennsylvania Gazette," in 1754, to arouse the colonies to the danger of the French invasion.[3]

Neither Franklin's device of 1754 nor the device of 1765 bore that motto. In 1900 Mr. Paul E. More declared that —

Franklin had already published in his "Gazette" an article on the subject [of union], to which he had added a wood-cut showing a snake cut in thirteen pieces with the device Join or Die.[4]

If these verbal descriptions of Franklin's device are surprising, still more remarkable are some of the alleged reproductions of the device itself. In his Many-sided Franklin, published in 1899, Paul Leicester Ford reproduced — and, as one would naturally expect, correctly reproduced — the device on page 418 of his book. The device is also correctly reproduced in "Pennsylvania: Colonial and Federal," edited by Howard M. Jenkins in 1903; but the de-

[1] Stephen Hopkins, i. 172 note.

[2] Larger History of the United States of America, pp. 224, 225. The statement is repeated in Higginson and MacDonald's History of the United States from 986 to 1905 (1905), p. 217.

[3] Memorial History of the City of New-York, ii. 353.

[4] Benjamin Franklin, p. 79.

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scription underneath the cut is hardly correct: "Franklin's device and motto published in the Pennsylvania Gazette at the time of the Albany Congress, 1754" (I. 353). As we have already seen, the device appeared nearly six weeks before the Albany Congress met.

That Benson J. Lossing had never seen Franklin's device of 1754 is evident from his statement, made in 1881, that "this snake device first appeared when the Stamp Act was at its height."[1] Lossing then proceeds to give a cut of what presumably he considered the original device, but what was really the device employed by William and Thomas Bradford in the heading of their Pennsylvania Journal from July 27, 1774, to October 18, 1775. The cut used by Lossing in 1881 had previously been used in 1851 in his Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution (I. 508), and was again used in 1902 in Harper's Encyclopædia of United States History (IX. 154).

In 1892 John Austin Stevens reproduced in the Memorial History of the City of New-York (II. 353) what purports to be "FRANKLIN'S 'UNITE OR DIE,'" but what in reality is the Bradford device in the Pennsylvania Journal of 1774–1775.

In the illustrated edition of his American Revolution, published in 1896, Fiske reproduced (I. 6) what purports to be "UNITE OR DIE. From the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1754," but what is once more the Bradford device in the Pennsylvania Journal of 1774–1775.

In J. W. Garner and H. C. Lodge's History of the United States, published in 1906, there is given (I. 381) a cut which appears without any explanation either in text or note. Hence it is impossible to say what the authors considered it to be. It is the Bradford device in the Pennsylvania Journal of 1774–1775.[2]

II

The Stamp Act went into effect on November 1, 1765. On September 21 of that year there appeared what has sometimes been called a newspaper, but what was really a political skit, and is now

[1] Harpers' Cyclopædia of United States History, i. 1431.

[2] The frequency with which the Bradford device of 1774–1775 is made to do duty for the Franklin device of 1754, is doubtless explained by the fact that it is easier to copy the device given by Lossing in 1851 than it is to hunt up the original.

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a bibliographical curiosity, — the Constitutional Courant. A reprint of this follows:

JOIN OR DIE.

SATURDAY, September 21, 1765. [NUMB. I.]

The Constitutional [Snake Device] COURANT:

Containing Matters interesting to LIBERTY, and no wise repugnant to LOYALTY.

To the PUBLIC.

WHEN a new public[1] *Paper makes its appearance, the reader will naturally be curious to know from whence it came, the publisher, and the design of it. To gratify that curiosity, know reader, that the publisher having formerly acquired a competent knowledge of the Printing-business, for his amusement furnished himself with a set of proper materials; — And the authors of the following pieces having acquainted him that they applied to the printers in* York, *who refused to publish them in their news-papers — not because they disapproved them, or were apprehensive of danger, but purely because several of their friends had been anxious on their account, and particularly desired them to be careful not to publish any thing that might give the enemies of liberty an advantage, which they would be glad to take, over them; and as these pieces are thought to be wrote with greater freedom than any thing that has yet appeared in the public prints, they thought proper to shew so much complaisance to the advice of their friends, as to desire to be excused, and to return the copies: But* I, *who am under no fear of disobliging either friends or enemies, was pleased with the opportunity of turning my private amusements to the public good; I not only undertook to publish them, but now inform my countrymen, that I shall occasionally publish any thing else that falls in my way, which appears to me to be calculated to promote the cause of liberty, of virtue, of religion and my country, of love and reverence to its laws and constitution, and unshaken loyalty to the King. — And so I bid you heartily farewell.*

Andrew Marvel.[2]

[1] In form B, "publick." The copy of form A printed in the text has been carefully collated with the Boston Athenæum copy of form B, and all variations are noted in footnotes.

[2] Marvel's address "To the Public" was printed by Thomas in his History of Printing in America (1810), ii. 504. It is the only portion of the Constitutional

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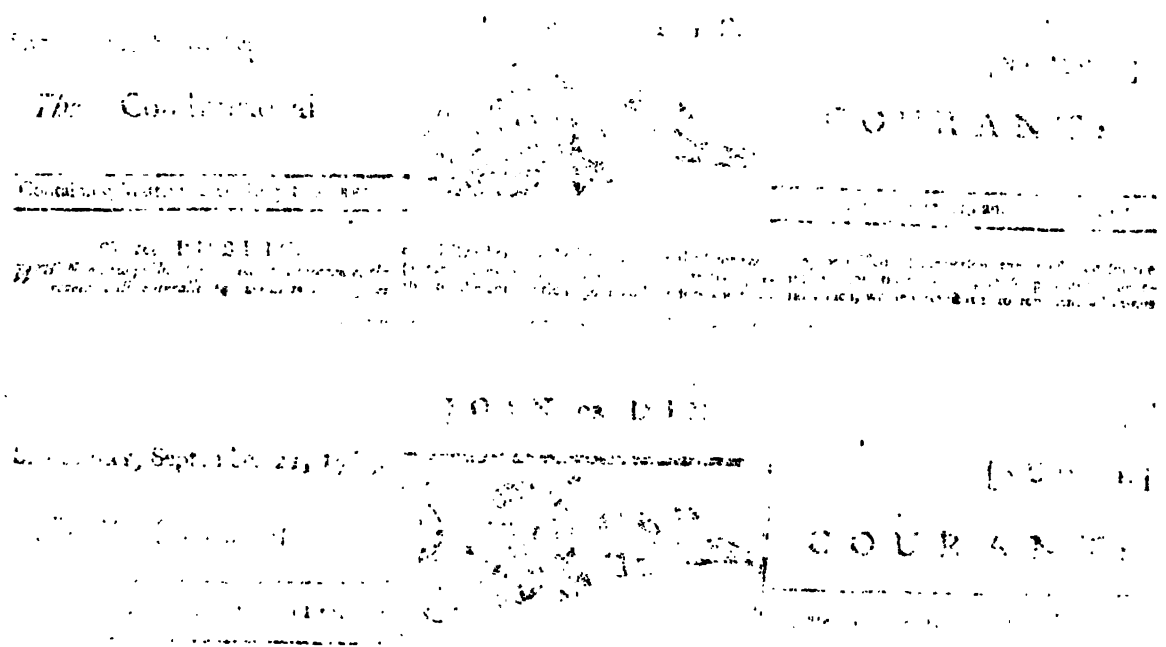

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SATURDAY, September 21, 1765.

The Constitutional COURANT:

[NUMB. 1.]

JOIN or DIE.

Containing Matters interesting to LIBERTY, and no wise repugnant to LOYALTY.

To the PUBLIC.

WHEN a new public Paper makes its appearance, the reader will naturally be curious to know from

especially when a method of answering the same ends, (as far as they ought to be answered) perfectly agreeable to the constitution, so readily offers itself.——

may be missed; some persons they must trust for the information they receive; those persons are generally such, whose interest it is to represent all things

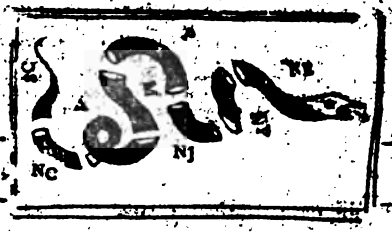
From an original in the possession of the Lenox Library

SATURDAY, September 21, 1765.

The Constitutional COURANT:

[NUMB. 1.]

JOIN or DIE.



Containing Matters interesting to LIBERTY, and no wise repugnant to LOYALTY.

To the PUBLIC.

WHEN a new public Paper makes its appearance, the reader will naturally be curious to know from

tribution, so readily offers itself.——Let us then besiege the throne with petitions and humble remonstrances, and not doubt of a favorable issue in the result.

It must certainly give the most sensible pleasure to

be admired that they are not oftener misled than they are. Parliaments also are liable to mistakes, yea, sometimes fall into capital errors, and

From an original in the possession of the Boston Athenaeum

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts

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AT a time when our dearest privileges are torn from us, and the foundation of all our liberty subverted, every one who has the least spark of love to his country, must feel the deepest anxiety about our approaching fate. The hearts of all who have a just value for freedom, must burn within them, when they see the chains of abject slavery just ready to be riveted about our necks. It has been undeniably demonstrated, by the various authors who have dared to assert the cause of these injured colonies, that no Englishman can be taxed, agreeable to the known principles of our constitution, but by his own consent, given either by himself or his representatives, — that these colonies are not in any sense at all represented in the British parliament, — that the first adventurers into these uncultivated desarts, were, in every colony, either by royal charters,[1] or royal concessions, in the most express terms possible, assured, that all their rights and privileges[2] as British subjects, should be preserved to them unimpaired, — that these original concessions have been repeatedly allowed by the crown, and have never been controverted till this *memorable period*. The arguments by which these points have been established beyond all dispute, I need not repeat; their evidence is such as must flash conviction into the minds of all but the vile minions of tyranny and arbitrary power. The tremendous conclusion, therefore, forces itself upon us, that the public faith of the nation, in which, till now, we thought we might securely confide, is violated, and we robbed of our dearest rights by the late law erecting a *stamp-office* among us.

What then is to be done? Shall we sit down quietly, while the yoke of slavery is wreathing about our necks? He that is stupid enough to plead for this, deserves to be a *slave*. Shall we not hope still that some resource is left us in the royal care and benevolence? We have the happiness to be governed by one of the best of kings,[3] who is our common father,[4] and must be supposed to be under no temptations to sacrifice the rights of one part of his subjects to the caprice of another.

The power of executing the laws is, by the constitution, vested in the crown. We never can suppose that our sovereign, when our state is properly represented to him, will employ that power to execute a law so

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Courant that, so far as I am aware, has been reprinted. Andrew Marvel is supposed to be a pseudonym for William Goddard. See p. 441, below.

[1] In form B there is no comma after "charters."

[2] In form B there is a comma after "privileges."

[3] In form B there is no comma after "kings."

[4] In form B there is no comma after "father." As late as 1768 George III was alluded to as "our best Protector and common Father." See Publications of this Society, viii. 281.

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evidently iniquitous and unreasonable, [A 1/2][1] especially when a method of answering the same ends, (as far as they ought to be answered) perfectly agreeable to the con[- B 1/2] stitution, so readily offers itself. — Let us then besiege the throne with petitions and humble remonstrances, and not doubt of a favorable issue in the result.

It must certainly give the most sensible pleasure to every American that loves this his native country, to find a proposal set on foot for all the colonies to lay before his majesty a united representation of their grievances, and pray a redress. Such a representation as this, in the name of so large and respectable a body of his subjects, must have great weight and influence in the royal councils. That so excellent a scheme is likely to be so generally complied with, raises our hopes, and demonstrates that the sons of America are not afraid nor ashamed [C 1/2] to be her advocates against tyranny and oppression, tho' obtruding themselves under the sanction of a law. But what are we to think of a set of mushroom patriots, who have refused to concur in so noble an attempt? In what light can we view this conduct? Shall they who by *office* and *profession* engage to assert the cause of public[2] liberty, own themselves such dastards as to be afraid to speak, when their country is injured in her most sacred rights, yea, inslaved, lest they provoke her oppressors? 'Tell it not in Gath!' — Liberty and property are necessarily connected together: He that deprives of the latter without our consent, deprives of the former. What is a slave, but one who depends upon the will of another for the enjoyment of his life and property? This surely is a very precarious tenure. He that assumes to himself a right to deprive me of any part of my estate (however small that part may be) on certain occasions, of which he is to be the sole judge, may with equal reason deprive me of the whole, when he thinks proper: And he that thinks he has a right to strip me of all my property, when he sees fit, may with equal justice deprive me of my life, when he thinks his own interest requires it. If a king, tho' invested with lawful authority, adopts these principles, none will hesitate to pronounce him a tyrant. But where is the difference between a prince who treats his subjects in this manner, and a number of fellow-subjects who usurp such a power over others? All that I can see, is, that in the former case we should groan under the oppression of one man; but in the latter, under that of a great body of men, which will generally be by far the most intolerable, as it is much better to have only one tyrant than several hundreds.

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[1] The letters within brackets refer to the forms A, B, and C, of which explanations are given on pp. 433–435, below; while the figures indicate the beginning of each column.

[2] In form B, "publick."

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This, my countrymen, is our unhappy lot: The same principles on which the vile minions of tyranny vindicate the present tax, will vindicate the most oppressive laws conceivable. They need only boldly assert, that *we are virtually represented in the British parliament*, that *they are the properest judges of the sums necessary to be raised, and of our ability to pay them*, therefore such a tax is equitable, be it what it will, tho' it reduces nine-tenths of us to instant beggary. If we throw in petitions against them, they need only say, *'tis against the known rules of this house to admit petitions against money bills*, and so forever deny us the liberty of being heard. Was there ever a wider door opened for the entrance of arbitrary power, with all its horrors? Can the annals of Turkey produce its parallel? Even there, where tyranny has long established her gloomy throne, the subject is frequently indulged the liberty of complaining under grievances, and often uses that liberty with success. Poor America! the bootless privilege of complaining, always allowed the vilest criminals on the rack, is denied thee!

Let none censure these free thoughts as treasonable: I know they will be called so by those who would gladly transform these flourishing colonies into the howling seats of thraldom and wretchedness; but the sentiments of such miscreants are little to be regarded. We cherish the most unfeigned loyalty to our rightful sovereign; we have a high veneration for the British parliament; we consider them as the most august assembly on earth; but the wisest of kings [A 1/3] may be misled; some persons they must trust for the information they receive; those persons are generally such,[1] whose interest it is to represent all things to them in false lights; so that it is rather to [B 1/3] be admired that they are not oftener misled than they are. Parliaments also are liable to mistakes, yea, sometimes fall into capital errors, and frame laws the most oppressive to the subject, yea, sometimes take such steps, which, if persisted in, would soon unhinge the whole constitution. Our histories bear innumerable attestations to the truth of this. It cannot be treason to point out such mistakes and the consequences of them, yea to set them in the most glaring light, to alarm the subject. By acting on this principle, our ancestors have transmitted to us our privileges inviolated; let us therefore prosecute the same glorious plan. Let the British parliament be treated with all possible respect, while they treat us as fellow-subjects: but if they transgress the bounds prescribed them by the constitution, if they usurp a jurisdiction, to which they have no right; if they infringe our liberties, and pursue such measures as will infallibly end in a Turkish despotism; if they violate public faith, and destroy

[1] In form B there is no comma after "such."

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confidence in the royal promises, let us boldly deny all such usurped jurisdiction; we owe them no more subjection, in this respect, than the Divan of Constantinople; to seem to acknowledge such a claim, would be to court our chains. Be assured, my countrymen, whatever spirit we manifest on this juncture, it cannot be offensive to our sovereign: *He* [C 1/3] *glories in being King of freemen, and not of slaves.* To shew that we are freemen, and resolve to continue so, cannot displease, but must endear us to him. It must endear us also to all the true sons of liberty in Great-Britain, to see that we have carried over the Atlantic the genuine spirit of our ancestors. We can offend none but a set of the blackest villains, and these we must always offend, unless we will tamely suffer them to tread down our rights at pleasure. With them, liberty is always treason, and an advocate for the people's rights, a sower of sedition. Let it be our honor, let it be our boast, to be odious to these foes to human kind; let us shew them that we consider them only as beasts of prey, formed to devour; that tho' full of loyalty to the best of kings, and ready to spill the last drop of our blood in his service, yet we dare bid defiance to all who are betraying the sovereign, and sacrificing his people.

While too many to the Westward are thinking of nothing but tamely yielding their necks to the yoke, it revives the courage of all who wish well to their country, to see such a noble spirit prevailing in the eastern colonies. There the gentlemen appointed to serve as tools to enslave their countrymen, have some of them gloriously disdained the dirty employment; they have scorned to raise their own fortunes by such detestable means; they have shewn that they esteem the public good, infinitely above all private emolument; in [B 2/1] short, they have proved themselves TRUE LOVERS OF THEIR COUNTRY. Let their names be enrolled in the annals of fame; let them be embalmed to all posterity, and serve as examples to fire the breasts of patriots yet unborn. Others, we find, have been intimidated into a resignation, by those hardy sons of liberty, and have the mortification to see all their vile schemes of enriching themselves out of the plunder of their fellow-subjects, blasted in an instant. But what name shall we give those miscreants who still resolve to keep the detested office? How hard that heart must be, which is insensible of the dearest and tenderest of all obligations? which feels no sympathy for a native country, oppressed and ruined? but can please itself with the hellish prospect of increasing private wealth by her spoils? Ye blots and stains of America! Ye vipers of human kind! Your names shall be blasted with infamy, the public[1] execration shall pursue you while living, and your memories shall rot, when death has disabled

[1] In form B, "publick."

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you from propagating vassalage and misery any further: Your crimes shall haunt you like *spectres*, and take vengeance for the crimes of distressed innocence.

[A 2/1] We cannot be enslaved without you reach out a helping hand: If you emulate the noble example of some of your fellow-officers, whose disinterestedness will endear them to generations yet unborn, the chains of thraldom cannot be put about our necks, at least the duration of our freedom will be prolonged. Dare you then bear a part in hastening its final extinction? Can you expect to escape the unseen hand of resentment, awakened by injuries like these? Assure yourselves the spirit of Brutus and Cassius is yet alive; *there are who dare strike a blow to avenge their insulted country.* Know ye vile miscreants, we love liberty, and we fear not to shew it. We abhor slavery, and detest the remotest aiders and abettors of our bondage: but native Americans, who are diabolical enough to help forward our ruin, we execrate as the worst of parricides. Parricides! 'tis too soft a term: Murder your fathers, rip up the bowels of your mothers, dash the infants you have begotten against the stones, and be blameless; — but enslave your country! entail vassalage, that worst of all human miseries, that sum of all wretchedness, on millions! This, this is guilt, this calls for heaven's fiercest vengeance. But rouse, rouse my countrymen, let the villain that is hardy enough to persist, do it at his peril. Shew them we have resentment no less keen than our Eastern brethren; will you tamely suffer the execution of a law that reduces you to the vile condition of slaves, and is abhorred by all the genuine sons of liberty? Let the wretch that sleeps now, be branded as an enemy to his country.

PHILOLEUTHERUS.[1]

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[1] In form C, the text ends here, after which comes the imprint. A long letter on the Stamp Act dated December 19, 1765, occupied more than half of John Holt's New-York Gazette Extraordinary of December 27. It was signed "Philolutherus."

In the Boston Post-Boy of October 7, 1765, appeared the following:

☞ The Piece signed Phileleutheros, is receiv'd, and will be inserted in our next (p. 3/3).

To our associate Dr. Franklin B. Dexter I am indebted for the information that this piece is a mere didactic disquisition on liberty.

The Boston Gazette of October 28, 1765 (p. 3/1) printed a communication signed "Phileleutherus," taken from the Rhode Island Mercury of October 14. In the Boston Evening-Post of February 21, 1774, there is a letter signed "Phileutheros" (p. 1/3).

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THE[1] late violences committed in the Eastern colonies, in resentment and opposition to the Stamp Act, and all its contrivers and abettors;[2] whether they proceeded from the misguided zeal of those who had a strong sensibility of the injury done their country by that act, or from the villainous cunning of those who took the opportunity of the public discontent, to promote and increase the tumult, in order to perpetrate the most atrocious crimes; in either case, the true lovers of liberty and their country, who detest and abhor the Stamp Act from principle, and a certain knowledge of their rights, violated by that act, are far from countenancing, or being pleased with these violences; on the contrary, they hear of them with concern and sorrow, not only as they must necessarily involve many innocent persons in distress, who had no share in the guilt that excited the public[3] resentment; but also as they injure a good cause, and check the spirit of opposition to an act illegally obtruded upon us, to deprive us of our most sacred rights, and change our freedom to slavery, by a legislature who have no lawful authority over us. The terrible effects of those popular tumults, are likely to startle men who have been accustomed to venerate and obey lawful authority, and who delight in peace and order; and to make them doubt the justice of the cause attended with such direful consequences. But the guilt of all these violences is most justly chargeable upon the authors and abettors[4] of the Stamp Act. They who endeavour to destroy the foundations of the English constitution, and break thro' the fence of the laws, in order to let in a torrent of tyranny and oppression upon their fellow-subjects, ought not to be surprized if they are overwhelmed in it themselves. If they whom the people have invested with power, to be employed for the public good, pervert it to quite contrary purposes, to oppress and insult those by whom they are supported; is it not ridiculous for them to expect security from those laws which they themselves break thro' to injure their country? If they become arbitrary, and use their power against the people who give it; can they suppose that the people, in their turn, will not exert their inherent power against their oppressors, and be as arbitrary as they? When such a power is raised, as it is not under the restraint of any regular government or direction, terrible effects may generally be expected from it. But those are answerable for them, who raised the tempest. — Let no man then suffer his rights to be torn from him, for fear of the consequences of defending them, — however dreadful they may be, the guilt of them does

[1] In form B this paragraph is set in smaller type.
[2] In form B, "abbettors."
[3] In form B, "publick."
[4] In form B, "abbettors."

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not lie at [B 2/2] his door. However, I would wish my countrymen to avoid such violent proceedings, if possible; but at the same time to oppose the execution of the Stamp Act, with a steady and perpetual exertion of their whole power, — and by all means, to endeavour, jointly and severally, to throw all possible obstructions in the way of its taking effect, and to treat with the utmost ignominy and detestation, all those enemies and betrayers of their country's most sacred rights, who officiously endeavour to inforce it: I would [A 2/2] wish them never to pay one farthing of this tax, but leave the infamous officers, if they will have it, to take it by force, by way of robbery and plunder. — For the moment we submit to pay this tax, as to lawful authority, that moment we commence as errant slaves as any in Turkey, the fence of our liberty and property is broken down, and the foundation of the English constitution,[1] with respect to us, is utterly destroyed. Let us not flatter ourselves, that we shall be happier, or treated with more lenity than our fellow slaves in Turkey: human nature is the same every where, and unlimited power is as much to be dreaded among us, as it is in the most barbarous nations upon earth: It is slavery that hath made them barbarous, and the same cause will have the same effect upon us. The inhabitants of Greece, Rome, and Constantinople, were once free and happy, and the liberal arts and sciences flourished among them; but slavery has spread ignorance, barbarism and misery over those once delightful regions, where the people are sunk into a stupid insensibility of their condition, and the spirit of liberty, after being depressed above a thousand years, seems now to be lost irrecoverably. It is better to die in defence of our rights, than to leave such a state as this to the generations that succeed us.

It cannot be possible that our sovereign, or any of our English fellow-subjects, who understand and value their own rights, can be displeased with us for asserting ours. Do we claim any but what are as clear as the noon day? Have we not by nature a right to liberty and property; as Englishmen, by laws and charters, in terms as plain as words can express? Is it not a fundamental principle of the English constitution, that no man shall be bound but by laws of his own making, nor taxed but by his own consent, given by representatives of his own choosing? And have we not a right to have all our causes tried by our peers, that is[2] by juries, men of our own rank,[3] indifferently chosen, and to whom we have no reasonable objection; — and does not the Stamp Act, in the most flagrant manner, violate all these rights, our liberty, our property,

[1] In form B there is no comma after " constitution."
[2] In form B, " i. e." [3] In form B there is no comma after "rank."

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and [1] trials by juries? Our liberty, in being subjected to laws that we had no share in making; our property, in being taxed without our own consent, in a parliament where we never had either the choice of a person to represent us, nor any that were qualified for the office, or interested in our welfare; and in our trials by juries, because an informer or prosecutor has it in his choice, whether to try the matter in a court of common law, or a court of admiralty: — and as these courts are immediately under the influence of the crown, and the act allows no appeal from them, except to a court of vice-admiralty, which is of the same kind, we have reason to think these courts will be as arbitrary and as oppressive as ever the high commission and star chamber courts were: And as this act gives them jurisdiction over matters that have no relation to navigation or sea affairs, they may, with equal propriety, have jurisdiction in cases of life and death. This is a real representation of the slavish state we are reduced to by the Stamp Act, if we ever suffer it to take place among us. It is easy to see that the ministry design to alter and overturn the English constitution, and have invented a number of expedients to break thro' the restraints that the laws lay upon arbitrary dispositions, and are labouring to become despotic and uncontroulable.

If [2] the English parliament can lay these burdens upon us, they can also, if they please, take our whole property from us, and order us to be sold for slaves, or put to death. But how came the English parliament by such a right over us? They are chosen by the people of Great-Britain to represent them. They have no power but what is delegated to them by their constituents; and those constituents have no power over our liberty or property. Their power (over these things at least) is purely local, and confined to the places they are chosen to represent; and it is plain they cannot represent the people of America, for that would deprive them of their most valuable rights as Englishmen, and be a contradiction to common sense.

It [3] is a rule that no man in England shall be capable of serving as a representative in parliament, without having a considerable property in England; the reason of this rule is plain; because he will be affected in his own fortune, by the laws he is concerned in making for the public, the good of which he will consult for his own sake: — But consider this rule with respect to America: Have all the Members of parliament property there? Will they each feel part of the burdens they lay upon us? — No. But their own burdens will be lightened by laying them

[1] In form B, "&." [2] In form B, this paragraph is set in smaller type.
[3] In form B, this paragraph is set in smaller type.

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upon our shoulders, and all they take from us will [A 2/3] be gains to themselves: Heaven defend us from such representatives!

Let none falsely insinuate, that this spirit of opposition to the Stamp Act, which prevails throughout the British dominions in America, has in it the least tincture of rebellion against lawful authority, or disloyalty to our king. Whoever brings such charges against us, is a slanderer and a villain. We have the highest degree of veneration for the laws and constitution of [B 2/3][1] England; they are our birth-right[2] and inheritance, and we would defend them with our lives. We have the most affectionate loyalty to our rightful sovereign George the third, and his royal house, and we are ready to risk our lives and fortunes in his and their defence. We have the highest respect and reverence for the British parliament, which we believe to be the most august and respectable body of men upon earth, and we desire that all their rights, privileges and honors may forever be preserved to them, and to every rank and order of men in the kingdom of Great-Britain, whose welfare, prosperity, and honor we sincerely wish, and should rejoice in. We consider ourselves as one people with them, and glory in the relation between us; and we desire our connection may forever continue, as it is our best security against foreign invaders, and as we may reciprocally promote the welfare and strength of each other. Such are our sentiments and affections towards our mother country. But, at the same time, we cannot yield up to her, or to any power on earth, our inherent and most valuable rights and privileges. If she would strip us of all the advantages derived to us from the English constitution, why should we desire to continue our connection? We might as well belong to France, or any other power; none could offer a greater injury to our rights and liberties than is offered by the Stamp Act.[3] If we have delivered our sentiments of the parliament with greater freedom than they are usually mentioned with, let it be considered that it is only when they have taken upon them to deprive us of our rights, which are not under their jurisdiction: If any then take offence at the freedom with which they are treated, let them blush at the occasion given for it. Such an alarming attempt upon British liberty was never made before, nor I hope ever will again. — We have been told from England, that the Stamp Act passed without so much debate or consideration, as sometimes arose upon the most trifling bills that are brought before the house! If it had been well debated and considered, surely it never could have

[1] In form B the entire third column of the second page is set in smaller type.
[2] In form B, "birth right."
[3] In form B, apparently "Stamp-Act."

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passed; it must astonish all concern'd in it, when they come to consider it, that ever it did pass at all, and it will doubtless be repealed as soon as ever the nature of it is fully understood. — Mean while let us never, for one moment, acknowledge that it is binding upon us, nor pay one farthing in obedience to it, for it was made by a power, that, by the fundamental laws that both they and we acknowledge, hath no jurisdiction over us.

As the ministry under whose influence this act was made, are, we have reason to hope, by this time discarded and out of place, no other I suppose will ever be found that will approve it: and it may be worth the serious consideration of those who would officiously endeavour to enslave their countrymen to enforce it, whether they will not be more likely to receive the frowns than the smiles of their superiors, for their activity in so odious an office. For if this act takes place and is established, it may be depended upon, that liberty in Great Britain will not long survive its extinction in America. PHILO PATRIÆ.[1]

[*Since the foregoing pieces came to the Printer's hands, certain intelligence has been received from England of an universal change in the Ministry,*[2] *whereby all those great officers who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the people, by their impolitic and arbitrary proceedings, are excluded from any share in the administration; and their places filled up by some of the most distinguished patriots in the nation, who it is hoped and believed will give a happy proof to his Majesty's subjects, in Europe and America, of their sincere love of liberty, for which they have been long contending with it's enemies, by adhering to such measures, and such only, as are consistent with the principles of the constitution. His grace the duke of Grafton, is appointed secretary of state for the Northern department, and the Rt. Hon. Henry Seymour Conway, a great friend to America, and a strong opposer of the Stamp Act, secretary for the southern. The Public*[3] *is referr'd for further particulars, to the weekly papers.*]

Printed by ANDREW MARVEL, at the Sign of *the Bribe refused*, on *Constitution Hill, North-America.*

[1] In form B, "Philopatriæ." In form A, there is apparently a slight space between "Philo" and "Patriæ."

[2] In form B, there is no comma after "*Ministry.*"

[3] In form B, "*Publick.*"

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It will be observed that the Constitutional Courant consists of six features, as follows:

(1) Heading at the top of the first page, with its snake device.
(2) Andrew Marvel's address "To the Public."
(3) Article of Philoleutherus.
(4) Article of Philopatriæ.
(5) An item about changes in the Ministry in England.
(6) Imprint.

The skit became very popular, and copies in at least three different forms exist, as follows:

(A) A sheet printed on both sides, three columns to a page, the columns of equal width. At the top of the first page is the title with the device of a snake cut into eight parts, very similar in design to the Franklin device of 1754, the chief difference being that in 1765 the words "JOIN OR DIE" are placed above the snake, while in 1754 the motto was below the snake. In the 1765 design each initial letter is followed by a period. This form has all of the six features specified above. The imprint occurs at the bottom of the third column on the second page, separated from the text above by a broken rule across the column, and lined thus:

Printed by ANDREW MARVEL, at the Sign
of *the Bribe refused*, on *Constitution Hill, North-America.*

Copies are owned as follows: Historical Society of Pennsylvania,[1] Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgway Branch),[2] Lenox Library, Public Record Office[3] (London). The skit as here reprinted is from a photograph of form A in the Lenox Library.

[1] This copy, somewhat mutilated, is bound in a file of Holt's New-York Gazette for 1765, between the issues of September 19 and 26.

[2] Underneath the imprint in this copy is written in ink, "This is the Original, Published in New York."

[3] In the Harvard College Library, bound with its two copies of the Constitutional Courant, is a letter written January 9, 1897, by William Nelson to Justin Winsor. Mr. Nelson states that his information about the copy in the Public Record Office came from Benjamin F. Stevens, who wrote him that "there are four other copies of the Courant in different Offices in London, which he [Mr. Stevens] has been unable to examine so far." There is a copy in the British Museum, pre-

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(B) A sheet printed on both sides, three columns to a page, the first and second columns of each page of equal width, the third column narrower than the other two. At the top of the first page is the title with the device of a snake divided into eight parts. The design of the snake in B differs slightly from that in A. In A, the tail of the snake turns to the left; in B, it turns to the right. Another difference between A and B is that in B the initial letters are not followed by periods. There is also a difference between A and B in the placing of the initial letters. Form B has all of the six features specified above. The imprint is a single line printed across the bottom of the second page, separated from the text by sixteen horizontal braces, thus:

Printed by ANDREW MARVEL at the Sign of the *Bribe refused*, on *Constitution Hill, North America.*

Copies are owned as follows: Boston Athenæum,[1] Harvard College Library,[2] Massachusetts Historical Society, Yale University Library.[3]

(C) A broadside, printed in three columns of equal width. At the top of the page is the title, but there is no snake or other device. In this form the skit is incomplete, as, of the six features specified above, it has only those numbered (2), (3), and (6). The imprint, separated from the word "Philoleutherus" by a line of thirteen crowns of three different designs, occurs nearly at the bottom of the third column, and is lined as follows:

Printed by ANDREW MARVEL, at the Sign of
the Bribe refused, on *Constitution Hill*, *North-America.*

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sumably of form A or form B, but of which the Catalogue does not enable me to say with certainty. The information derived from Mr. Stevens caused Mr. Nelson to write: "This convinces me that that [form A] is a copy of the first edition, and I am inclined to think that the paper was printed by Parker, at Woodbridge, and not by Goddard at Burlington."

[1] This copy is bound in a file of the Boston Evening-Post for 1765, between the issues of September 16 and 23.

[2] In this copy under the name of Andrew Marvel in the imprint, is written in ink, "pseudonym. Wm. Goddard;" and under Constitution Hill in the imprint is written in ink, "Burlington, N. J."

[3] Letter of Mr. Nelson to Mr. Winsor, January 9, 1897. Dr. Dexter has been kind enough to confirm the statement.

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Below the imprint is an ornamental cut, like a coat of arms, and below that are three ornamental cuts. Copies are owned as follows: Harvard College Library, Library Company of Philadelphia[1] (Ridgway Branch).

It is not a little singular that, with a single exception, there is apparently not the slightest allusion to the skit in contemporary newspapers. In the Boston Evening-Post of October 7, 1765, was printed the following (p. 3/1):

> A new political Paper has lately appeared under the Title of "*The* Constitutional COURANT, [Numb. 1.] Containing Matters interesting to LIBERTY and no wise repugnant to LOYALTY."
> A Device in the Front like the following.
> JOIN OR DIE.
> [Snake Device.]
> At the Bottom.
> "Printed by ANDREW MARVEL at the Sign "of *the Bribe refused*, on *Constitution Hill*, "*North-America*.
> The above-mentioned paper is introduced with the following Address to the PUBLIC.
> [Here follows the Address.]
> There is such a Demand for the above-mentioned Paper in these parts, that, we hear, it will soon be re-published.

The snake device as given in the above paper is apparently identical with the snake device in form B of the Constitutional Courant. Possibly this indicates that form B of the Constitutional Courant was printed by Thomas and John Fleet, the publishers of the Boston Evening-Post.[2]

[1] Underneath the imprint in this copy is written in ink, "This was republished in Philadelphia."

[2] In 1872 Frothingham wrote:

> The "Constitutional Courant" . . . appeared with this motto [Join or Die] on the 21st of September [1765]; and the figure [of a snake], with the address [of Andrew Marvel], appears in the "Boston Post Boy" of Oct. 7 (Rise of the Republic, p. 182 note).

This is a mistake, as there is no mention of the Constitutional Courant in the Boston Post-Boy; and Frothingham, no doubt through inadvertence, wrote Boston Post-Boy when he meant Boston Evening-Post.

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From other sources, however, we get an occasional allusion to the skit. Writing to Franklin on October 1, 1765, Cadwallader Colden said:

My regard to you makes me give you the trouble of the inclosed Printed Paper, one or more bundles of which I am well informed were delivered to the Post Rider at Woodbridge by James Parker were distributed by the Post Riders in several parts of this Colony & I believe likewise in the neighbouring Colonies: the doing of which was kept secret from the Post Master in this Place. It is believed that this Paper was Printed by Parker after the Printers in this Place had refused to do it, perhaps you may be able to judge from the Types.

As he is Secretary to the General Post office in America, I am under a necessity of takeing notice of it to the Secretary of State by the return of the Packet which is daily expected, & I am unwilling to do this without giving you previous notice by a Merchant Ship which Sails Tomorrow.[1]

In a letter to Henry Seymour Conway dated October 12, 1765, Colden wrote:

Since the last which I had the honour to write to you of the 23d of September, this Town has remained quiet tho' inflamatory Papers continue to be publish'd, exciting the People to oppose the Execution of the Act of Parliament for laying a stamp Duty in the Colonies. The most remarkable of these Papers is inclosed. This was distributed along the Post Roads by the Post Riders. I examined the Post Master in this Place to know how this came to be done. He assured me that it was without his knowledge, That he had examined the Post Riders & found that one or more Bundles of them were deliver'd at Woodbridge in New Jersey to the Post Rider by James Parker Secretary to the General Post office in America. Parker was formerly a Printer in this Place, & has now a Printing Press & continues to print occasionally. It is believed that this Paper was Printed by him. The Gentlemen of the Council think it prudent at this time to delay the makeing more particular Enquiry least it should be the occasion of raising the Mob, which it is thought proper by all means to avoid.[2]

The account of the Constitutional Courant given by Isaiah Thomas in 1810 is as follows:

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[1] Colden Papers, ii. 38, 39.

[2] Ibid. ii. 45.

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The Constitutional Gazette.

After the American stamp act was passed by the British parliament, and near the time it was to be put in operation, a political paper was privately printed at Burlington, which attracted much notice. It was entitled "The *Constitutional Gazette*, containing Matters interesting to Liberty — but no wise repugnant to Loyalty." Imprint — "Printed by Andrew Marvel, at the Sign of the Bribe refused, on Constitution-Hill, North-America." In the centre of the title was a device of a snake, cut into parts, to represent the colonies. Motto — "Join or Die." After the title followed an address to the public from the fictitious printer and publisher Andrew Marvel. This paper was without date, but was printed in September, 1765. It contained several well written and spirited essays against the obnoxious stamp act, which were so highly colored, that the editors of newspapers in Newyork, even Holt, declined to publish them.

A large edition was printed, secretly forwarded to Newyork, and there sold by hawkers selected for the purpose. It had a rapid sale, and was, I believe, reprinted there, and at Boston. It excited some commotion in Newyork, and was taken notice of by government. A council was called, and holden at the fort in that city, but as no discovery was made of the author or printer, nothing was done. One of the council demanded of a hawker named Samuel Sweeney, "where that incendiary [323] paper was printed?" Sweeney, as he had been instructed, answered, "At Peter Hassenclever's iron-works, please your honor." Peter Hassenclever was a wealthy German, well known as the owner of extensive iron works in Newjersey. Afterward, other publications of a like kind frequently appeared with an imprint — "Printed at Peter Hassenclever's iron-works."[1]

Only one number of the Constitutional Gazette was published; a continuance of it was never intended. It was printed by William Goddard, at Parker's printing house at Burlington — Goddard having previously obtained Parker's permission occasionally to use his press.

This political paper was handsomely commended in some of the periodical works published in England, after the repeal of the stamp act.[2]

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[1] I have not myself met with documents bearing such an imprint. For a notice of Peter Hasenclever, who came to this country in 1764, see New Jersey Archives, ix. 583 note.

[2] History of Printing in America, ii. 322, 323. What the English "periodical works" were, to which Thomas alludes, I do not know.

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It is well known that Thomas began the preparation of a second edition of his work, which was published by the American Antiquarian Society in 1874. In the 1874 edition, the passage just quoted reads precisely as above, with the following exceptions: the word "Gazette" is thrice changed to "Courant;" the name of "Samuel Sweeney" is changed to "Lawrence Sweeney;" the words "at Burlington" are changed to "in Woodbridge."[1] It is to be regretted that Thomas did not give his reason for changing his opinion as to the place of publication.

In 1850 Buckingham wrote:

The snake, divided, with the motto, was first published in an anonymous paper, called the Constitutional Courant, said to have been printed at Burlington, New-Jersey, in 1768. . . . THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURANT is a half sheet of medium size. . . . A large number of copies of this paper were secretly transmitted to New-York, and there sold by hawkers and pedlers, employed for the purpose. Mr. Thomas says it was printed at Burlington, and the copy now before me, which belongs to the library of Harvard College, has "Burlington, N. J." written under the words "Constitution Hill." The same copy has, under the name "Andrew Marvel," in the same hand, the words "pseudonyme Wm. Goddard." This copy was presented to the College by the heirs of the late Rev. James Freeman, D.D.; but these explanations are not in his handwriting.[2]

In 1877 Mrs. Martha J. Lamb remarked:

The press of New York continued to deny the right of Parliament to tax the colonies, and a new paper, called "The Constitutional Courant," with the device of a snake, cut into parts (to represent the colonies), with "JOIN OR DIE" as a motto, actually appeared. . . . This paper was privately printed at Woodbridge, New Jersey, and was reprinted both in New York and Boston.[3]

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[1] Mr. Edmund M. Barton kindly informs me that Thomas used for his intended second edition a copy of the first; that the changes specified in our text as made in the 1874 edition occur in the margin in Thomas's own handwriting; and that "the only date attached to the additions and corrections in the handwriting of our Founder is March, 1815, showing that he began his intended second edition early."

[2] Specimens of Newspaper Literature, i. 236 note, 246.

[3] History of the City of New York, i. 722.

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In 1851 Lossing said:

Boston, our present point of view, kept up the spirit of liberty, but avoided acts of violence. A newspaper appeared under the significant title of "THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURANT, . . ." Its head-piece was a snake cut into eight pieces (see page 508), the head part having N. E., the initials of New England, inscribed upon it, and the other pieces the initials of the other colonies. Accompanying the device was the motto, JOIN OR DIE.[1]

This description is sufficiently accurate, but elsewhere in the same work Lossing said that —

Some of the newspapers placed at their head the significant device used during the Stamp Act excitement, a serpent cut in ten pieces, with the inscription "*Join or die!*" or "*Unite or die!*"[2]

In 1881 Lossing again wrote:

When the quarrel between the British Parliament and the English-American colonies became warm, the patriotic newspapers in America, as well as handbills, bore devices emblematic of union. One was especially a favorite — namely, a snake, disjointed, each separate part representing one of the thirteen English-American colonies, with the words "Unite or die." This snake device first appeared when the Stamp Act excitement was at its height.[3]

In 1884 Lossing once more wrote:

Already the idea of union had been suggested by a newspaper called the *Constitutional Courant*, bearing the device of a snake divided into several parts, each with the initial of a colony, and bearing the injunction, JOIN OR DIE! Only one issue of the *Courant* was made, but its suggestion was potent. The idea of the device was like an electric spark that kindled a flame which was never quenched.[4]

In 1892 John A. Stevens wrote:

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[1] Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution, i. 468, 469. The reference in the text is to p. 508 of Lossing's book.

[2] Ibid. i. 507.

[3] Harpers' Cyclopædia of United States History, ii. 1431, 1432. The statement is repeated in Harper's Encyclopædia of United States History, 1902, ix. 153, 154.

[4] History of New York City, i. 27.

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In September the idea of union took definite shape. A broadside entitled the "Constitutional Courant," secretly printed in New Jersey, was widely circulated in New-York, and later reprinted here and in Boston. It bore as a head-piece the device of a snake cut in parts to represent the colonies, with the motto "Unite or die," the familiar symbol used by Dr. Franklin in his "Pennsylvania Gazette," in 1754, to arouse the colonies to the danger of the French invasion. Copies of the "Courant" were handed about the streets of New-York by Lawrence Sweeney, an eccentric character, better known by his sobriquet of "Bloody News," from his familiar cry announcing the army news during the sanguinary French war. When asked by Colden where he obtained the paper, he humorously answered, "From Peter Hasenkliver's iron-works, please Your Honor." The next day the "Courant" took up the joke, and gravely announced that it was there printed.[1]

The snake device of the Constitutional Courant has been reproduced several times, but each time incorrectly. In 1850 Buckingham, carefully specifying that "the copy before me . . . belongs to the library of Harvard College," says that "in the centre of the title is the annexed device."[2] One would naturally suppose that "the annexed device" was that of the Harvard College Library copy of the Constitutional Courant.[3] Now what Buckingham reproduced is not the design of the Harvard College Library copy of the Constitutional Courant, but is apparently a poorly executed copy of the device found in the Boston Gazette of May 21, 1754.[4] In 1851 Lossing reproduced[5] the Bradford device in the Pennsylvania Journal of 1774–1775, the implication being that it was the same as the device employed in the Constitutional Courant. This was not the case. Elsewhere what is apparently intended to be the device in the Constitutional Courant is reproduced, but what in reality is the Bradford device in the Pennsylvania Journal of 1774–1775.[6]

An attempt to ascertain by whom the Constitutional Courant

[1] Memorial History of the City of New-York, ii. 353.

[2] Specimens of Newspaper Literature, i. 246.

[3] See pp. 434 note 2, 438, above.

[4] In the illustrations which accompany this paper, the Harvard College Library copy of the Constitutional Courant is No. VI, while the Boston Gazette device of 1754 is No. II.

[5] Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution, i. 508.

[6] See Memorial History of the City of New-York, ii. 353; Garner and Lodge's History of the United States, i. 381.

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was printed, and where it was printed, has not resulted in a satisfactory conclusion. Let us first consider by whom it was printed. In his address "To the Public," Andrew Marvel states that "the authors of the following pieces having acquainted him that they had applied to the printers in York, who refused to publish them in their news-papers," he "for his amusement furnished himself with a set of proper materials," and that he will "occasionally publish any thing else that falls in" his way that seems suitable. Who was "Andrew Marvel"? There are several reasons for thinking that it was William Goddard, one of the most noted American printers of the eighteenth century. First, there is Thomas's assertion to that effect; and, while Thomas was often inaccurate, he had an unrivalled knowledge of the printers and printing of his time, and his statements about publishers and printers must always be received with respect and rejected with caution.[1] Secondly, the Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgway Branch) owns two documents, printed in 1773, signed "Andrew Marvell," both of which are in the catalogue of that library attributed to Goddard.[2] In 1765 he was the publisher of the Providence Gazette. According to Thomas this paper —

was discontinued from May 11, to August 24, 1765. On that day a paper was published, headed "*Vox Populi, Vox Dei.* A Providence Gazette Extraordinary. Printed by S. and W. Goddard." After this, it was till January, 1767, "Printed by Sarah Goddard and Co." It then appeared with this imprint — "Printed (in the Absence of William Goddard) by Sarah Goddard and Co."[3]

Thomas also says that Goddard, "on leaving Providence, . . . was for a short time concerned with Holt, in Newyork, in publishing

[1] See Publications of this Society, ix. 412. W. Cushing identifies Andrew Marvel with William Goddard in his Initials and Pseudonyms (1885, pp. 184, 439), as does also Evans in his American Bibliography (i. 7).

[2] One of these, a broadside, is headed, "Philadelphia, June 10th, 1773. To my Fellow Citizens, Friends to Liberty, and Enemies to Despotism." The title of the other, a small pamphlet of sixteen pages, is in part, "Andrew Marvell's Second Address to the Inhabitants of Ppiladelphia [*sic*]." Both, which were due to a proposal to build a market or range of shambles, are attributed to Goddard by Evans (American Bibliography, iv. 57); and are noted, but without attribution, by Sabin (Dictionary of Books relating to America, xi. 253) and Hildeburn (Issues of the Press in Philadelphia, ii. 168).

[3] History of Printing in America, ii. 272.

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Parker's Gazette and Post-Boy."[1] On December 1, 1766, Goddard entered into partnership in Philadelphia with Joseph Galloway and Thomas Wharton, and on January 26, 1767, began the publication of the Pennsylvania Chronicle.[2] A bitter quarrel ensued, and in 1770 Goddard published a long pamphlet entitled "The Partnership: or the History of the Rise and Progress of the Pennsylvania Chronicle, &c." After a brief introduction, Goddard begins the pamphlet as follows:

In *June* 1766, I came, a perfect stranger, on speculation, into this city, with a view to establish a press, if the prospect should be favourable, having observed by an advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, that the partnership between Messrs. *Franklin* and *Hall* was expired, imagining as those gentlemen had made fortunes by the printing-business, that they were about retiring from the fatigues and cares incident to it. At this time I had a very complete office in *Providence*, in the colony of Rhode-Island, under the superintendence of Mrs. *Sarah Goddard*, my mother, and was in company with a gentleman of credit in the city of *New-York*. My inducement to leave *Providence* was the earnest invitation of Messrs. *Parker* and *Holt*, who wished to see me employed on a more extensive theatre, and offered to take me into partnership with them, without removing my materials from *Providence*, or advancing a shilling; but, unfortunately, after I had been a little time in *New-York*, a dispute arose between my two friends, which gave me great pain, and made my situation disagreeable, one insisting that I should join him, in opposition to the other, unless he would submit to particular terms proposed. I laboured incessantly to prevent an open rupture, and a newspaper controversy, and happily succeeded, preserving the good-will of both. I afterwards joined one of them, by the consent of the other, till I could find a more advantageous situation, which I soon after had a project of in *Philadelphia*.[3]

While this whole matter is obscure, there seems to be no good reason for rejecting Thomas's conclusion that the Constitutional Courant "was printed by William Goddard, at Parker's printing house . . . Goddard having previously obtained Parker's permission to use his press."

In regard to the place where the Constitutional Courant was printed, the facts are equally difficult to determine with certainty.

[1] History of Printing in America, i. 428.

[2] The articles of agreement are given by Goddard in his Partnership, p. 7 note.

[3] Ibid. p. 5.

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Colden's belief that it was printed at Woodbridge has been accepted by some writers, as Colden expressed the belief that it was printed at Woodbridge because copies of the skit were delivered to the post-rider at that place by Parker. But that may merely have been a blind on Parker's part. If Thomas's conclusion as to the printer of the piece is accepted, then the problem as to the place of publication resolves itself into the question as to where Parker's press was on September 21, 1765 — whether at Woodbridge or at Burlington. Thomas says:

> To accomodate the printing of Smith's History of Newjersey in 1765, Parker removed his press to Burlington, and there began and completed the work, consisting of 570 pages, demy octavo, and then returned with his press to Woodbridge.[1]

That this statement is correct, is capable of proof. According to Mr. William Nelson,[2] Parker published at Burlington only two works, both in the year 1765 — Smith's History of New Jersey, and Votes of Assembly, November 26–30, 1765. The second work, as its title indicates, was published not earlier than November 26. The other work was also published late in the year. The following advertisement appeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette of October 31 (p. 1/1):

> NOW in the Press, to be speedily published, in one Volume Octavo, neatly bound and lettered, and sold by DAVID HALL, in Philadelphia, and JAMES PARKER, in Burlington;
>
> The HISTORY of the COLONY of NOVA CÆSARIA, or NEW-JERSEY.
>
> Containing an Account of its first Settlement, progressive Improvements, the original and present Constitution, and other Events, to the Year MDCCXXI.
>
> With some Particulars since, and a short View of its present State.
>
> By SAMUEL SMITH.

---

[1] History of Printing in America, ii. 121. Thomas underrates the number of pages, as there are really 584. The collation of the volume is as follows: Title, 1 leaf; Contents, pp. ii–vi; Preface, pp. vii–x; The History of New-Jersey, pp. 1–573; Errata, (p. 574).

[2] Check-list of the Issues of the Press of New Jersey (1899), p. 9.

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Of the works published by Parker at Woodbridge in 1765, Mr. Nelson gives the following list, presumably arranged chronologically:

Acts, 20th Assembly, 11th Session. (May 21–June 20, 1765.)
The Constitutional Courant.
Pierson, Rev. John. Discourse on the Nature and Benefits of Christ's Intercession.
[The Stamp Act.]
Votes, May 21–June 20, 1765.[1]

Of these five titles, two only are dated by Mr. Nelson. It is at once obvious that the Constitutional Courant is misplaced, for it was printed September 21, and so should come after the "Acts" and "Votes," both of which must have been printed in May or June or possibly July. Editions of the Stamp Act were advertised for sale in the Boston Gazette of June 17 (p. 1/1), in the Pennsylvania Journal of June 20 (p. 1/3), and in Holt's New-York Gazette of June 20 (p. 2/3). Hence it may safely be assumed that Parker's edition was printed in June, certainly not later than July.[2] Pierson's Discourse was apparently not advertised in either the Pennsylvania Gazette or the Pennsylvania Journal, and so its exact date of publication cannot be determined. But at all events there is no proof that Parker published anything at Woodbridge later than June or July; while it is certain that on October 31 Smith's History of New Jersey was in the press and "to be speedily published," and was published that year at Burlington.[3] Was the printing of that volume of 584 octavo pages begun before or after September 21? Obviously, the known facts do not warrant a positive answer;

[1] Check-list of the Issues of the Press of New Jersey (1899), pp. 41, 42.

[2] As late as June 27, Parker was still at Woodbridge, as appears from the following advertisement inserted in the Pennsylvania Gazette of that date (p. 3/2):

FORASMUCH as several of the Subscribers to the New American Magazine, printed, a few Years ago at Woodbridge, in New-Jersey, have never paid off their Arrears due for the same; . . . therefore he applies in this Manner to such as are honest Men of those Subscribers, who are conscious that they are still indebted for any of those Magazines, earnestly desiring they would be so good as either to remit the Pay to the said Printer at Woodbridge, or to Franklin and Hall in Philadelphia, which would be gratefully accepted by their humble Servant,

JAMES PARKER.

[3] The imprint is: "Burlington, in New-Jersey: Printed and Sold by James Parker: Sold also by David Hall, in Philadelphia. M,DCC,LXV."

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but they do point to the probability that the volume was begun before that date.[1]

These remarks in regard to the place of publication refer only to the edition of the Constitutional Courant corresponding to form A, as that, being identical with the copy sent Conway by Colden, is supposed to be the original edition.[2] As to the editions alleged to have been reprinted in New York,[3] Boston,[4] and Philadelphia,[5]

[1] A letter of inquiry addressed to the University Press brought such an interesting reply that I subjoin it:

In reply to yours of 14th inst., asking our opinion as to how long it probably took to print Smith's History of New Jersey, a book of 584 pages, would state that this book, to-day, would ordinarily take say 6 weeks; and, if special haste were arranged for, it could be done in perhaps a month if there was no delay in returning proofs. This is, however, the age of machinery, and cannot very well be contrasted, on the question at issue, with the year 1765. In these days, this whole book could, if necessary, be put in type at once, and as fast as the proofs could be read and approved the forms could be printed (or electrotyped), so that when the last forms were approved the book could speedily be finished. In 1765 the printing offices employed but few hands, and had very *small* fonts of type, so that (as we are told), a form of 8 pages would be set up, read, approved, printed, and the type distributed, before they could go on with the work, and this operation would then be repeated throughout the whole work. Of course it is possible that they had a font of type which would take care of more than 8 pages; but, as printing offices are reported to have run in those days, there was a constant distributing of the type to enable the work to go on, — the sheets being run off and stored until all were printed. We would not be surprised to learn that it took six months, or more, to set up and print a book of nearly 600 pages. It should be borne in mind, also, that the presswork in those days was done on hand-presses, so that the time lost in waiting for type would be considerable.

Our opinion, therefore, would be that the setting up of the book was begun before Sept. 21 (rather than after) if the book was published on Dec. 31 of the same year.

[2] See p. 433 note 3, above.

[3] See pp. 433 note 2, 437, above.

[4] See p. 437, above.

[5] See p. 435 note 1. Hildeburn assigns this edition, but without giving any reason, to Andrew Steuart (Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, ii. 34), and is followed by Evans (American Bibliography, iv. 7). Thomas says:

About the year 1764, Steuart went to Wilmington, Northcarolina, with a press, and part of his types; and he left the other part, and his book shop, in the care of Thomas Macgee and his apprentice James Crukshank. He never returned (History of Printing in America, ii. 58).

Whether this statement is correct, there is apparently no means of knowing. In the Pennsylvania Gazette of July 11 (p. 3/2), July 18 (p. 1/1), and August 29 (p. 4/2), was printed this advertisement:

> Just published, and sold, Wholesale and Retail, by ANDREW STEUART, at the Bible-in-Heart, in Second-street, between Market and Chestnut-street, Philadelphia,
>
> THE UNIVERSAL AMERICAN ALMANACK, or yearly MAGAZINE, for the Year 1766.

This advertisement apparently did not again appear in the year 1765 after August 29.

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[THURSDAY, JUNE 23, 1774. THE [NUMBER 1642.]

NEW-YORK JOURNAL.

OR, THE

GENERAL ADVERTISER.

NC NJ NY SC V NE G M P

UNITE OR DIE.

Containing the freshest ADVICES, *both* FOREIGN *and* DOMESTIC.

& PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN HOLT, NEAR THE COFFEE-HOUSE.

VII

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1774. THE. [NUMBER 1667]

NEW-YORK JOURNAL;

OR, THE

GENERAL ADVERTISER.

MAGNA CHARTA

Containing the freshest ADVICES, *both* FOREIGN *and* DOMESTIC.

& PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY JOHN HOLT, NEAR THE COFFEE-HOUSE.

VIII

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts from originals in the possession of the Lenox Library

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viously used in the title, introduced a snake device. This was evidently copied from the snake device employed by Holt in the New-York Journal from June 23 to December 8, 1774. The chief difference between the two designs is that in the one used by the Bradfords the portion of the snake allotted to Georgia is apparently divided into two parts. I say "apparently," because there is no conceivable reason why there should be a division, and I incline to the opinion that it was owing to a defect in the drawing or in the printing. The Bradfords retained their snake device for about fifteen months, it appearing for the last time in the Pennsylvania Journal in the issue of October 18, 1775.

These three papers — the New-York Journal, the Massachusetts Spy, and the Pennsylvania Journal — were, so far as I am aware, the only papers to adopt a snake device. It was not long before these devices attracted attention in the newspapers. In Rivington's New-York Gazetteer of August 25, 1774, were printed these lines (p. 3/2):

For the NEW-YORK GAZETTEER.

On the SNAKE, *depicted at the Head of some* American NEWS PAPERS.

YE Sons of Sedition, how comes it to pass,
That America's typ'd by a SNAKE — in the grass?
Don't you think 'tis a scandalous, saucy reflection,
That merits the soundest, severest Correction,
NEW-ENGLAND'S the Head too; —— NEW ENGLAND'S abused;
For the *Head of the Serpent* we know *should be* Bruised.

These lines, reprinted in the Boston News-Letter of September 8 (p. 2/3), drew from the patriots at least two replies. The first appeared in the Bradfords' Pennsylvania Journal of August 31 (p. 3/2):

For the PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL.

To the Author of the Lines, in Mr. Rivington's Paper, on the Snake depicted in some of the American News-Papers.

THAT New-England's abus'd, and by sons of sedition,
Is granted without either prayer or petition.
And that "'tis a scandalous, saucy reflection,
That merits the soundest, severest correction,"

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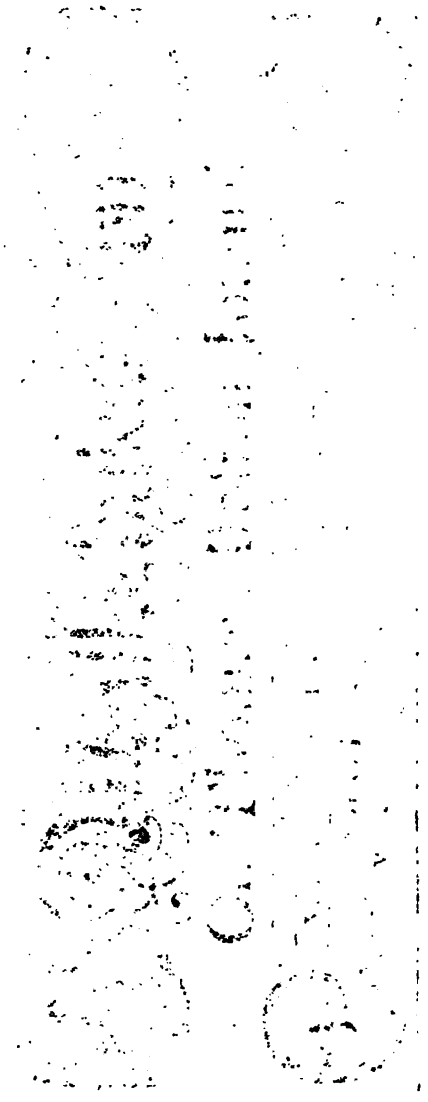

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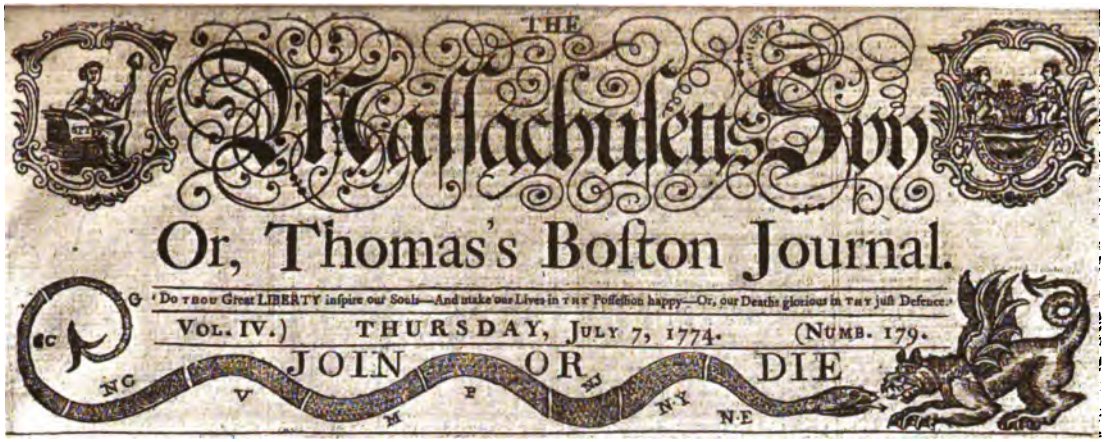

IX

X

Engraved for The Colonial Society of Massachusetts
from originals in the possession of the
American Antiquarian Society

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Is as readily granted. "How comes it to pass?"
Because she is pester'd with snakes in the grass;
Who by lying and cringing, and such like pretensions,
Get places *once* honoured, disgraced with pensions.
And you, Mr. Pensioner, instead of repentance,
(If I don't mistake you) have wrote your own sentence;
For by such *Snakes* as this, New-England's abused,
And the head of these serpents, "you know, *should* be bruised."

NEW-JERSEY.

The other reply was printed in the Massachusetts Spy of September 15 (p. 3/3):

On reading the piece, (inserted in Draper's last paper) relative to the Snake at the head of some of the American Papers.

YE traitors! the Snake ye with wonder behold,
Is not the *deceiver* so famous of old;
Nor is it the *Snake in the grass* that ye view,
Which would be a striking resemblance of you,
Who aiming your stings at your own country's heel,
Its Weight and resentment to crush you — should feel.

Violent as political controversies were in the stormy decade which preceded the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, the printers of the newspapers at least showed a sense of humor and did not hesitate to print communications aimed at themselves. In his New-York Journal of September 15, 1774, Holt printed the following (p. 4/1):

A MIRROR *for* A PRINTER.

WITHOUT one grain of *honest* sense,
One virtuous view, or *just* pretence
To patriotic flame;
Without a patriot heart or mind,
(Your *snake* and *stones* have this defin'd)
Behold your TYPE with shame!

In the same paper of September 29, 1774, appeared these lines (p. 4/1), which were reprinted in the Massachusetts Spy of October 27 (p. 4/1):

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On the BRITISH MINISTRY, *and* NEW-ENGLAND, *the* Head *of the* AMERICAN SNAKE.

AN EPIGRAM. 1774.

BRitain's sons line the coast of Atlantic all o'er,
Great of length, but in breadth they *now* wind on a shore
That 's divided by inlets, by creeks, and by bays, —
A snake * cut in parts, a pat emblem convey —
The *fell junto* at home — sure their heads are but froth —
Fain this snake would have caught to supply *viper broth*
For their *worn* constitution — and to it they go,
Hurry *Tom*, without his yes or his no,
On the *boldest* adventure *their* annals can show:
By their *wisdom* advised, he *their courage* displays,
For they seiz'd on the *tongue* 'mong their first of essays;
Nor once thought of the *teeth*, when *our snake* they assail —
Tho' the prudent catch snakes by the back or the tail —
To direct to the *head!* — our GOOD KING *must* indite 'em —
They forgot that the *head* would most certainly bite 'em.

---

* Some fifty years hence, when the body fills up, an elephant supporting Great Britain on his back, will be a more proper emblem.

It has already been stated that on December 15, 1774, Holt changed the design in the title of his paper from a divided snake to a double coiled snake, with its tail in its mouth. As a result, the following lines appeared in Rivington's New-York Gazetteer of January 19, 1775 (p. 2/2):

To Neighbour HOLT,

On his EMBLEMATICAL TWISTIFICATION.

'TIS true, JOHNNY HOLT, you have caus'd us some pain,
by changing your HEAD-PIECE again and again;
But then to your praise it may justly be said,
You have given us a Notable TAIL-PIECE in stead.
'Tis true, that the ARMS of a good *British King*,
Have been forc'd to give way to a SNAKE — with a STING;
Which some would interpret, as tho' it imply'd,
That the KING of a wound by that SERPENT had died.

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But NOW must their Malice all sink into Shade,
By the HAPPY Device which you lately display'd;
And Tories themselves be convinc'd you are slander'd,
Who see you 've ERECTED the RIGHT ROYAL STANDARD.

In a Boston town meeting held March 13, 1775, it was "Voted, that the Comittee of Correspondence be directed to draw up an exact State of the Behavior of the Troops, under the Command of General Gage; & of the Navy, under the Command of Admiral Graves."[1] This vote was printed in the Massachusetts Spy, published by Isaiah Thomas, in its issue of March 30; and was reprinted, "From Thomas's chronicle of sedition," in Rivington's New-York Gazetteer of April 6 (p. 3/2). It caught the eye of a Philadelphia Quaker and drew from him some satirical verses which, with the following introduction, were printed in Rivington's New-York Gazetteer of April 13 (p. 2/3):

FRIEND JAMES,[2]

When thy papers first appeared, thou used'st now and then to favour the public with some small specimens of poesy; but since the commencement of our political controversies, little of that kind of divertisement hath found its way into thy Gazetteer; albeit in *other* papers we have seen full many a *speech*, and full many a *proclamation*, right quaintly rhymed: in imitation of which worthy labours, I send thee the following versification of the proceedings of *Bostpn great Teawn-ship*,[3] as they appeared in thy last, said to be taken from *Thomas's Snake of Sedition*; by inserting of which in thy next, thou wilt at least oblige

A FRIEND and CUSTOMER.

Philadelphia, April 10, 1775.

So far as I have observed, the above is the last allusion to the snake device that appeared in the newspapers. This device was used for the last time by Thomas in his Massachusetts Spy on April 6, 1775; by the Bradfords in their Pennsylvania Journal on October 18, 1775; and by Holt in his New-York Journal on

[1] Boston Record Commissioners' Reports, xviii. 221.

[2] James Rivington.

[3] The New England pronunciation was often a subject of ridicule. For an instance, see Publications of this Society, vii. 107.

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August 29, 1776.[1] Thus disappeared from the press a design which had been before the public more or less for twenty-two years.

This paper may conveniently close with a list of the facsimile reproductions which accompany it:

I. Snake device, Pennsylvania Gazette, May 9, 1754, from an original in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, facing page 416.

II. Snake device, Boston Gazette, May 21, 1754, from an original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, facing page 416.

III. Snake device, Boston News-Letter, May 23, 1754, from an original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, facing page 416.

IV. Snake device, Boston Evening-Post, October 7, 1765, from an original in the possession of the Boston Athenæum, facing page 416.

V. Title of the Constitutional Courant, September 21, 1765, form A, from an original in the possession of the Lenox Library, facing page 422.

VI. Title of the Constitutional Courant, September 21, 1765, form B, from an original in the possession of the Boston Athenæum, facing page 422.

VII. Title of the New-York Journal, June 23, 1774, from an original in the possession of the Lenox Library, facing page 446.

VIII. Title of the New-York Journal, December 15, 1774, from an original in the possession of the Lenox Library, facing page 446.

IX. Title of the Massachusetts Spy, July 7, 1774, from an original in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, facing page 448.

X. Title of the Pennsylvania Journal, July 27, 1774, from an original in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, facing page 448.

[1] The issue of August 29, 1776, is numbered 1756. The next issue, numbered 1757, appeared at Kingston (Esopus) on July 7, 1777. For this information I am indebted to the officials of the Lenox Library and of the Library of Congress.

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POSTSCRIPT.

Since the above paper was written I have been informed by Dr. I. Minis Hays that the American Philosophical Society owns a copy of form C of the Constitutional Courant, and that "in the third line from the end [p. 427, line 25, above] it reads 'is abhorred by all the genuine sons of slavery' without an interrogation mark. The word 'slavery' has been crossed out with a pen and the word 'liberty' inserted." This interesting bit of information has caused me to collate the copy of form A printed in the text (pages 422–427, above) with the Harvard College copy of form C. It will be observed that while the American Philosophical Society's copy of form C has, in the place indicated, "slavery" without an interrogation mark, the Harvard College copy of form C has "slavery" with an interrogation mark.

The collation follows.

Page 422, lines 2–3 of the address "To the Public," instead of "*the publisher, and the design of*," form C has "*the publisher and design of*."
Page 422, line 6, instead of "*authors of the following pieces*," form C has "*author of the following piece*."
Page 422, line 8, instead of "*them*," form C has "*it*."
Page 422, line 12, instead of "*these pieces are*," form C has "*this piece is*."
Page 422, line 16, instead of "I," form C has "*I*."
Page 423, line 1, instead of "privileges," form C has "priviledges."
Page 423, line 14, form C has a comma after "terms."
Page 423, lines 14–15, instead of "privileges," form C has "priviledges" with a comma after it.
Page 423, line 25, instead of "Shall we," form C has "shall we."
Page 424, line 21, instead of "Gath!'" form C has "Gath!" — that is, without the single quotation mark.
Page 425, line 15, instead of "privilege," form C has "privileges."
Page 426, line 6, instead of "*King*," form C has "*a king*."
Page 426, line 9, instead of "Atlantic," form C has "Atlantick."
Page 426, line 11, instead of "villains," form C has "villians."
Page 426, line 20, instead of "Westward," form C has "westward."
Page 426, line 28, instead of "TRUE LOVERS OF THEIR COUNTRY," form C has "*true lovers of their country*."
Page 426, line 40, instead of "public," form C has "publick."
Page 427, line 13, instead of "and we fear," form C has "and fear."
Page 427, line 16, instead of "'tis too," form C has "'its too."
Page 427, line 21, instead of "villain," form C has "villian."
Page 427, line 23, instead of "Eastern," form C has "eastern."
Page 427, line 25, instead of "sons of liberty?" form C has "sons of slavery?"

It should also be added that in the title form C has "[NUM. 1.]" instead of "[NUMB. 1.]" as in form A; and that the word "COURANT" in the title is in form C followed by a period, instead of a semicolon as in form A.

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INDEX

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INDEX

ABSENTEES, loyalist, provisions regarding estates of, in definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States (1783), 390, 395.
Accara, Africa. *See* Accra.
Accra, Africa, 230.
Adams, Abigail (Smith), wife of President John, 30; her Letters, cited, 30 *n*.
—— Charles Francis (H. C. 1856), 40 *n*; his Antinomianism in Massachusetts, cited, 300 *n*, 301 *n*.
—— President John, 27, 42, 351, 352; his Works, cited, 6 *n*, 36 *n*, 42 *n*, 43 *n*; his visit to Mrs. Wells's wax-works, 30 *n*; his Letters to his Wife, quoted, 30 *n*, 36 *n*; his family physician, 35, 36, 36 *n*; letters between T. Young and, 40, 40 *n*; his letter to S. Perley, regarding the Pennsylvania Constitution, quoted, 42; his letter to B. Rush regarding his own part in forming a government in three branches, quoted, 42, 43.
—— Oscar Fay, his Dictionary of American Authors, 76.
—— Richard, 391.
—— Samuel (1722–1803), 27, 28, 29, 36, 37, 38, 39; his defence of T. Young, 17, 17 *n*, 21–23; Committee of Correspondence proposed by, 31; member of this committee, 31; his part in the Boston tea-party, 33; Committee of Correspondence defended by, 34; letters between T. Young and, mentioned, 36, 36 *n*.
Adamson, Capt. John, 216.
Adventure, a ship, 231.
Agawam. *See* Springfield, Mass.
Albany, N. Y., Committee of Correspondence, 41.
Albany Congress (1754), 420, 421; small interest taken in, by colonies, 409, 410, 410 *n*; call for, 410, 410 *n*, 412 *n*; delayed in meeting, 410, 410 *n*, 411 *n*; purpose of, 410 *n*, 411, 411 *n*, 412 *n*, 413; delegates to, from Pennsylvania, 412 *n*; results of, 414, 415 *n*.
Alexander, James, 412 *n*.
All Hallows, Barking, Eng., 382.
Allen, Abigail (Beebe), wife of Heman, 16 *n*. *See also* Wadhams.
—— Charles, his Reports, cited, 262 *n*.
—— Edwin West, his statement regarding wheat rust, 95.
—— Ethan, 53; his friendship with T. Young, 15, 16, 35, 44; H. Hall's Life of, quoted, 15; his theological views, 16, 17; his part in the Oracles of Reason, 17.
—— Heman, 16 *n*, 48.
—— Ira, his Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont, cited, 47 *n*, 54 *n*; quoted, 54.
—— Rev. James, 340.
—— Rev. John, pseudonym of Junius, Junior, used by, 294 *n*.
—— Samuel (1636–1705), Governor of New Hampshire, controversy regarding land claimed by, 384.
—— Thomas, son of Gov. Samuel, his land claims, 384, 384 *n*, 386, 398.
—— family, extracts from Z. Thompson's unpublished lecture on, 15.
Allibone, Samuel Austin, his Critical Dictionary of English Literature, 76.
Almanach de Gotha, important character of, 74; only complete file of, 74.
Almanacs, definition of, in Encyclopædia Britannica; in the Century Dictionary, 73; by the Company of Stationers, 75, 76; various sorts of information given by, 73, 74; political data in those published by New York papers, 74; prognostications of, 74, 75; those published by the Cam-

Digitized by Google

ALMANACS (*continued*).
bridge press, 74 *n*; sale of, a government monopoly in England, 75; the monopoly overthrown, 76; authors of, 76, 77; some absurdities of, 77. *See also* Gadbury's Almanack.
Almira. *See* Elmira.
Amenia, N. Y., 50 *n*; N. Reed's Early History of, cited, 14 *n*, 15 *n*; quoted, 15; T. Young's residence in, 14, 15.
America, a ship, 235, 236.
American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Memoirs of, cited, 325 *n*.
American Antiquarian Society, v, 438, 452; copy of second edition of Burgis-Price view of Boston owned by, 250; reproduction of this copy, 251; copy of second impression of W. Burgis's South Prospect of New York owned by, 251.
American Colonies, provisions regarding estates of absentees in definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and (1783), 390; plan of union of, 411, 411 *n*; Franklin's plan, 411 *n*, 412 *n*; newspaper items regarding the plan, before and during the Albany Congress, 411, 412, 412 *n*, 413 *n*; remarks by Gov. Shirley concerning, 413; by Gov. Belcher, 413; message of Massachusetts Legislature concerning, 414.
American Jezebel, the, name given to Anne Hutchinson, 300, 300 *n*.
American Philosophical Society, presents to this Society medal struck in commemoration of its celebration of the bicentenary of Franklin, 330; copy of Constitutional Courant owned by, 453.
American Unitarian Association, its hospitality to this Society, 330.
AMES, JAMES BARR, LL.D., xiv.
—— John, 242 *n*.
—— Priscilla (Kimball), wife of John, 242 *n*.
—— Stephen, son of John, 242, 242 *n*.
Amherst, N. H., 383.
Amsterdam, island. *See* New Amsterdam.
Anacreon, 61.
Anamabo, Africa, 230, 230 *n*.
Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 302.
Andover Theological Seminary, manuscripts received by trustees of, from estate of E. C. Smyth, 2.
ANDOVER (*continued*).
André, John, 352.
Andrew, John Albion, Governor of Massachusetts, 360.
Andrews, Ebenezer, 203. *See also* Thomas & Andrews.
—— John, 36 *n*; a letter of, quoted, 36.
—— William, takes over the Boston Book Store, 203. *See also* Andrews & Cummings; Andrews & Goodwin.
—— William Loring, 262 *n*; his copy of the second impression of W. Burgis's Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge, 252; reproduction of this view in his Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge, 252; his copy of W. Burgis's View of the New Dutch Church, 252; this view reproduced in his Bradford Map, 252; View of Castle William, probably W. Burgis's, 253; this view reproduced in his Bradford Map, 253.
Andrews & Cummings, 203.
Andrews & Goodwin, 203.
Andros, Sir Edmund, 293.
ANGELL, Hon. JAMES BURRILL, LL.D., xvi.
Anglesey, Earl of. *See* Annesley, Arthur.
Anjengo, British India, 227, 227 *n*.
Ann, a brig, 226.
—— a ship, prosecution against, 243.
Annals of Agriculture, testimony of farmers published in, regarding influence of barberry bushes on grain, 95, 96; cited, 96 *n*.
Annamaboo. *See* Anamabo.
Annapolis, Md., conference of Sons of Liberty at (1766), 26 *n*.
Annesley, Arthur, first Earl of Anglesey, 285, 285 *n*.
Antelope, English guard ship, 210.
Antinomians, persecution of, 300, 301, 302, 303, 309.
Apollos, J. Harvard likened to, 380.
APPLETON, FRANCIS RANDALL, LL.B., xv.
Arden, Mary. *See* Shakspere.
Armstrong, Jane (Parks) Young, wife of Thomas, 10, 10 *n*.
—— Margery, daughter of Thomas, 11.
—— Thomas, 10, 10 *n*, 11.
—— William, son of Thomas, 10, 11.
Arnold, Benedict (*d.* 1801), 372.

Digitized by Google

Arnold (*continued*).
—— Samuel Greene, his History of Rhode Island, cited, 38 *n*.
Ascension Island, 237.
Asia, a ship, 232, 232 *n*, 233, 233 *n*.
Aspinwall, William, 306, 314; his Notarial Records, cited, 317 *n*.
Astley, Sir Jacob, 368.
Atherton, Joseph, 383, 383 *n*.
Atkinson, Frances (Wentworth), wife of Theodore, 344 *n*. *See also* Wentworth.
—— Theodore (*d*. 1769), 344, 344 *n*.
Atkinson, N. H., represented in the Legislature by N. Peabody, 241 *n*.
Attachment, cost of writ of, 199 *n*.
Avon, the river, Eng., 372.
Axon, Ernest, letter from, relating to President Dunster, 97, 97 *n*.
Axtel, Daniel, the regicide, 290 *n*.
Ayer, James Bourne, M.D., xv; photographs of the Consistoire, Church of St. Pierre, Geneva, exhibited by, 54; photograph of portion of Burgis-Price view of Boston secured by, 250; copy of the second edition of this view owned by, 251; reproduction of this copy, 251; exhibits photographs of meeting houses in this view, 262.
—— Mary Farwell, daughter of James Bourne, her South Meeting-House, Boston, cited, 250; her Boston Common in Colonial and Provincial Days, cited, 250 *n*; mentioned, 251.
Aylmer, John, Bishop of London, 266 *n*.

Babson, Robert Tillinghast, LL.B., xiv.
Badger, Joseph, Sr., 400, 401.
—— Joseph, Jr., son of Joseph, Sr., 400, 400 *n*.
Bagaduce (now Castine), Me., 223.
Baker, Thomas, 256.
—— Thomas, 28.
Bakewell, Robert, 181, 181 *n*.
—— Thomas, 251.
Balasore Roads, India, 236, 236 *n*.
Balch, Thomas Willing, LL.B., xvi; elected a Corresponding Member, 72, 331; accepts, 102.
Baldwin, Hon. Simeon Eben, LL.D., xvi.
Ballantyne, John, 312, 313.
Ballintine, John. *See* Ballantyne.
Bancroft, George, his History of the United States, quoted, 33, 411 *n*; cited, 33 *n*, 210 *n*, 211 *n*, 217 *n*, 225 *n*; attributes a letter in A. Kennedy's pamphlet to Franklin, 411 *n*; withdraws the attribution, 411 *n*.
Bangs, Edward, 324.
Bangs & Wells, 324.
Banks, Sir Joseph, his Short account of the Cause of the Disease in Corn, called by Farmers the Blight, the Mildew, the Rust, quoted, 96, 97; cited, 97 *n*.
Barber, Capt. Nathaniel, 37.
Barberry bushes, P. Sprague's method of exterminating, 79; opinion of T. Dwight as to their blasting effect on grain, 79, 80, 81; of J. Harriott, 81; Massachusetts legislation regarding extirpation of, 81, 82, 88, 90, 91, 93; text of Act regarding, 82–84; Connecticut legislation regarding, 82 *n*, 89, 90, 91, 93; obligations of owners and occupants of land regarding, 82, 83, 84; provisions regarding, in case of neglect by occupants and owners, 82, 83; penalties for neglect of, 82, 83, 84, 89, 92; action regarding, in cases of common land, 83, 85; in highways, 83, 84, 92, 93; in division walls, 84, 85; time allowed for extirpation of, 85; opinion of modern botanists regarding evil effects of, 85, 86, 87, 88; general absence of, on Western plains, 87; Rhode Island legislation regarding, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93; provision regarding, when used as fences, 90; chronology of legislation regarding, 93; knowledge by botanists of legislation regarding, 94; statement of E. W. Allen regarding, 95; inquiries of A. Young regarding, 96; opinions regarding, published in Annals of Agriculture, 96; statement of Sir J. Banks regarding, 96, 97; of J. Timbs, 97.
Barberry Bushes and Wheat — a Supplement to a chapter in "The old Farmer and his Almanack," paper by A. McF. Davis, 73–94; discussion of the paper, 95–97.
Barker, Rev. Matthew, 338, 341.
—— Nathaniel, 33.
Barnes, John, 255, 256.

Digitized by Google

Barrett, Sir Edward, Lord Barrett of Newburgh, 268 *n*.
—— John, 34, 34 *n*, 35.
—— Sarah (Gerrish), wife of John, 34 *n*.
Barrington, Edmund, 97 *n*.
Barry, Commodore John, 234 *n*.
Bartlett, James, 210.
Barton, Edmund Miller, 8 *n*, 438 *n*.
Bartram, William, 112, 112 *n*, 157.
Bary, Heinrich Anton de, his investigations regarding rust on wheat, 86.
Bassett, Richard, 153, 153 *n*.
Baston, Thomas, his Ships of the Royal Navy, mentioned, 254.
Batavia, Java, 235 *n*; Capt. J. Chapman's voyage to, 235.
Batchelder, David, 396.
Battelle, Ebenezer, his Boston Book Store, bought by B. Guild, 201, 201 *n*.
Baxter, Hon. James Phinney, Litt.D., xvi.
Bayard, Capt. ——, 99, 100.
Baylies, Walter Cabot, A.B., xiv.
Baynes (Bayne), Paul, 271 *n*.
Beaumont, ——. *See* Wentworth, —— (Beaumont), wife of John.
Beebe, Abigail. *See* Allen; Wadhams.
Belcher, Jonathan, Governor of Massachusetts and New Jersey, 254, 255; his remarks on the union of the colonies, 413.
Belknap, Rev. Jeremy, his History of New Hampshire, cited, 384 *n*.
Bell, Charles Henry, his Bench and Bar of New Hampshire, mentioned, 383 *n*; cited, 242 *n*, 243 *n*.
Bellingham, Ann, sister of Gov. Richard. *See* Hibbins.
—— Penelope (Pelham), second wife of Gov. Richard, 316 *n*.
—— Richard, Governor of Massachusetts, 298, 305, 314, 316 *n*, 340; morose character of, 316; blamed for not securing acquittal of Ann Hibbins, 316, 317.
Bendall, Edward, 298, 303.
Bennett, Bart, 310.
Benson, Egbert, 15, 15 *n*.
Bernard, Sir Francis, Governor of Massachusetts, 293, 293 *n*; redress of grievances sought from, 27; T. Hutchinson's letters to, regarding the conduct of T. Young and others, 28; his attempt to prevent the Manufactory House meeting, 28 *n*; his report regarding the leaders of the tea-party, 33; Harvard Hall planned by, 55; attacks upon, just before his return to England, 446.
Bernard (*continued*).
Berwick, Me., 79.
Besse, Joseph, his Sufferings of the Quakers, cited, 309 *n*, 319 *n*, 320 *n*.
Bessey, Charles Edwin, his statement regarding rust and its propagation, 87, 88.
Bethlehem, Pa., 44 *n*.
Bigelow, John, a letter in A. Kennedy's pamphlet included in his edition of Franklin's Works, 411 *n*.
—— Melville Madison, a guest at the annual dinner, 347.
Bill, James, 255.
—— Mehitable, wife of James, 255.
—— Mehitable, daughter of James. *See* Burgis; Selby.
Billings, John Shaw, D.C.L., xvi.
Bishop & Lincoln, Lothrop, firm of, 356.
Bisset, Elizabeth (or Alice), married into the Wentworth family, 64, 69.
Black, George Nixon, xiv.
Blackett, Sir Thomas, 63.
Blackleach, John, 314, 314 *n*.
Blackstone, William, of Boston, acquaints Gov. Winthrop of an excellent spring, and invites him to settle in Boston, 295, 298, 327; location of this spring, 297, 298, 299, 303, 304, 305, 308, 312, 327; his house on Beacon Hill, 297, 304; his dislike of Puritans, 297.
—— Sir William, cited, 75 *n*.
Blagrove, Henry B., 204 *n*.
—— Sarah (Pelham), 204.
—— William, son of Sarah, takes charge of W. Pelham's circulating library, Boston, 204; leaves Boston, 204.
Blaine, James Gillespie, 357.
Blair, Alexander, 236, 237.
Blake, Francis, A.M., xv.
—— Joseph, 226.
—— Lemuel, son of William, 202, 202 *n*.
—— Rachel (Glover), wife of William, 202 *n*.
—— William, 202 *n*.
—— William P., & Co., 202 *n*.
—— William Pinson, son of William, takes over the Boston Book Store, 202; catalogue of his books, 200,

Digitized by Google

BLAKE (*continued*).
202 *n*; books published by, 202; sells his circulating library, 202, 203; brief sketch of, 202 *n*.
Blight in grain. *See* Rust.
Bliss, Philip, his edition of Wood's Fasti Oxonienses, cited, 291 *n*.
Blodget, ——, 217.
Blood, Francis, 400.
Bloxham, ——, 127, 191.
Blunden, Humfrey, 283 *n*.
Bodge, Rev. George Madison, copy of his Soldiers in King Philip's War presented to this Society, 72.
Boggess, ——, 128.
Bollan, Frances (Shirley), wife of William, 344; memorials to, 344 *n*.
—— Frances Shirley, daughter of William. *See* Western.
—— William, 344; letter of F. Dana regarding the settlement of his estate, 345, 346; claim of his estate for services as agent, 346 *n*.
BOLTON, CHARLES KNOWLES, A.B., xv, 8 *n*; his paper on Circulating Libraries in Boston (1765–1865), 196–207; discussion of the paper, 208.
—— Thomas, his Oration delivered March 15, 1775, quoted, 29; cited, 29 *n*.
Bombay, an English frigate, 233.
—— India, 228.
Bonner, Edmund, Bishop of London, 319.
—— John, 259. *See also* Bonner-Price map of Boston.
Bonner-Price map of Boston, mentioned, 252, 259.
Bordley, John Beale, his Summary View of the Courses of Crops, etc., 139, 139 *n*, 144, 147.
Boston, Eng., 376.
Boston, Mass., St. Patrick's Day dinner in (1767), 4 *n*; Memorial History of, cited, 4 *n*, 306 *n*, 309 *n*; mentioned, 251, 252; provisions collected in Windsor, Conn., for the poor of, 5 *n*; town meeting of November 20, 1772, in, 24, 24 *n*; some events leading to the tea-party in, 32, 33; town meetings in (1774), 34; vote of, regarding J. Mein, 199, 200; importation of books suspended in, 199; paper on Circulating Libraries in (1765–1865), by C. K. Bolton, 196–207; discussion
BOSTON (*continued*).
of the paper, 208; Burgis-Price View of, paper on, by J. H. Edmonds, 245–262; earliest known view of, 245; subscriptions asked for view of, 246, 247; the view made, 247, 248; its harbor, 248; its wharves, 248; its houses, 248; its shipping, 248; copy of Burgis-Price View of, presented to the city, 249; probably unique impression of the original plate now existing, 249, 250; photographs of, 250; five known copies of the second edition of, 250, 251; Bonner-Price map of, 252, 259; W. Burgis's Boston N. Eng. Planted A.D. MDCXXX, owners of copies of, 252; reproductions of this view, 252; first settlement of, 295, 296, 304, 305, 306, 326, 327; springs of, 297, 298, 299, 304, 305, 307, 308, 309, 312, 315, 321, 324, 325, 326, 327; difficulties about drainage in (1638), 299, 300; Antinomian heresy in, 300, 301, 302, 303, 309; early cove and dock in, 304, 305, 311, 315, 327; change in configuration of, 305; dispersal of early settlers of, 308; first water-works in, 310, 311, 312, 313, 315; over-supply of water in, 311, 312, 315; fire of 1679 in, 311, 311 *n*; second and third conduit built in, 312, 313; provision for fire protection in, 313, 314, 321; great fire of 1653 in, 314; project for another water-supply in, 314, 315; land given by, in return for maintenance of highway, 315; fire of 1711 in, 322, 323; signs of old water-courses in, 324.
—— Adams Square, 305, 309, 311.
—— Albion Building, 326.
—— American Coffee House. *See below*, British Coffee House.
—— Anchor Tavern, 301, 314.
—— Ann Street, 30.
—— Blackstone Street, 305.
—— Blue Anchor Tavern, 301.
—— Bowdoin Street, 237, 237 *n*.
—— Bowen's Columbian Museum, 205.
—— Boylston Library, 206.
—— Brazer Building, 307.
—— Breck Agricultural Warehouse, 313.
—— British Coffee House, 7; location of, 5 *n*; 196, 196 *n*, 197 *n*.
—— Bromfield's Lane, 196 *n*.
—— Butler's Wharf, 254.

Digitized by Google

Boston (*continued*).
—— Cambridge Street, 206, 237 *n*.
—— Carney Building, 326.
—— Carter Building. *See below*, Winthrop Building.
—— Castle Tavern. *See below*, George Tavern.
—— Castle William, view of, probably by W. Burgis, 253.
—— 'Change Avenue, 5 *n*, 306.
—— Christ Church, 255, 256, 257, 258.
—— Circulating Library, 200.
—— City Hall, cave-in at, 324, 325.
—— City Surveyor's Report, 252.
—— Columbian Library, 206 *n*.
—— Commercial Street, 32 *n*.
—— Committee of Correspondence, 45; formation of, 31; motion for censuring and annihilating, defeated, 34.
—— Concert Hall, 30.
—— Conduit Street, 310, 311.
—— Congregational Building, 325.
—— Corn Court, 5 *n*.
—— Cornhill 201, 202, 203, 204, 206, 206 *n*. 207; new London Book Store opened in, 6 *n*; tax levied for repairs of town pump in, 259.
—— Cotton Hill, 370; spring on, 297, 298, 308, 327.
—— Court Avenue, 260.
—— Court Street, 206.
—— Crown Coffee House, 246, 251, 254, 255, 256, 257.
—— Devonshire Building, 307.
—— Dispensary, 356.
—— Dock Square, originally occupied by a cove or creek and landing place, 304, 305, 311, 315.
—— Easton Building, 307.
—— Elm Street, 30, 31.
—— Episcopal Charitable Society, 261.
—— Exchange Building, 299, 306, 307.
—— Exchange Coffee House, 249.
—— Eye and Ear Infirmary, 356.
—— Faneuil Hall, 250; tea meeting in, 33.
—— Faneuil Hall Square, 5 *n*.
—— First Church, statue of Rev. J. Cotton placed in, 54; discussion in regard to removing (1639), 299; site of original edifice of, 307, 308.
—— Fitch's Alley. *See above*, 'Change Alley.
—— Flagg's Alley. *See above*, 'Change Alley.

Boston (*continued*).
—— Franklin Library, 206, 206 *n*.
—— Franklin Street, 206.
—— George Tavern, 31 *n*, 311 *n*, 312.
—— Globe Building, 301, 301 *n*, 302.
—— Governor's Green, 299, 303, 311; made over to S. Winthrop, 315, 316; sold by him and his widow, 318.
—— Governor's Spring, 298, 299, 315; land about, probably unoccupied before 1634, 303; order for fencing, 319; recent schemes regarding, 326, 327.
—— Green Dragon Tavern, 32, 34.
—— Half-way Rock, Boston Harbor, 236, 236 *n*.
—— Hamilton Place, 28 *n*.
—— Hancock Tavern, 5 *n*.
—— Hanover Street, 30, 207.
—— Heart and Crown, Cornhill, 411 *n*.
—— India Building, 307.
—— Kimball Building, 326.
—— King Street, 33; British Coffee House in, 5 *n*, 6 *n*; J. Mein's bookstore and circulating library in, 196, 197 *n*. *See also* State Street.
—— King Street Pier. *See below*, Long Wharf.
—— King's Arms Tavern, 31, 31 *n*, 314, 315.
—— King's Chapel, 255, 256, 356; Foote's Annals of, cited, 5 *n*, 40 *n*, 202 *n*, 204 *n*, 262 *n*, 344 *n*; Registers of, cited, 40 *n*, 344 *n*; litigation between Trinity Church and, 202 *n*; organ of, 257; W. Price's association with, 258; his bequest to, 261, 262.
—— King's Head and Looking Glass, W. Price's shop, 260.
—— Ladies Circulating Library, 203, 206 *n*.
—— Liberty Tree, 32.
—— Light, W. Burgis's View of, 253; reproductions of this view, 253.
—— London Book Store, 5 *n*, 6 *n*; J. Mein's occupancy of, 196, 196 *n*, 197 *n*.
—— Long Wharf, 248, 254, 256.
—— Louisburg Square, originally part of one of the three peaks of Trimountain, 297.
—— Main Street, 200. *See also* Newbury Street; Washington Street.
—— Manufactory House, T. Young's oration at, 28, 28 *n*, 29.

Digitized by Google

Boston (*continued*).
—— Marlboro' Street, 196 *n*.
—— Mason's Hall, 196 *n*.
—— Massachusetts Bank, 4 *n*, 5 *n*.
—— Massachusetts Building, 5 *n*.
—— Massacre, T. Young's oration on the first anniversary of, 28, 28 *n*, 29.
—— Merchants' Row, 5 *n*.
—— Middle Street. *See above*, Hanover Street.
—— Middlecot Street, 237, 237 *n*.
—— Milk Street, 205.
—— Mill Creek, 305, 309, 311.
—— New Algonquin Club, 330.
—— Newbury Street, 6 *n*, 203, 205.
—— New North Church, Records of, cited, 34 *n*.
—— New South Church, Registers of, cited, 6 *n*, 202 *n*.
—— North End Caucus, 32, 34.
—— North Street, 306, 310.
—— Old Brick Meeting House, earliest view of, 253; no known copy of this view, 253.
—— Old City Hall, copy of Burgis-Price View of Boston in, 249.
—— Old South Building, 325.
—— Old South Church, 356; tea meeting in, 33; Burnham's bookshop in basement of, 207; land bought for, 316, 318.
—— Old South Corporation, 356.
—— Overseers of the Poor, 4 *n*; Manual for the Use of, cited, 5 *n*.
—— Paddy's Alley, 30.
—— Parker House, 207.
—— Pavilion Building, 326.
—— Pemberton Square, 297, 370.
—— Pierce's Alley. *See above*, 'Change Alley.
—— Port Bill, town meeting in regard to, 34.
—— Post Office, spring encountered in building, 321, 324.
—— Post Office Square, 320.
—— Provident Association, 356.
—— Public Library, 202 *n*, 310 *n*, 356; its copy of the second edition of the Burgis-Price View of Boston, 251; Prince Collection in, 407; copy of Rev. I. Wiswall's poem owned by, 407.
—— Quaker Lane, 199 *n*.
—— Quincy House, 305.
—— Record Commissioners' Reports, cited, 3 *n*, 6 *n*, 18 *n*, 24 *n*, 27 *n*, 29 *n*, 30 *n*, 31 *n*, 32 *n*, 34 *n*, 200 *n*, 201 *n*, 202 *n*, 262 *n*, 297 *n*, 300 *n*, 301 *n*, 302 *n*, 303 *n*, 304 *n*, 305 *n*, 306 *n*, 308 *n*, 309 *n*, 310 *n*, 311 *n*, 312 *n*, 313 *n*, 314 *n*, 315 *n*, 316 *n*, 319 *n*, 321 *n*, 322 *n*, 323 *n*, 324 *n*, 451 *n*; quoted, 299, 300.
—— Records of Deaths, cited, 40 *n*.
—— Revere House, 237 *n*.
—— Rogers Building, 302.
—— Russell's Wharf, 233 *n*.
—— Salutation Tavern, in Salutation Alley, 32, 32 *n*.
—— School Street, 204, 206.
—— Scollay Square, well of old school house in, 298.
—— Scott Alley, 309.
—— Scottow's Alley, 309.
—— Sears Building, 302.
—— Selby's Coffee House. *See above*, Crown Coffee House.
—— Seven Star Lane, 200.
—— Shakspeare Library, 206.
—— Ship Inn, 301, 303.
—— Siege, extract from T. Bolton's Oration delivered before the, 29.
—— Sign of the Two Palaverers. *See above*, Salutation Tavern.
—— Spring Lane, order for paving, 322; drains laid in, 323; repairs on well and drains in, 323, 324; pump in, 323, 324, 326. *See also above*, Governor's Spring.
—— State House, well dug for, 325.
—— State Street, originally the Broad street leading from the market-place to the sea, 306, 308, 328; springs of, 307, 308.
—— States Arms. *See above*, King's Arms Tavern.
—— Suffolk Bank, 5 *n*.
—— Suffolk Savings Bank, 356.
—— Summer Street, 200 *n*.
—— Symphony Hall, memorial service for R. Wolcott at, 362.
—— Thompson's Spa, 202 *n*, 260.
—— Town House, provided for in R. Keayne's will, 308; library in, 313.
—— Town pump, 307, 308. *See also* Cornhill; Spring Lane.
—— Tremont Building, 326.
—— Trinity Church, 6 *n*; Registers of, cited, 40 *n*; litigation between King's Chapel and, 202 *n*; William Price

Digitized by Google

Boston (*continued*).
Fund, 202 *n*, 261, 262, 262 *n*; W. Price's part in erection of, 258; his burial in, 261; funeral of R. Wolcott from, 361, 362.
—— Union Circulating Library, 204, 206 *n*.
—— Union Street, 32, 311.
—— Washington Street, 206, 206 *n*, 207; extension of, 31.
—— Water Street, 300, 322, 323.
—— West Boston Library, 206.
—— White Horse Tavern, 6 *n*.
—— Williams's Court, 6 *n*, 261, 301.
—— Wing's Lane, 30, 31, 52, 312.
—— Winthrop Building, quicksand encountered in building, 324, 325.
—— Worthington Building, 307.
—— Young's Hotel, 260.
Boston, frigate, 235, 235 *n*.
Boston and Albany Railroad, 356.
Boston Athenæum, v; Washington Collection in, 125 *n*, 139 *n*; copy of W. Lilly's Declaration of the several Treasons owned by, 284 *n*; two copies of Junius Junior's Spirit of Liberty owned by, 294 *n*; copy of Constitutional Courant owned by, 422 *n*, 434, 434 *n*, 452.
Boston Book Store, sold by E. Battelle to B. Guild, 201; taken over by W. P. Blake, 202; bought by W. Andrews, 203.
Boston Chronicle, 6 *n*; started by J. Mein, 198, 198 *n*; description of the pope published in, 198 *n*.
Boston Evening Post, 417; items printed in, regarding the Albany Congress, 413, 414; only newspaper mentioning the Constitutional Courant, 435, 435 *n*; snake device used in, 435, 435 *n*; facsimile of the device, facing 416.
Boston Gazette, items printed in, regarding the Albany Congress, 413, 415; snake device used by, 417, 440 *n*, 452; facsimile of, facing 416; reproduction of this device as that of the Constitutional Courant, 440.
Boston News-Letter, snake device used by, 417; facsimile of, facing 416.
Boston Post-Boy, 417, 427 *n*; account of the Albany Congress in, 414.
Bostonian Society, 252; presents copy of Vol. III of its Publications to this Society, 72.
Boutineau, Anne, daughter of James. *See* Robinson.
—— James, 6 *n*.
—— Stephen, 323.
Bowditch, Charles Pickering, A.M., xiv.
Bowdoin, James, 255.
—— James, Governor of Massachusetts, 37; his attempt to prevent interference with court proceedings, 387.
Bowdoin College Library, manuscript order to Sir W. Phips owned by, 342.
Bowen, Clarence Winthrop, Ph.D., xvi.
Boyce, Antipas, 317, 320.
Brackett, Richard, 299, 303; his estate in Boston, 302.
Bradford, Alden, 406.
—— Capt. John, 37.
—— Moses, 313.
—— Samuel, 234.
—— Thomas. *See* Bradford, William and Thomas.
—— William and Thomas, publishers of the Pennsylvania Journal, 448; device used by, 421, 447, 448; this device reproduced as Franklin's snake device, 421, 421 *n*; as the Constitutional Courant's device, 440; last use of the snake device by, 451.
Bradlee, David, T. Young's estate sold to, 31 *n*.
Brandon, Gregory, 289, 291 *n*.
—— Richard, 291, 291 *n*.
Branson, ——, 190.
Brattle, Thomas, 312; property of W. Tyng comes into possession of, 311.
Brattleboro, Vt., early postal service of, 35 *n*.
Brazil, method of carrying on the slave-trade to, 229, 230.
Brenton, Jahleel, son of Gov. William, 342 *n*; his complaint against Sir W. Phips, 342.
—— William, Governor of Rhode Island, 342 *n*.
Brewer, Elizabeth, 31 *n*.
Brewster, Frank, A.M., xiv.
Bridge, Benjamin, 255.
—— Matthew, 226.
Bridgeman, Sir Orlando, 288, 288 *n*.
Bridges, Francis, 272.
Bridgham, Henry (*d.* 1671), 320.
—— Henry (*d.* 1720), son of Joseph (*d.* 1709), 323.

Digitized by Google

Bridgham (*continued*).
—— Joseph (*d.* 1709), son of Henry (*d.* 1671), use of water from the Governor's Spring allowed to, 321.
Brief Discourse, A, of the Troubles begun at Frankfurt in the year 1554, about the Book of Common Prayer and Ceremonies, copy of, exhibited, 54, 54 *n.*
Briggs, Jedediah, 346 *n*, 347.
Brinsmead, Rev. William, 408.
Bristol County, R. I., Deeds, cited, 346 *n.*
British Museum, copy of Burgis-Price View of Boston in, 249; description of this copy, 250; photographs of, 250; copy of second impression of W. Burgis's South Prospect of New York in, 251; copy of the Constitutional Courant in, 433 *n*, 434 *n.*
Britton, Mrs. ——, 256.
Brooking, John, 32 *n.*
Brooks, Capt. ——, 226.
—— James Willson, A.M., xv.
—— Rev. Thomas, 338, 341.
Broom, Capt. ——, 212, 214.
Broom & Livingstone, 225.
Brown, Capt. ——, 229.
—— John, tenant of the Mansion House, Boston (1771), 28 *n.*
—— Sarah. *See* Young.
—— William, 346 *n*, 347.
Browne, Robert, 368.
—— Samuel, 272, 272 *n*, 273 *n.*
—— William, Governor of Bermuda, 212, 212 *n.*
—— Corwin &, 309.
Brut, the, of Geoffrey of Monmouth, 102.
Bryan, George, his opposition to J. Adams's plan favoring government in three branches, 42; his part in framing the Pennsylvania Constitution, 43.
Buckingham, Duke of. *See* Villiers.
—— Joseph Tinker, 293; his Specimens of Newspaper Literature, cited, 6 *n*, 293 *n*, 438 *n*, 440 *n*; his account of the Constitutional Courant, 438; his incorrect reproduction of the Courant's device, 440.
Buckminster, Rev. Joseph, 390, 390 *n.*
Bunker Hill, battle of, 209.
Bunt, nautical word, 211, 211 *n.*
Burbeck, Thomas, 217.
Burgis, Mehitable (Bill) Selby, wife of William, 251, 257.
Burgis (*continued*).
—— William, his plan for taking a View of Boston, 246, 251; the plan carried out, 247, 248, 249; second edition of the View, 250; first mention of, 251; his South Prospect of New York, 251, 253, 259; his Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge, 252; his Boston N. Eng. Planted A.D. MDCXXX, 252; his View of the New Dutch Church, 252; of Boston Light, 253.
Burlington, N. J., the Constitutional Courant may have been printed at, 434 *n*, 437, 438; two works issued from J. Parker's press at, 443, 444, 444 *n.*
Burnet, William, Governor of Massachusetts, W. Burgis's Boston N. Eng., dedicated to, 252.
Burnham, Thomas, his circulating library, Boston, 206.
—— Thomas Oliver Hazard Perry, son of Thomas, his library and bookshop, Boston, 207.
Burt, Jotham, 346.
Burton, Robert, pseudonym Democritus Junior used by, 293, 293 *n.*
Bury, Eng., Grammar School, 97.
—— Parish Register of, 97 *n.*
Butler, Benjamin Franklin, Governor of Massachusetts, 356.
—— James, one of Washington's overseers, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137, 139, 140, 141, 145, 148, 155, 165, 166, 172, 179, 182, 182 *n.*
—— James, sailor, 215, 216.
—— Kezia, her circulating library, Boston, 205, 206.
—— Peter, land leased to T. Selby by, 254, 255.
—— Pierce (1744–1822), 140, 140 *n.*
—— Thaddeus, 399.
Byng family, barony of Raby passes to, 65.

Cabot, John (*d.* 1742), letter to T. Savage from, 98–101.
—— Louis, A.B., xiv.
Cahart, Capt. ——, 115.
Calamy, Edmund (1671–1732), his Nonconformist's Memorial, 341 *n.*
Calcutta, India, 228, 231, 236.
Callender, Charles, 206.

Digitized by Google

Calomel, T. Young's use of, 39, 40.
Calverts, the, a London firm, 229.
Calvin, Jean, 55, 368.
Cam, the river, Eng., 61.
Cambridge, Maud, Countess of, wife of Richard, Earl of, 67, 68. *See also* Nevil.
—— Richard, Earl of, son of Edmund, Duke of York, 67.
Cambridge, Eng., University of, profits derived by, from sale of almanacs, 75, 75 *n*; strong Puritan element at, 271 *n*.
—— Christ's College, 377.
—— Emmanuel College, J. Harvard at, 376; some of J. Harvard's contemporaries at, 377; its Puritan reputation, 377; many early New England leaders from, 378.
Cambridge, Mass., W. Burgis's Prospect of the Colledges in, 252; only known copy of first impression of, 252; reproductions of this impression, 252; Gov. Winthrop's house first set up in, 295, 296, 306.
Cambridge Historical Society, presents to this Society a medal struck in commemoration of one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Longfellow, 330.
Cambridge Press, almanacs published by, 74 *n*.
Camden Society, Publications of, cited, 282 *n*.
Campbell, William James, v.
Canavan, Michael Joseph, his paper on Mr. Blackstone's "Excellent Spring," 295–328.
Candle rents, 269, 269 *n*.
Caner, Rev. Henry, 261.
Cannon, James, 41, 52; his part in framing the Pennsylvania Constitution, 42, 43; his opposition to J. Adams's plan favoring three legislative branches, 42.
Canterbury, Archbishop of, legislation regarding sale of almanacs approved by, 75, 76.
Cape Verde Islands, 232, 232 *n*.
Capel, Arthur, first Baron Capel of Hadham, 289, 289 *n*.
Carleton, Sir Dudley, Viscount Dorchester, 268 *n*.
Carlyle, Thomas, his Cromwell, cited, 281; mentioned, 294 *n*.
Carnan, Thomas, suit of Company of Stationers against, 75.
Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., continuation of its Bibliography of Writings on American History guaranteed, 72.
Carter, Franklin, LL.D., xvi.
Carter, Henry Harrington, his circulating library, Boston, 207.
Cartwright, Thomas, 271 *n*.
Caryl, Rev. Joseph, 338, 341.
Cass, Jonathan, 396, 396 *n*.
Cassard, Jacques, Paramaribo put to ransom by, 98, 98 *n*, 99, 100.
Castine, Me. *See* Bagaduce; Penobscot.
Castle, Catharine (Young), wife of Daniel, 50, 51.
—— Daniel, 50, 51.
—— James, son of Daniel, 51.
Cathcart, Capt. John, 224, 225.
Caucus, North End, Boston, 32, 34.
Cedar, Washington's cultivation of, 108, 109, 113, 126, 149, 157, 158.
Chadwick, Josh., drawing of Harvard College by, 382.
Chamberlain, Hon. Joshua Lawrence, LL.D., xvi.
Channing, Edward Tyrrel, 208.
—— William, 37, 37 *n*.
—— Rev. William Ellery, son of William, 37 *n*.
Chapman, Abigail (Devens), first wife of Capt. Jonathan (1756–1832), 226, 226 *n*, 227, 238 *n*.
—— Ann (Kettell), wife of Thomas, 208 *n*.
—— Dummer Rogers, son of Capt. Jonathan (1756–1832), 208 *n*, 238.
—— Henry Leland, LL.D., xvi; elected a Corresponding Member, 280, 331; accepts, 330; copy of an order to Sir W. Phips communicated by, 341.
—— James, 216.
—— Jemima (Miller) Stone, wife of Jonathan (*d.* 1765), 208 *n*, 209, 209 *n*, 215.
—— Jonathan (*d.* 1765), son of Thomas, 208, 208 *n*.
—— Capt. Jonathan (1756–1832), son of Jonathan (*d.* 1765), Autobiography of, communicated by J. Noble, Jr., 208; text of the autobiography, 208–239; the original manuscript, 208 *n*; his parents, 208, 208 *n*; his first two

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CHAPMAN (*continued*).
voyages to Haiti, 209; captured by British man-of-war, 209, 210; transferred to British ship, 210; takes part in events at Chester, Pa., 210, 211; breaks his leg, 211, 212, 215, 216; taken to Navy Hospital, Long Island, 211, 212; escapes from the hospital in disguise, 212; embarks on the Tartar for New Providence, 212, 213; the vessel wrecked, 213, 214; his experiences as a prisoner of war in Virginia, 214, 215; his release, 215; finds friends in Portsmouth, 215; embarks on the Willing Maid for Santa Cruz, 215, 216; returns to Virginia, 216; his hard journey to Boston, 216; learns navigation, 216; ships on a privateer, 216; his cruise to Portland and the Banks, 217; ships for Cape Francis, 217; the vessel stranded on the return voyage, 217; makes two voyages to Martinique, 218; made prize master of the captured schooner Hope, 218; sails as first officer of this schooner, 218; the ship and its prize captured, 218; sent to Cadiz and returns to Boston, 218; his unprofitable sale of salt, 218; makes a profitable voyage to Havana and Cadiz, 218; captured on a second voyage to Havana, 218, 219; confined on a prison ship, 219; his plan of escape, 219; results of this plan, 219, 220, 221, 224; captures three small vessels, 221, 222; releases two of these vessels, 222; starts for home in the third prize, 222; accident to his boat, 222; sails across Bay of Fundy in open boat, 223; reaches Boston, 224; sails for Cape François, 224, 225; attack on the ship, 225; returns to Alexandria, 225, 226; a voyage to France and England, 226; sails as master of the brig Ann, 226; his marriage, 226; birth and death of his son, 226; death of his wife and daughter, 227; continues in West India trade, 227; sails for India as first officer of the Hercules, 227, 228; put in command of the brig Generous Friends, 228; his voyage up the African coast, 229, 230; his voyage home through the West Indies, 230, 231; his success in the India trade, 231, 232, 233, 234, 236, 237; his second voyage to India, 231; his third voyage to India in the ship Asia, 232, 233; made a captain in the navy, 234; commands the Pickering in search of French privateers, 234; carries cannon to fortify Fort Johnson, 234; declines further service in the navy, 235; his voyage to Java, 235, 236; makes another voyage to India, 236, 237; gives up the sea, 237; builds a house in Boston, 237; his second marriage, 237; his children, 237, 238; chosen a selectman, 238; his wharf and distillery in Charlestown, 238, 238 *n*, 239; his house and store in Charlestown, 238; elected to the General Court, 238; sells out his shipping interests, 238.

—— Jonathan, Mayor of Boston, son of Capt. Jonathan (1756–1832), 209 *n*, 238.

—— Margaret, daughter of Capt. Jonathan (1756–1832), 237.

—— Margaret (Rogers), second wife of Capt. Jonathan (1756–1832), 237, 238.

—— Richard, son of Jonathan (*d.* 1765), 215; his death, 226.

—— Thomas, 208, 208 *n*.

—— family, 209 *n*.

Charles I, King of England, 376; impropriations in the reign of, 267; captured by G. Joyce, 281; Lord Montagu's account of the capture, 281, 282; execution of, 282, 283; identity of his executioners, 282, 283, 285, 286, 287, 290, 291, 291 *n*, 294 *n*; his warfare against Puritanism, 368; his defeat, 368.

Charles II, of England, 319, 370; Massachusetts General Court sends letter of congratulation to, 307; G. Downing deserts Cromwell for, 372.

Charleston, S. C., 213, 213 *n*.

Charlestown, Mass., Wyman's Genealogies and Estates of, cited, 5 *n*; Capt. J. Chapman's property in, 238, 238 *n*, 239; arrival of Puritans at, from Salem, 295; great sickness there among them, 295, 296, 304, 327.

—— Eagle Tavern, 238, 238 *n*.

Digitized by Google

CHARLESTOWN (*continued*).
—— Harvard Church, 238, 238 *n*.
—— Indian Chief Tavern. *See above*, Eagle Tavern.
—— Library, 206 *n*.
—— Records, quoted, 295, 304; inaccuracies of, 295, 296.
—— Town Hill, Puritan camp on the slope of, 295, 327.
Charnock, John, his Biographia Navalis, quoted, 99 *n*; cited, 342 *n*.
CHASE, CHARLES AUGUSTUS, A. M., xiv.
Chatham, a British ship, 219.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 380.
Chauncy, Rev. Charles, President of Harvard College, 336, 339, 340.
—— Rev. Charles (H. C. 1721), 37.
Chebucto Head, Nova Scotia, 219 *n*.
Cheever, Elizabeth. *See* Henley.
—— Ezekiel, 33.
Cherry, Samuel, 402, 402 *n*, 403.
Chester, Joseph Lemuel, his genealogy of the Wentworth family, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68.
Chester, Eng., Probate Register, 97 *n*.
Chester, N. H., paper money convention in (1786), 385, 386, 387.
Chester, Pa., British and American manœuvres at, 210, 211.
Chesterfield County, Va., 215.
Chichester, ——, 156, 176 *n*.
Chickering, Elmer, v.
Chilton, Mary. *See* Winslow.
Chittenden, Thomas, 48, 53.
CHOATE, CHARLES FRANCIS, A.M., xiv.
—— Hon. JOSEPH HODGES, D.C.L., xvi.
Christian Endeavor Convention, R. Wolcott's speech at, 360.
Church, Benjamin (H. C. 1754), 8, 27, 36 *n*, 37; his part in the Boston tea-party, 32, 33; his poem attacking Gov. Bernard, 446.
Cilley, Joseph, 393, 401.
Cincinnati, Society of the, 352, 356.
Circulating Libraries in Boston (1765–1865), paper on, by C. K. Bolton, 196–207; J. Mein's library, 196–200; W. Martin's, 200, 201; B. Guild's, 201; W. P. Blake's, 202; W. Andrews's, 203; W. Pelham's, 203, 204; W. Blagrove's, 204; S. H. Parker's, 204; J. Thomas's, 205; M. Sprague's, 205; K. Butler's, 205, 206; the West Boston Library, 206; the Shakspeare Library, 206; the Franklin Library, 206; the Boylston Library, 206; bookplates of, 206 *n*; Burnham's library, 206, 207; T. O. Walker's, 207; A. K. Loring's, 207; Mayhew & Baker's, 207; Carter's, 207; W. B. Clarke's, 207; discussion on the paper, 208.
CIRCULATING LIBRARIES (*continued*).
Clarendon, Earl of. *See* Hyde, Edward.
Clark, Charles Edward, library bookplates owned by, 206 *n*.
—— David, 349.
—— Elizabeth, daughter of David. *See* Drake.
—— Jonas, 323.
—— Lewis H. *See* Ruttenber, Edward Manning and Clark, Lewis H.
—— Mary (Newbury), 349.
—— Merrit, 50, 51, 51 *n*.
—— Nicholas, son of Merrit, 51.
—— Richard, and Sons, 33.
—— Sarah (Young), wife of Merrit, 50, 51 *n*.
Clarke, Samuel Curtis, Records of Some of the Descendants of William Curtis, 204 *n*.
—— Thomas, 418, 418 *n*.
—— Sir William, his Clarke Papers, edited by C. H. Firth, cited, 282 *n*.
—— William Butler, his circulating library, Boston, 207.
Clavian, magazine of the Bury Grammar School, 97, 97 *n*.
Clay, John William, Yorkshire visitations edited by, 62, 62 *n*; Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire published by, 66, 67, 67 *n*; his genealogical studies regarding the Wentworth family, 68.
Clemens, Elizabeth Andrews (Mitchell), wife of Thomas, seeks refuge in Albany, 40, 40 *n*.
—— Thomas, 40 *n*.
Clement, Gregory, the regicide, 288, 288 *n*.
—— Thomas. *See* Clemens.
Clerk, Merrit. *See* Clarke.
CLEVELAND, Hon. GROVER, LL.D., 357; deceased, xvii.
Clifford, Dr. ——, 212.
—— CHARLES WARREN, A.M., xiv.
—— Matilda, daughter of Thomas, Lord de Clifford. *See* Cambridge, Maud, wife of Richard, Duke of.
—— Maud, daughter of Thomas,

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Clifford (*continued*).
Lord de Clifford. *See* Cambridge, Maud, Countess of, wife of Richard, Earl of.
—— Thomas, Lord de Clifford, 67.
Clinton, Lady Arbella, daughter of Theophilus. *See* Johnson.
—— Charles, son of James, 10, 11 *n*; Irish immigrants under leadership of, 9, 10; extract from his Journal, 9; original of this Journal, 9 *n*; settles in New Windsor, 11; his interest in T. Young, 13.
—— Christiana, daughter of James, 10, 11.
—— De Witt (1762–1828), Governor of New York, 11 *n*; D. Hosack's Memoir of, cited, 9 *n*.
—— George (1739–1812), Governor of New York, son of Charles, 11 *n*.
—— James, 10.
—— Gen. James (1736–1812), son of Charles, 11 *n*.
—— Margaret, sister of James. *See* Parks.
—— Mary, daughter of James, 10, 11.
—— Lady Susan, daughter of Theophilus. *See* Humfrey.
—— Theophilus, fourth Earl of Lincoln, 376.
—— family, J. Young's account of, 9 *n*.
Clough, Jonathan, 391, 391 *n*.
Clover, Washington's cultivation of, 105, 117, 127, 139, 151, 166, 168, 178.
Coates, Capt. ——, 218.
Cochran, Capt. James, 391, 396.
—— Maj. James, 391, 393, 394, 395.
Cocker, Edward, his Arithmetic, mentioned, 12, 13.
Coddington, William, Governor of Rhode Island, 316; first brick house in Boston owned by, 305, 306, 309; goes to Rhode Island, 309; his religious tenets, 309.
Coggeshall, John, 303.
Cogswell, Thomas, 400.
Cokayne, Rev. George, 338, 341.
—— George Edward, his Complete Peerage, quoted, 65 *n*.
Coke, Sir Edward, 268 *n*, 276 *n*.
Colden, Cadwallader, 412 *n*, 440; letters of, referring to the Constitutional Courant, 436, 443, 445.
Colden Papers, cited, 436 *n*.
Cole, Samuel, 299; his estate in Boston, 301, 303; a follower of Anne Hutchinson, 301, 302; his change of heart, 302.
Coleman, William, letters from W. Plumer to, 383, 384; New York Evening Post established by, 383 *n*.
Coley, Henry, almanacs published by, under the title Merlinus Anglicus Junior, 293.
College of Arms, 62 *n*; inaccurate work of some of the heralds of, 68, 68 *n*.
Collier, Sir George, 217, 217 *n*.
Collins, Capt. Isaac, 217.
—— Rev. John, 338, 341; his letter to Gov. Leverett, regarding L. Hoar, quoted, 337.
Colonial Society of Massachusetts, passes vote of thanks to R. H. Gardiner, 1; gifts of H. E. Ware to, 72, 245; of the Bostonian Society to, 72; gift of two medals to, 330; pressing needs of, 331; addition to funds of, 334 *n*; records its appreciation of the services of G. L. Kittredge, 334–336; presidents of, 335, 336; character of its work, 364, 365.
—— Annual Meeting, 330–347.
—— Auditing Committee, appointment of, 280; Report of, 333.
—— Committee of Publication, 334.
—— Corresponding Members, election of, 331.
—— Corresponding Secretary, reports new members, 1, 72, 102, 330, 366; reports gifts, 245. *See also* Noble, John; Woods, Henry Ernest.
—— Council, its vote regarding the Carnegie Institution's Bibliography of Writings on American History, 72; its expression of appreciation regarding the services of President Kittredge, 328; Annual Report of, 330, 331.
—— Editor, 331; calls attention to an error in Vol. IX of the Society's Publications, 336. *See also* Matthews, Albert.
—— Nominating Committee, appointment of, 280; Report of, 334.
—— President, 1, 72, 102, 245, 280, 328, 330, 364, 366; address of, 364, 365. *See also* Kittredge, George Lyman; Lefavour, Henry.

Digitized by Google

Colonial Society (*continued*).
—— Publications, rearrangement of volumes to be included in first decade of, v, vi; cited, 6 *n*, 7 *n*, 8 *n*, 28 *n*, 195 *n*, 196 *n*, 198 *n*, 201 *n*, 204 *n*, 208 *n*, 216 *n*, 224 *n*, 239 *n*, 260 *n*, 280 *n*, 292 *n*, 298 *n*, 299 *n*, 301 *n*, 312 *n*, 314 *n*, 317 *n*, 319 *n*, 336 *n*, 340 *n*, 345 *n*, 346 *n*, 357 *n*, 408 *n*, 423 *n*, 441 *n*; progress of, 331.
—— Resident Members, death of, xvii, 331, 366; election of, 1, 331.
—— Stated Meetings, 1, 72, 102, 280, 330, 331, 364.
—— Treasurer, reports gift from R. H. Gardiner, 1; Annual Report of, 331–333. *See also* Edes, Henry Herbert.
Colvil, Thomas, 177, 177 *n*, 178.
Comets, that of 1769, 4, 7, 7 *n*, 8; prevailing idea concerning, 403; early American poem on, 404–406.
Commissioners of the Customs, difficulties with, anticipated by H. Laurens, 243.
Comorin, Cape, British India, 227, 227 *n*.
Company of Stationers, monopoly of right to sell almanacs granted to, 75, 75 *n*; the monopoly overthrown, 75, 75 *n*, 76; its suit against T. Carnan, 75, 76; against Seymour, 75, 76; its definition of an almanac, 75, 76.
Comrie, Capt. ——, 230.
Concord, Mass., interference with court proceedings at (1786), 387.
Conden, Michael, 235.
Congregationalism. *See* Independents.
Congress, Continental, Journals of, quoted, 44, 46–48; cited, 44 *n*, 47 *n*, 48 *n*; action of, regarding proposed independence of the New-Hampshire Grants, 46–48.
Congress, Library of. *See* Library of Congress.
Connecticut, Constitution of, 45; legislation in, regarding extirpation of barberry bushes, 82 *n*, 93; text of the Acts regarding, 89, 90, 91; system of representation in, 93; authority of, not recognized by Agawam, 352, 353; represented in Albany Congress, 409.
—— Colonial Records, quoted, 89, 90; cited, 90 *n*.
Connecticut (*continued*).
—— State Records, cited, 91 *n*.
Connely, Capt. ——, 217.
Conolly family, barony of Raby passes to, 65.
Conscience, liberty of, proclaimed by the English Commonwealth, 369.
Constitution, frigate, 235.
Constitution Hill, North America, appears in imprint of Constitutional Courant, 432, 433, 434, 434 *n*, 435, 437, 438.
Constitutional Courant (1765), paper on the Snake Devices and the, by A. Matthews, 408–452; photographs of, exhibited, 408 *n*; J. A. Stevens's error regarding, 420; a political skit, 421; reprint of the first number of, 422–433; collation of forms A and B, 422–427; device used in heading of, 422, 433, 434, 435; only portion of, hitherto reprinted, 422 *n*, 423 *n*; facsimiles of title of, facing 422; sections of: Address to the Public, 422; article signed Philoleutherus, 423–427; article signed Philo Patriæ, 428–432; item concerning change in the British ministry, 432; imprint of, 432; three forms of, 433, 434, 435; copies of, 433, 433 *n*, 434, 434 *n*; but one mention of, in contemporary newspapers, 435, 435 *n*; said to have been republished in Philadelphia, 435 *n*; C. Colden's accounts of, 436; I. Thomas's, 436–438, 438 *n*; J. T. Buckingham's, 438; Mrs. Lamb's, 438; Lossing's, 439, J. A. Stevens's, 439, 440; method of distributing, 436, 437, 438, 440; incorrect reproductions of the snake device of, by Buckingham, 440; publisher of, 440, 441, 442; its place of publication, 442–445; alleged reprints of, 445; collation of forms A and C, 452, 453.
Conway, Henry Seymour, 432; letter from C. Colden to, regarding the Constitutional Courant, 436, 445.
—— Moncure Daniel, his George Washington and Mount Vernon, quoted, 176 *n*.
Cook, John, 288, 288 *n*.
Coolidge, Thomas Jefferson, Jr., A. B., xv.
Cooper, James Fenimore, his History

Digitized by Google

Cooper (*continued*).
of the United States Navy, cited, 210 *n*, 217 *n*, 234 *n*, 235 *n*.
—— Rev. Samuel, 37.
—— William, 28, 29, 37.
Copley, John Singleton, 203; photographs of four portraits by, presented to this Society, 54; his Death of Chatham, 203; his portrait of Lady Wentworth, 344 *n*.
—— Mary (Singleton). *See* Pelham.
Corwin & Browne, 309.
Cothren, William, his History of Ancient Woodbury, Ct., cited, 16 *n*.
Cotton, Benjamin, his opinion regarding influence of barberry bushes on grain, 96.
—— Rev. John, 298, 305, 308, 312; recumbent statue of, 54; his influence on English Independents, 370, 376.
—— Rossiter, 217.
—— Thomas, 391, 396.
Cottington, Francis, Baron Cottington, 276 *n*.
Covenanters, Scotch, 368; differences between the Independents and, 369.
Coventry, Thomas, first Baron Coventry, 276 *n*.
Cowper, ——, 159.
Coy, Matthew, 317, 320.
Craddock, George, 256, 258.
Craft, Susannah. *See* Davis.
Craik, Dr. James, 105, 111, 113, 164.
Cranch, Mary (Smith), wife of Judge Richard, 30 *n*.
Crane, Joshua Eddy, 346 *n*.
—— Hon. Winthrop Murray, LL.D., xv, 361.
Crawford, Alexander, son of John, 10.
—— Barbara (Parks), wife of John, 10.
—— James, Sr., 10 *n*.
—— James, Jr., son of James, Sr., 10.
—— John, son of James, Sr., 10, 10 *n*.
—— Joseph, son of John, 10.
—— Mary, daughter of John. *See* Young.
—— Matthew, son of John, 10.
Creese, Margaret, daughter of Thomas, 261.
—— Sarah, daughter of Thomas, estate of, 261, 262.
—— Thomas, 258; his real estate dealings with W. Price, 259, 260.
Crewe, Sir Thomas, 272, 272 *n*, 274.
Cromack, Irwin Chandler, 262 *n*.
Cromwell, Henry, son of Oliver, 316.
—— Oliver, 284, 287, 289, 290, 307, 316, 318, 319; heads the English Commonwealth, 369; plans a Protectorate, 369; death of, 370; J. Cotton's influence on, 370; G. Downing's services for, 371, 372; Downing's treachery to, 372; his friendship with J. Sadler, 378, 379; Jewish disabilities removed by, 379.
—— Capt. Thomas, bells presented to the town of Boston by, 310; his privateering adventures, 317, 318.
Crow, Owen, one of G. Washington's overseers, 146, 146 *n*.
Crowne, John, son of William, 318.
—— William, 318.
Crowninshield, Capt. Benjamin, 235.
Crukshank, James, 445 *n*.
Cudworth, Ralph, 377.
Cummings, ——, 203.
Cunningham, Henry Winchester, A.B., xiii, xiv, 208, 328; elected Recording Secretary, 334.
—— Stanley, A.B., deceased, xvii; death of, announced, 366; L. Swift appointed to write Memoir of, 366.
Curtis, Charles Pelham (H. C. 1811), 204 *n*.
—— Helen or Helena (Pelham), wife of Thomas, 204 *n*.
—— James Freeman, 204 *n*.
—— Thomas, 204 *n*.
—— William, S. C. Clarke's Records of some of the Descendants of, cited, 204 *n*.
Curtiss, Frederick Haines, xv.
Cushing, Thomas, 36, 37.
—— Chief-Justice William, 113, 124.
—— William, his Initials and Pseudonyms, cited, 441 *n*.
Cutler, Rev. Timothy, 256.
Cutting, John Brown, 44 *n*; letter to Dr. John Warren from, quoted, 44.
Cutts, Rev. Edward Lewes, his Dictionary of the Church of England, cited, 266 *n*.

Dalton, Samuel, Adjutant General of Massachusetts, 360.
Dam, Rip Van, 252.
Dana, Francis, his letter to Mrs. Western regarding her father's estate,

Digitized by Google

Dana (*continued*).
communicated by H. H. Edes, 344; text of the letter, 345–347; other letters of, to Mrs. Western, 347 *n*.
Danbury, Ct., attack of British upon, 350.
Dandridge, ———, 167, 173.
Danforth, Rev. Samuel, 340.
—— Judge Samuel, resigns his office, 36.
—— Thomas, 340.
Darby, John, printer, 403, 404.
Dartmouth, Earl of. *See* Legge, William.
Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, 220, 220 *n*, 224.
Davenport, Rev. Addington, 258.
—— Rev. John, 264, 268, 271, 273 *n*, 275 *n*, 276; his plan for the purchase of impropriations, 263.
—— Joseph, 131, 145, 145 *n*, 146, 150, 157, 161.
—— Julia, daughter of Rev. Addington, 258.
Davies, Richard, 272.
—— Robert, Dugdale's Visitation of Yorkshire edited by, 62 *n*.
Davis, ———, 100.
—— Aaron (1709–1777), 18 *n*.
—— Aaron (1735–1773), son of Aaron (1709–1777), his attack on the character of T. Young, 17, 18–21; answer of S. Adams to this attack, 21–23; answer of T. Young, 24–25.
—— Andrew McFarland, A. M., xiv; his paper on Barberry Bushes and Wheat, 73–94; discussion of the paper, 95–97; presides at Stated Meeting, 280; offers appreciation of services rendered by G. L. Kittredge, 334.
—— Charles Henry, A. B., xiv.
—— Hon. Horace, LL.D., xvi.
—— Horatio, 18 *n*.
—— Judge John (H. C. 1781), presents copy of Burgis-Price View of Boston to the city, 249; his edition of N. Morton's New England's Memorial, cited, 407 *n*.
—— Hon. John Chandler Bancroft, LL.D., deceased, xvii.
—— Mary (Perrin), wife of Aaron (1709–1777), 18 *n*.
—— Capt. Samuel, 217.
—— Susannah (Craft), wife of Aaron (1735–1773), 18 *n*.
Davis (*continued*).
—— Thomas, in the employ of Washington, 104, 110, 110 *n*, 118, 129, 138, 147, 154, 158, 159, 161, 171, 175, 178, 180.
—— William, 306.
Daye, Richard, son of William, his petition in regard to buying up impropriations, 268 *n*.
—— William, Bishop of Winchester, 268 *n*.
Deane, Samuel, his History of Scituate, mentioned, 406.
De Berdt, Dennys, 27.
Deblois, Stephen Grant, his William Price Fund, Trinity Church, 262 *n*.
Deerfield, Mass., early postal service of, 35 *n*.
Delancey, James, Governor of New York, 410, 410 *n*.
Delano, William, 235.
Democritus Junior, pseudonym used by R. Burton, 293, 293 *n*.
Demosthenes, 61.
Dennie, William, 33.
Denning, William, 37.
Denniston, Alexander, 11.
De Normandie, Rev. James, a guest at the annual dinner, 347.
Derby, Elias Hasket (1739–1799), 232.
Despencer, Margaret, daughter of Sir Philip, 64. *See also* Ros; Wentworth.
Devens, Abigail, daughter of Richard. *See* Chapman.
—— Judge Charles, 207.
—— Mary (Townsend), wife of Richard, 226 *n*.
—— Richard, 226, 226 *n*, 238 *n*.
—— family, 209 *n*.
Dexter, Franklin Bowditch, Litt. D., xvi, 37, 427 *n*, 434 *n*; his Yale Biographies and Annals, cited, 3 *n*, 16 *n*, 51 *n*; his communication regarding an early celebration of Washington's birthday, 195, 195 *n*.
—— Rev. Morton, A. M., xv.
Dickens, Charles, 380.
Dickerman, ———, 217.
Dickinson, Col. ———, 42.
Dictionary of National Biography, lives of the Puritans in, 272 *n*.
Dighton, R. I., W. Bollan's property in, 346, 346 *n*.
Dinwiddie, Robert, Governor of Virginia, 410 *n*, 418, 418 *n*; his de-

Digitized by Google

Dinwiddie (*continued*).
scription of Indian outrages, 416 *n*; delay of colonies in responding to his appeals for aid, 418 *n*.
Dinwiddie Papers, cited, 415 *n*, 416 *n*.
Dixwell, Epes Sargent, 354.
—— John, the regicide, 291.
Dodd, Mead & Co., 202 *n*.
Dogget, Silas, 236.
Dole, Mary. *See* Plumer.
Dorchester, Lord. *See* Carleton, Sir Dudley.
Dorchester, Mass., First Church, Records of, cited, 202 *n*.
Dorset, Earl of. *See* Sackville.
Doty, David, administrator of T. Young's real estate, 31 *n*, 52.
—— Elizabeth. *See* Winegar.
—— Ethan Allen, his Doty-Doten Family in America, cited, 52 *n*.
—— Thomas, 52 *n*.
—— family, 52 *n*.
Doumergue, Emile, copy of his Jean Calvin, les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps, exhibited, 54, 54 *n*.
Dow, Joseph, his History of Hampton, cited, 388 *n*.
—— Moses, 391 *n*, 397, 398.
Downing, Sir George, his distinguished career under Cromwell, 371, 372; his treachery to Cromwell, 372.
—— Lucy (Winthrop), mother of Sir George, 371.
Drake, Elizabeth (Clark), 349.
—— Francis Samuel, his Town of Roxbury, cited, 18 *n*; his Tea Leaves, cited, 33 *n*; his Dictionary of American Biography, 76.
—— Samuel Gardner, his History and Antiquities of Boston, cited, 302 *n*.
—— Sarah. *See* Wolcott.
Dronsfield, Agnes. *See* Wentworth.
Dryden, John, 318.
Duane, William, his Extracts from the Diary of Christopher Marshall, cited, 40 *n*, 42 *n*.
Dubs, M., 278.
Ducasse, Jean Baptiste, 98 *n*.
Dudley, James, 242 *n*.
—— John, son of James, 242, 242 *n*.
—— Joseph, Governor of Massachusetts, 293.
—— Mercy (Folsom), wife of James, 242 *n*.
—— Thomas, Governor of Massachu-
Dudley (*continued*).
setts, 377; his quarrel with Gov. Winthrop, 296, 306.
Dugdale, Sir William, 270 *n*; his study of the Wentworth family, 62, 62 *n*, 63 *n*; publication of his Visitation of Yorkshire, 66, 67 *n*.
Dulwich, man of war, 99, 99 *n*.
Dummer, William, Lt.-Governor of Massachusetts, 248; first impression of W. Burgis's Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge dedicated to, 252.
Duncan, John, 391 *n*.
Dunkirk, a ship, 99 *n*.
Dunlap, William, his History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States, quoted, 30 *n*.
Dunster, Henry, 97, 97 *n*.
—— Henry, President of Harvard College, son of Henry, letter of E. Axon regarding, 97, 97 *n*.
Dunton, John, his account of G. Monk, 301; his Letters from New England, cited, 301 *n*.
Dunwich, a ship, 99 *n*.
Dutchess County, N. Y., J. H. Smith's History of, cited, 14 *n*; religious infidels in, 16.
Duty, William, 399.
Duxbury, Mass., Rev. I. Wiswall's pastorate in, 407.
Dwight, Elizabeth Bradford. *See* Smyth.
—— Mary Woolsey, 2.
—— Rev. Timothy, President of Yale College, his opinion regarding barberry bushes, 79, 80, 81, 82, 88; his Travels in New England and New York, cited, 80 *n*.
Dyer, Barret, 255.

Eames, Wilberforce, A. M., xvi, 8 *n*, 26 *n*.
Early American Poem, An, paper on, by A. B. Page, 403; title of the poem, 403 *n*, 404; text of the poem, 404–406. *See also* Wiswall, Ichabod.
East Windsor, Ct., Ellsworth family of, 2; ministers of, 2, 3; company from (1776), 3.
Eaton, ———, 396.
Ebrard, Friedrich Clemens, copy of his Die Franzõsisch-reformierte Gemeinde

Digitized by Google

EBRARD (*continued*).
in Frankfurt am Main, exhibited, 54, 54 *n*.
Economy, G. Washington's theory regarding, 106, 130.
Eddy, G., 278.
Edes, Benjamin (*d.* 1803). *See* Edes & Gill.
—— HENRY HERBERT, A.M., ii, iv, xiii, xiv, 202 *n*, 315 *n*; his Memoir of Dr. Thomas Young, 2–54; reads extracts from letter of E. Axon relating to President Dunster, 97; communicates letters of G. Washington for W. C. Ford, 102; makes statement for F. B. Dexter, 195; communicates letter of H. Laurens, 243; communicates paper by J. H. Edmonds, 245; communicates three letters of Robert Morris, 277; reads paper by M. J. Canavan, 295; offers minute to the Council, regarding the services of President Kittredge, 328; elected Treasurer, 334; his communication regarding the date of E. Trowbridge's birth, 344; communicates letters of W. Plumer for W. C. Ford, 382.
Edes & Gill, printers, 37.
Edgerton, Stephen, 271 *n*.
Edgeworthstown, Longford County, Ireland, 10.
Edmonds, John Henry, his paper on the Burgis-Price View of Boston, 245–262.
Edmondson, Joseph, his Baronagium Genealogicum, cited, 71 *n*.
Edward I, King of England, his policy toward the Jews, 379.
Edward IV, King of England, 102.
Edward VI, King of England, parish funds confiscated by, 266.
Edwards, Ann, daughter of Rev. Timothy. *See* Ellsworth.
—— Rev. Jonathan, son of Rev. Timothy, 2, 16.
—— Rev. Timothy, 2, 3.
Edwards-Dwight collection of family papers, 2.
Eggleston, Edward, 411 *n*.
Ehler, John Christian, Washington's gardener, 193, 193 *n*, 194.
Eliot, Charles William, 366, 367.
—— Sir John, quoted, 379.
—— Rev. John, 340.
Elizabeth, Queen of England, 309;
ELIZABETH (*continued*).
parish property confiscated and sold by, 266, 267.
Elizabeth and Sarah, a brigantine, 343.
Elk River, 210, 210 *n*.
Elletson, John, 376, 381.
—— Katherine (Rogers) Harvard, wife of John, 376; photograph of record of her marriage, 381. *See also* Harvard; Yearwood.
Elliott, Rev. John. *See* Eliot.
Ellis, David, 238, 238 *n*.
—— Rev. George Edward, son of David, 238 *n*.
—— Sir Henry, his Original Letters, cited, 291 *n*.
—— Rev. Rufus, son of David, 238 *n*.
Ellsworth, Ann (Edwards), wife of John, 2.
—— Elizabeth (Potwine), wife of Job, 3.
—— Job, 3.
—— John, 2, 3.
—— Oliver, 350.
—— family, of East Windsor, Ct., 2; manuscripts belonging to, 2.
Ellwood, Capt. ———, 148, 165, 195.
Elmina, Africa, 230, 230 *n*.
Emerald, British man-of-war, 210.
Emerson, Abigail. *See* Thompson.
—— Ralph Waldo, 207.
Emmons, Jacob, 30.
Endicott, John, Governor of Massachusetts, 314.
—— WILLIAM, A.M., xiv; communicates paper by A. B. Page, 403; communicates paper by A. Matthews, 408.
England, development of local machinery of the early Church in, 264, 265; support of the clergy in, 265; appointment of parish priests in, 265; origin of impropriations in, 265–267; half-way measures in, after the Reformation, 367; Puritanism in, 368, 369; attempt at government by the people in, 369; constitution proposed for, 369, 370; the Restoration in, 370; political programme of Independents practically adopted in, 370.
—— Long Parliament, 368.
—— Privy Council, Sir W. Phips ordered to appear before, 341; text of the order, 342, 343.
See also Great Britain.

Digitized by Google

England, Church of, dealings between bishops of, and Queen Elizabeth, regarding impropriations, 266, 267; lack of harmony in, after the Reformation, 368.
English, Capt. John, 218, 219.
Enstone, Edward, 257.
Epping, N. H., represented in the General Court by W. Plumer, 383; election in (1787), 403.
Ernst, Carl Wilhelm, 257; his researches concerning the postal service, 35 *n*; letter from, quoted, 35 *n*.
Essex Institute, Historical Collections of, cited, 98 *n*; copy of Paul Revere's engraving of Harvard College owned by, 382 *n*.
Etheridge, Samuel, printer, 203 *n*.
Everett, Edward, 207.
Everill, James, his interest in early water-works of Boston, 310, 313.
Evans, Charles, his American Bibliography, cited, 441 *n*, 445 *n*.
Exeter, N. H., 390.
Eyre, Ralph. *See* Eyrs, Robert.
Eyrs, Robert, 272, 272 *n*.

FAIRBANKS, Richard, 310, 303; first postmaster of Boston, 302.
Fairfax, John, 106, 172, 175.
—— Sir Thomas, 281, 282.
Fairfax Parish, Va., 178; Washington's land in, 170.
Falconer, William, his Universal Dictionary of the Marine, quoted, 212 *n*.
Fallows, A. Young's theory regarding the support of stock by, 145.
Faneuil, Benjamin, 260.
—— Peter, second edition of Burgis-Price view of Boston dedicated to, 250; town of Boston orders portrait of, 258; his real estate dealings with W. Price, 260.
Farlow, William Gilson, 94.
Farmer's Almanac. *See* Thomas, Robert Bailey.
Fay, Jonas, 47, 48.
—— Joseph, 53.
Federalist party, overthrow of, 351.
Fellowes, William Dorset, his Historical Sketches of Charles the First, etc., cited, 291 *n*.
Felt, Joseph Barlow, his Annals of Salem, cited, 98 *n*; his Ecclesiastical
Felt (*continued*).
History of New England, cited, 296 *n*.
Fenn, Rev. William Wallace, D.D., xv; elected a Resident Member, 366.
Field, Edward, A.B., xvi.
Fielde, William, Governor of the Gold Coast, 230 *n*.
First Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, 360.
Firth, Charles Harding, Sir William Clarke's Clarke Papers edited by, 282 *n*; his article on G. Joyce, cited, 290 *n*; his Life of Thomas Harrison, cited, 316 *n*.
Fisher, Rev. George Park, LL.D., xvi.
—— Turner, 217.
—— William, 216.
—— William, letter of H. Laurens to, communicated by H. H. Edes, 243, 244.
Fiske, John, 76; his Dutch and Quaker Colonies, cited, 251; erroneous description and reproduction of Franklin's snake device in his American Revolution, 409, 421; this work cited, 409, 421.
Fitzgerald, John, 191, 192.
Fitzroy, Augustus Henry, third Duke of Grafton, 432.
FitzWilliam, Isabel. *See* Wentworth.
—— family, 62.
Flatfoot, Sarah, 156.
Fleeming, John, 199; his partnership with J. Mein, 6 *n*.
—— family, 62.
Fleet, John. *See* Fleet, Thomas and John.
—— Thomas, printer, 411 *n*.
—— Thomas and John, the Constitutional Courant may have been printed by, 435.
Fletcher, Capt. Patrick, 227.
Florio, John, 293 *n*.
Flower, William, his Visitation of Yorkshire, 62 *n*, 66, 67, 69; inaccuracies of the work, 68; cited 71 *n*.
Fogo, island. *See* Cape Verde Islands.
Folsom, David, 388.
—— Mercy. *See* Dudley.
Fooks, Paul, 42.
Foote, Rev. Henry Wilder, his Annals of King's Chapel, cited, 5 *n*, 40 *n*, 202 *n*, 204 *n*, 262 *n*, 344 *n*.

Digitized by Google

Force, Peter, his American Archives, cited, 41 *n*.
Ford, Paul Leicester, reproduction of Franklin's snake device in his Many-sided Franklin, 420.
—— Worthington Chauncey, A.M., xvi; communicates letters of G. Washington, 102; his Writings of Washington, cited, 103 *n*; communicates letters of W. Plumer, 382.
Fort Johnson, S. C., 234.
Foster, Abiel, 401.
—— Francis Apthorp, ii, xv.
—— John, printer, his map of Boston, 245.
—— Joseph, Yorkshire visitations, edited by, 62, 62 *n*, 66, 67, 71 *n*; his Pedigrees of the County Families of Yorkshire, mentioned, 66, 67; cited, 71 *n*; his genealogical studies regarding the Wentworth family, 68; his Alumni Oxonienses, quoted, 271 *n*, 272 *n*.
—— William Eaton, his description of the snake device, 420; his Stephen Hopkins, cited, 420 *n*.
Foxley, Thomas, 272, 273 *n*.
Frankfort, Germany, interest in residence of English exiles at, 54, 55.
Franklin, Benjamin, 45, 442; President of Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention, 42; his opposition to J. Adams's plan favoring three legislative branches, 42; medal struck by American Philosophical Society in commemoration of two hundredth anniversary of his birth, 330; snake device and motto used by, in Pennsylvania Gazette, 409, 409 *n*, 410, 419, 419 *n*, 420, 421, 440; a letter in A. Kennedy's pamphlet included in Bigelow's edition of his Works, 411 *n*; his plan of union of the colonies, 411 *n*, 412 *n*; delegate to Albany Congress, 412 *n*, 419; Smyth's edition of his Writings, cited, 412 *n*; letter from C. Colden to, regarding the Constitutional Courant, 436.
—— William, 309; his project for a water-supply, 314, 315.
Frazier, Lane, Son &, 227.
Freeman, Capt. Constant, 4, 5 *n*.
—— Rev. James, son of Capt. Constant, 5 *n*, 438.
French, Joseph, 391; his statement regarding his part in paper money troubles (1786), 394, 395.
French, the, union of American colonies designed to defeat schemes of, 413, 414, 416; E. Ward surrenders fort to, 415, 419; atrocities committed by Indians and, 416, 416 *n*; Fort Necessity surrendered to, 418, 418 *n*.
French Canadians, attempt of Great Britain to enlist, against the colonies, 38.
Frothingham, Cornelia. *See* Wolcott.
—— Richard (1812–1880), his Life and Times of Joseph Warren, cited, 6 *n*, 32 *n*, 33 *n*, 52 *n*, 54 *n*; his History of the Siege of Boston, cited, 32 *n*; his Rise of the Republic of the United States, cited, 32 *n*, 33 *n*, 411 *n*; quoted, 435 *n*; his History of Charlestown, cited, 209 *n*, 295 *n*, 296 *n*.
Fry, Joshua, 415, 415 *n*.
Fuller, Hon. Melville Weston, LL.D., xvi.
—— Rev. Thomas, 263 *n*, 272 *n*, 377; his statements regarding impropriated benefices, 267 *n*, 268, 269, 270; his Church History, quoted, 269 *n*, 270 *n*, 273 *n*.
Furness, Horace Howard, LL.D., xvi.
Furze, French, G. Washington's attempt to cultivate, 148.

Gabon, river, Africa, 229.
Gadbury's Almanack, 76, 77.
Gage, Thomas, Governor of Massachusetts, 451.
Galloway, Joseph, 442.
Galvez, Bernardo, 225, 225 *n*.
Gardiner, Robert Hallowell, A.B., xvi; his gift to this Society, 1.
—— Samuel Rawson, 267; his account of the Society of the Feoffees, 269, 270; his History of England, quoted, 271 *n*; his remarks on the sentence passed upon the Society, 277.
Garner, James Wilford, and Lodge, Henry Cabot, snake device reproduced in their History of the United States, 421; this work cited, 440 *n*.
—— William, one of Washington's overseers, 128, 143, 143 *n*, 160, 186.
Garret, Jane (Selby), wife of Thomas, 255, 257. *See also* Melvil.

Digitized by Google

Garret (*continued*).
—— Thomas, 255.
Gascoigne, Richard, his study of the Wentworth family, 62.
—— family, 64.
Gaspee, frigate, 38 *n*.
Gay, Frederick Lewis, A.B., vi, xiii, xiv, 8 *n*, 262 *n*, 328, 407 *n*; site of Gov. Winthrop's house discovered by, 299; elected Registrar, 334; copy of Paul Revere's engraving of Harvard College owned by, 382 *n*.
Gearing, John, 272.
Generous Friends, a brig, 230 *n*; voyage of, to India, 227, 228; Capt. J Chapman put in command of, 228; her voyage up the African Coast, 229, 230.
Geneva, Switzerland, interest in residence of English exiles at, 54, 55.
—— Church of St. Pierre, photographs of, exhibited, 54.
Geoffrey of Monmouth, manuscript containing a version of his Brut, exhibited, 102.
George III, King of England, 423, 426, 431; equestrian statue of, in Bowling Green, New York City, 350; bullets made from the statue, 350; alluded to as "our best Protector and common Father," 423 *n*.
George and Ann, a ship, 9.
George Barclay, a ship, 235, 236.
George's Island Fort, Nova Scotia, 219, 219 *n*, 220, 221, 224.
Gerrish, Sarah. *See* Barrett.
Gibbins, John, 256.
Gibbs, Wolcott, LL.D., xvi.
Gifford, Samuel, 257.
—— William Logan Rodman, A.B., xvi.
Gill, John. *See* Edes & Gill.
—— John Henry, 205 *n*.
—— Mary Honoria (Wall), wife of John Henry, 205 *n*.
Gilman, Daniel Coit, LL.D., xvi; his oration at the Norwich Centennial, quoted, 352.
—— John Taylor, 399.
—— Nicholas, son of Daniel, 242, 242 *n*, 393.
Globur chart, patentees of, 254.
Glover, Habbakkuk, 305.
—— Rachel. *See* Blake.
—— Robert, his Visitation of Yorkshire, 62 *n*, 66, 67, 69; cited, 71 *n*.
Goddard, Edward Mumford, 53 *n*.
—— Sarah, 441, 442.
—— William, son of Sarah, pseudonym of Andrew Marvel supposed to have been used by, 423 *n*, 434 *n*, 437, 438; reasons for identifying him with Andrew Marvel, 441, 441 *n*, 442; his connection with the Providence Gazette, 441; associated with J. Holt in publishing Parker's Gazette and Post-Boy, 441, 442; his association with the Pennsylvania Chronicle, 442; his Partnership, cited, 442 *n*. *See also* Marvel, Andrew.
Goffe, Mary. *See* Trowbridge.
—— William, the regicide, 291.
Goldsmith, Oliver, advertisement regarding his Deserted Village, 205.
Goodale, George Lincoln, LL.D., xiv.
Goodell, Abner Cheney, A.M., xiv, 85.
Goodridge, Abigail, 239.
Goodspeed, Charles Eliot, 252.
Goodwin, Capt. Nathaniel, 218, 219, 224.
—— Rev. Thomas, 341, 370.
—— William Watson, D.C.L., xiii, xiv, 208; elected a Vice-President, 334.
Goodwin, Newell &, 239.
Gooÿer, Johan de, Governor of Surinam, 98 *n*.
Gookin, Daniel, 340.
Gordon, Mrs. ——, 199 *n*.
—— family, barony of Wentworth passes to, 64.
Goss, Elbridge Henry, his Life of Colonel Paul Revere, cited, 32 *n*, 34 *n*.
Gotha, Almanach de. *See* Almanach de Gotha.
Gouge, Rev. William, 271, 271 *n*, 277.
Gough, Rev. William. *See* Gouge.
Gould, Benjamin Apthorp, LL.D., F.R.S., debt of this Society to, 335.
Grafton, Capt. Joshua, 237.
Grafton, Duke of. *See* Fitzroy, Augustus Henry.
Graham & Mobary, 228.
Grain, opinion of T. Dwight as to effect of barberry bushes on, 79, 80, 81, 82; of J. Harriott, 81; legislation for protection of, in Massachusetts, 81, 82–84, 88, 90, 91, 93; in Connecticut, 82 *n*, 89, 90, 91, 93; in Rhode Island, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93; G. Washington's

Digitized by Google

Grain (*continued*).
directions regarding the sowing and harvesting of, 104, 109, 114, 116, 120, 124, 128, 129, 130, 131, 134, 135, 138, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151, 152, 154, 157, 183, 185, 186, 188, 189, 194. *See also* Barberry bushes; Rust.
Grand Monarch, a ship, 218.
Grasse-Tilly, François Joseph Paul, Comte de Grasse, 225.
Graves, Capt. Thomas, name of his ship, 99, 99 *n*.
—— Thomas, Lord Graves, son of Capt. Thomas, 99 *n*.
—— Thomas, of Charlestown, Mass., 256.
Gray, Asa, his statement regarding production of rust on wheat, 85, 86, 88, 93.
—— William, sailor, escapes from Long Island Navy Hospital, 212.
—— William, weaver on Washington's estate, 182, 190.
Great Britain, attempt of, to enlist French Canadians and Six Nations against the colonies, 38; action by New Hampshire House on bill to carry into effect the definitive treaty of peace with (1783), 389; provisions of this treaty regarding estates of absentees, 390.
—— Calendar of State Papers, cited, 267 *n*, 268 *n*, 270 *n*, 276 *n*, 290 *n*, 317 *n*, 318 *n*.
—— Exchequer Chamber, trial of the Society of the Feoffees before, 271, 271 *n*, 275 *n*.
—— House of Commons, Journals of, cited, 285 *n*.
—— House of Lords, Journals of, cited, 282 *n*.
—— Lords of Trade, call for Albany Congress recommended by, 410, 410 *n*, 412 *n*.
—— Parliament, duties of the American colonies toward, 425, 426, 431; property qualification for members of, 430.
—— Privy Council, Acts of, cited, 267 *n*.
—— Public Record Office, copy of the Constitutional Courant in, 433, 433 *n*.
—— Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 4th Report, cited, 27 *n*.; 14th Report, cited, 198 *n*.
—— Statutes of the Realm, cited, 267 *n*. *See also* England.
Grebner, Paul, 283 *n*.
Green, Bartholomew, 259.
—— Charles Montraville, M.D., xiv.
—— Elizabeth Brooking, wife of William, 32 *n*.
—— John Richard, 370.
—— Jonas, 209.
—— Peter, 397, 398.
—— Samuel Swett, A.M., xiv.
—— Thomas, 106, 115, 116, 118, 140, 144, 148, 158, 163, 166, 167, 170, 173, 185, 190, 195.
—— William, of Malden, 32 *n*.
Greenhalge, Frederic Thomas, Governor of Massachusetts, 358; his tribute to R. Wolcott, 363.
Greenhill, Rev. William, 341.
Greenlaw, Lucy Hall, wife of William Prescott, 239.
—— William Prescott, 8 *n*.
Greenleaf, Joseph, 37.
—— Samuel, his land at the head of Spring Lane, 321, 322.
—— Stephen, Sheriff of Suffolk, his attempt to break up the Manufactory House meeting, 28 *n*.
Greenough, Charles Pelham, 198 *n*, 199 *n*, 204.
—— David, 31 *n*.
Gregg, John, 396, 397.
Grenville, George, 292, 292 *n*.
Grey, William. *See* Gray.
Gridley, Benjamin, son of Isaac, 6 *n*.
—— Isaac, 6 *n*.
—— John, son of Isaac, 6, 6 *n*.
—— Pollard, son of Isaac, 6 *n*.
—— Sarah (Porter), wife of Isaac, 6 *n*.
Griffin, Appleton Prentiss Clark, xvi.
Griffith, Rev. George, 338, 341, 341 *n*.
Grommet hole, nautical term, 211, 211 *n*.
Groton, Mass., 357.
Guadaloupe, 225 *n*.
Guild, Benjamin, his circulating library, Boston, 201, 201 *n*; his death, 201.
—— John, 202.
Gunner, a servant of Washington, 104, 129.
Gunnison, Hugh, 314.

Hacker, Francis, the regicide, 288, 288 *n*, 290 *n*, 291, 291 *n*.
Hackett, Hon. Frank Warren, A.M., xvi.

Digitized by Google

Hadley, Arthur Twining, LL.D., xvi.
Hale, Rev. Edward, A.B., xv.
—— Rev. Edward Everett, LL.D., xv, 362; accepts Resident Membership, 1; elected a Resident Member, 331.
—— John, letters from W. Plumer to, 386–402.
Hall, ——, 223.
—— Benjamin Homer, his history of Eastern Vermont, cited, 49 *n*.
—— David, Franklin's partner in the publication of the Pennsylvania Gazette, 409 *n*, 442, 443, 444 *n*. *See also* Hall & Sellars.
—— Rev. Edward Henry, D.D., xv; appointed on Nominating Committee, 280.
—— Henry, his life of Ethan Allen, quoted, 15.
—— Hiland, his History of Vermont, cited, 26 *n*, 48 *n*.
Hall & Sellers, proprietors of the Pennsylvania Gazette, 39.
Halley, Edmund, his New and Correct Chart, mentioned, 253.
Halsey, Richard Townley Haines, 252.
Hamilton, Alexander, 350.
—— James, Governor of Pennsylvania, 412.
Hammond, Mary. *See* Young.
Hampden, John, 379.
Hampshire County, Mass., interference with court proceedings in (1786), 387.
Hampson, ——, 159, 164.
Hancock, Dorothy (Quincy), wife of John, 41.
—— John, 27, 29, 37, 39; letter from E. Quincy to, quoted, 41; photograph of Copley's portrait of, presented to this Society, 54; his gift toward a library for Harvard College, 58, 58 *n*; letter from T. Longman to, quoted, 198 *n*; empowered to attach J. Mein's books, 199; declines J. Murray's proposal for withdrawing the attachment, 199; blamed by T. Longman for this action, 199, 199 *n*.
—— Lydia (Henchman), wife of Thomas, photograph of Copley's portrait of, presented to this Society, 54.
—— Thomas, photograph of Copley's portrait of, presented to this Society, 54; his intended gift toward a library for Harvard College, 58, 58 *n*.
Hancock (*continued*).
—— Washington, sale of Copley portraits owned by, 54.
Harding, Capt. Jesse, 209, 210.
—— Capt. John, 218, 226.
—— Robert, 299, 303; his estate in Boston, 302; a follower of Anne Hutchinson, 302; leaves the country, 302, 302 *n*.
Harleian Society, Publications of, mentioned, 62 *n*, 71 *n*.
Harper's Encyclopædia of United States History, cited, 421, 439 *n*.
Harpers' Cyclopædia of United States History, cited, 421 *n*, 439 *n*.
Harriott, John, his opinion regarding the difficulty of growing wheat on New England seacoast, 80, 81; his Struggle through Life, cited, 81 *n*.
Harris, Rev. Henry, 257.
—— John, engraver, 248, 249, 250, 251; some of his works, 253, 254; patent on globur chart granted to, 254.
—— Rev. Thaddeus Mason, son of William, 209, 209 *n*.
—— William, 209 *n*.
Harrison, Maj. ——, 135, 142, 156, 161, 176, 176 *n*.
—— Benjamin (*d*. 1791), 47.
—— Thomas, the regicide, 288, 288 *n*, 316, 318; C. H. Firth's Life of, cited, 316 *n*.
Hart, William Henry, 333.
Hartshorn, ——, 133, 135, 139, 164.
—— Eliphalet Porter, 206.
Harvard, Anne (Sadler), wife of John, 379, 381.
—— John, son of Robert, J. K. Hosmer's address on John Harvard in England, 366–382; researches of H. F. Waters concerning, 367; England in the time of, 367; his bequest to Harvard College, 371; his ancestors, 373–375; his birth, 375; his environment, 375, 376, 377; his possible associations with Shakspere, 375, 379; his education, 376; his associates at Cambridge, 377; his possible contact with Milton, 377, 378, 379; goes to New England, 378, 379; his friendship with J. Sadler, 378, 379; his marriage, 379; conveys property to J. Man, 379, 381; his library, 379; his shadowy personality, 379; his possible contact

Digitized by Google

HARVARD (*continued*).
with Vane, 380; his proprietorship of the Queen's Head Inn, 380; likened to Apollos, 380; photographic facsimiles of documents relating to, exhibited by W. C. Lane, 381; named an executor of his brother's will, 381; photograph of record of marriage of, 381; facsimile of lease to, 382.
—— Katherine (Rogers), wife of Robert, 373, 374, 375; record of marriage of, 381. *See also* Elletson; Yearwood.
—— Robert, his marriage to Katherine Rogers, 373, 375; his first acquaintance with her, 374; his death, 376; record of marriage of, 381.
—— Thomas, son of Robert, 376; his will, 381; facsimile of lease to, 382.
Harvard College, 356; Records of, to form Vol. II of this Society's Publications, v, vi; remarks on destruction of, by fire, by A. Matthews, 55; philosophical apparatus of (1766), 59, 59 *n*; memorial as to ministers of the Church of England being overseers of, 256; R. Saltonstall's candidate for presidency of, 336, 337; L. Hoar elected President of, 337; discouraging conditions at, in 1671, 337, 339; letter from ministers and magistrates of Massachusetts regarding, 338–341; the second Harvard College, 339, 339 *n*; its unique distinction, 370; early graduates of, in England, 368, 371; established by vote of the General Court, 370; J. Harvard's bequest to, 370; view of, during the Revolution, exhibited, 382; Rev. T. Prince's account of the earliest rebellion at, 408.
—— Harvard Hall, poem commemorating completion of, read by A. Matthews, 55–61.
—— Hollis Hall, 57, 57 *n*.
—— Library, v; gifts toward, 58, 58 *n*; copy of second impression of W. Burgis's Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge owned by, 252; copy of Lilly's Declaration of the Several Treasons owned by, 284 *n*; documents relating to John Harvard acquired by, 381; copies of Constitutional Courant in, 433 *n*, 434, 434 *n*, 435, 438, 440, 440 *n*.
Harvard Graduates' Magazine, cited, 382 *n*.
Harvard Memorial Society, Cambridge, Mass., 366.
Harvardinum Restauratum, poem in commemoration of the completion of the present Harvard Hall (1766), 55–61.
Harvey, Sir Daniel, 286.
Harwood, George, 272.
Hasenclever, Peter, 437, 437 *n*, 440.
Hassam, John Tyler, 31 *n*.
Haswell, George D., 97 *n*.
Hawkins, Benjamin, 153, 153 *n*.
—— Capt. Thomas, 317.
Hays, Isaac Minis, 8 *n*, 453.
Hayward, Mary. *See* Jones.
Hazell's Annual, 74.
Head, Charles, 306.
Heath, William, 33.
Hedges, Silas, 240 *n*, 242, 399; his offers to S. Tarbell, 239, 240, 241; charges against, 239 *n*, 240 *n*, 241.
Heitman, Francis Barnard, his Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army, cited, 9 *n*.
Hemenway, Abby Maria, her Vermont Historical Gazetteer, cited, 16 *n*.
Henchman, Daniel, 259.
—— Lydia. *See* Hancock.
Henley, Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel. *See* Russell.
—— Elizabeth (Cheever), wife of Samuel, 219 *n*.
—— James, son of Samuel, 219, 219 *n*.
—— Samuel, 219.
Henrietta Maria, Queen of Charles I, 376.
Henry VIII, King of England, 283; peerages created by, 64; parish funds appropriated by, 266.
Herald, a ship, 234, 234 *n*.
Heraldic Journal, cited, 204 *n*, 208 *n*, 262 *n*.
Hercules, a ship, 227; details of her voyage, 227–228; the ship and cargo sold, 228.
Heroine, an English frigate, 233.
Hertell, Barbara Amelia, 9 *n*.
Hervey, Jacob, 217.
Hessian fly, 129.
Hewitson, William, 97, 97 *n*.
Hewlet, William. *See* Hulet.
Heylyn, Peter, his attack on the Society of the Feoffees, 268.

Digitized by Google

Hibbins, Ann (Bellingham), wife of William, 316 *n*, 318; tried and executed as a witch, 316, 317; allowed to sell her property, 317.
—— William, 303, 316, 320.
Higginson, Rev. Francis, his New Englands Plantation, cited, 308 *n*.
—— Henry Lee, LL.D., xv.
—— Thomas Wentworth, his allusions to the snake device, 420; his Larger History of the United States, cited, 420 *n*; and MacDonald, William, their History of the United States, cited, 420 *n*.
Hildeburn, Charles Riché, his Issues of the Press in Philadelphia, cited, 441 *n*, 445 *n*.
Hildersham, Arthur, 271 *n*.
Hill, Adams Sherman, LL.D., xv.
—— Hamilton Andrews, his History of the Old South Church, quoted, 299; cited, 299 *n*.
Hilton, Gustavus Arthur, LL.B., xiv.
Hinckley, Thomas, Governor of Plymouth Colony, 407.
Hispaniola, Island. *See* Haiti.
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, copy of Constitutional Courant in, 433, 433 *n*.
History, perennial interest in the study of, 364, 365.
Hoar, Bridget (Lisle), wife of Rev. Leonard, 291, 291 *n*. *See also* Usher.
—— George Frisbie, his tribute to R. Wolcott, 363.
—— Rev. Leonard, President of Harvard College, 291 *n*, 341; Rev. J. Collins's recommendation of, to Gov. Leverett, 337; elected president of Harvard College, 337.
Hobby, William, 256.
Hobson, Thomas, 377, 378.
Hobson's choice, origin of the phrase, 377, 378.
Holden, Edward Singleton, LL.D., xvi.
Holland, Earl of. *See* Rich, Sir Henry.
Hollingsworth, Zachary Taylor, copy of Paul Revere's engraving of Harvard College owned by, 382 *n*.
Hollis, Thomas, (1720–1774), his gifts to Harvard College, 59, 59 *n*.
Hollis, N. H., represented in the Legislature by S. Ames, 242 *n*.
Holmes, Oliver Wendell (H. C. 1829), 207; his poem "King's Chapel," mentioned, 344 *n*.
Holt, John, publisher of the New York Gazette and of the New York Journal, 197 *n*, 427 *n*, 433 *n*, 437, 442, 449; associated with W. Goddard, in publishing Parker's Gazette and Post-Boy, 441, 442; discards the Royal Arms for snake devices in the New York Journal, 446, 447; lines on this change in Rivington's New York Gazetteer, 450, 451; difference between this device and that used in the Pennsylvania Journal, 448; last use of the snake device by, 451.
—— Katherine. *See* Mather.
Holy Cross College, R. Wolcott's speeches at, 359, 360.
Holyoke, Elizur, 353.
Homer, 61.
Honey locust, G. Washington's cultivation of, 126, 127, 130, 148, 149, 152, 165, 168.
Hooe, Robert T., 142, 142 *n*, 195.
Hooke, Rev. William, 338, 341.
Hooker, James, 5 *n*.
Hooper, ——, 319.
Hope, a schooner, 218.
Hopkins, Capt. ——, 33.
—— Roswell, 53.
Hoppner, John, portrait-painter, 30 *n*.
—— Phœbe (Wright), wife of John, 30 *n*.
Horace, 61.
Horne, William, 389, 389 *n*.
Hosack, David, his Memoir of De Witt Clinton, cited, 9 *n*.
Hosmer James Kendall, LL.D., xvi; his address on John Harvard in England, 366–382.
Hough, Atherton, 303.
Hounslow Heath, Eng., 253.
Howell, Thomas Bayly, his State Trials, cited, 291 *n*.
Howland, Capt. Consider, 224 224 *n*; capture of his ship, 225.
Hoyley, ——, 273.
Hubbard, Rev. William, 297, 317, 318.
Hudson, William, 314 *n*.
Hulet, William, 289, 289 *n*, 290.
Hull, Edward, 245.
—— John, 310.
Humfrey, Lady Susan (Clinton), 377.
Hunnewell, James Frothingham, his

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HUNNEWELL (*continued*).
Century of Town Life (Charlestown), cited, 209 *n*.
Hunt, Capt. ——, 244.
—— William, 278.
Hunter, ——, 130.
—— Rev. Joseph, his genealogical studies regarding the Wentworth family, 62, 64, 67, 68, 69; his South Yorkshire, quoted, 63; cited, 63 *n*, 68 *n*, 69 *n*, 71 *n*.
—— Robert, Governor of New York, 99 *n*; W. Burgis's South Prospect of New York dedicated to, 251.
Huntington, Andrew, son of Jabez, 352.
—— Ebenezer, son of Jabez, his military and public services, 352, 357.
—— Elizabeth, daughter of Joshua. *See* Wolcott.
—— Jabez, his sacrifices in the cause of independence, 351; his military service, 352.
—— Jedediah, son of Jabez, his military services, 352.
—— Joshua, son of Jabez, his military services, 352.
—— Samuel, Governor of Connecticut, 358.
—— Rev. WILLIAM REED, LL.D., xvi.
—— Zachariah, son of Jabez, 352.
Huntoon, Daniel Thomas Vose, his History of Canton, Mass., cited, 52 *n*.
HURD, Hon. FRANCIS WILLIAM, A.M., xv.
Hutchinson, Aaron, 402.
—— Anne (Marbury), wife of William, her heresies, 300; called the American Jezebel, 300, 300 *n*; her excommunication and banishment, 300, 301 *n*; followers of, 302, 303.
—— Edward (1613–1675), 299, 310, 315; his house in Boston, 300, 301, 302, 322.
—— Thomas, Governor of Massachusetts, his comments on the conduct of T. Young and others, 28; his History of Massachusetts, quoted, 55; cited, 55 *n*, 296 *n*; copy of a letter from several dissenting ministers in and about London to the magistrates and ministers in the Massachusetts-Bay, printed by, 337, 338; his Collection of Original Papers, cited, 337 *n*, 338 *n*; a delegate to the Albany Congress, 414.
Hyde, Edward, first Earl of Clarendon, 68.
Hyler, Jacob, 217.

IMPROPRIATIONS, the Feoffees of, paper on, by Rev. H. A. Parker, 263–277; C. Mather's Magnalia quoted regarding, 263; Rev. J. Davenport's design regarding purchase of, 263; Laud's opposition to this design, 263; accounts of the movement, 264; origin of, 264, 265; first held by ecclesiastics, 265, 266; confiscated to the crown, 266; Queen Elizabeth's dealings with the bishops regarding, 266, 266 *n*, 267; extent of, 267.
Independents, 367; differences between Scotch Covenanters and, 369; political programme of, 369; this programme practically adopted, 370; influence of J. Cotton on, 370.
Indians, attempt of Great Britain to enlist Six Nations of, against the colonies, 38; delay of, in attending the Albany Congress, 410, 410 *n*, 411 *n*; purpose of the Congress, 410 *n*, 411, 411 *n*, 412 *n*, 413; attendance of, at the Congress, 414; overtures of, to colonists, 415, 416.
Indus, a ship, Capt. J. Chapman becomes part owner of, 235, 237; his voyage to Java in, 235, 236; his voyage to India in, 236, 237; her later voyages, 237, 238; her condemnation, 238.
Industry, a schooner, 226.
Ingram, North, 255.
Ireland, immigrants led by C. Clinton from, 9; lay impropriations in, 267 *n*.
Ireton, Henry, 287, 287 *n*.
Irish-American, R. Wolcott's dislike of the phrase, 360.
Isis, the river, Eng., 61.
Isle of France. *See* Mauritius.
Ives, ——, 214.

JACKSON, Henry, 217, 217 *n*.
—— William, his request regarding the town pump, 307, 308.
Jamaica, W. I., French and Spanish plan to capture, 225.
James I, King of England, 283, 292, 375; rights to sell almanacs and prognostications granted by, 75.

Digitized by Google

Jameson, John Franklin, LL.D., xvi.
Jarvis, Col. ——, 214.
Jeffreys, George, first Baron Jeffreys of Wem, 293.
Jeffries. *See* Jeffreys.
Jenkins, Howard Malcolm, reproduction of Franklin's snake device in his Pennsylvania: Colonial and Federal, 420.
Jews, Cromwell removes disabilities of, 379.
John, a sloop, 209.
Johns, Jehial, 15.
Johnson, Abigail (Oliver), wife of James, 315.
—— Lady Arbella (Clinton), wife of Isaac, 377.
—— Arnold Burges, his Modern Lighthouse Service, cited, 253.
—— Isaac, 295, 298, 326; his part in the settlement of Boston, 296.
—— James, receives land in return for maintaining a highway, 315; mortgages made by, 319, 320; feeling of Quakers toward, 319, 320, 322; his tannery and slaughter-house, 320; sells land to P. Oliver, 320, 321, 324; sells house to J. Meeres, 321.
—— Thomas, engraver, 252, 259.
Johnston, Andrew, Patent, 11 *n*.
Johonnot, Gabriel, 33.
Jolliffe, John, 320.
Jon, Adriaen du, 294 *n*.
—— François du (1545–1602), 294 *n*.
—— François du (1589–1677), son of François (1545–1602), 294 *n*.
Jones, ——, one of Washington's overseers, 123, 128, 137.
—— Ephraim, Sr., 240 *n*.
—— Ephraim (1730–1787), son of Ephraim, Sr., 240, 240 *n*, 241.
—— Mary (Hayward), wife of Ephraim, Sr., 240 *n*.
—— Reuben, 48.
Jordan, John Woolf, 8 *n*.
Josselyn, John, his Two Voyages to New England, cited, 317 *n*.
Joy, Thomas, 310.
Joyce, George, Charles I captured by, 281; Lord Montagu's account of the capture, 281, 282; his True Impartiall Narration, 282 *n*; taken into custody, 285; accused of being King Charles's executioner, 286, 287, 289, 290, 291, 291 *n*, 294 *n*; offices held by, 290; flees to Holland, 290.
Joyce Junior, paper on, by A. Matthews, 280–294; former paper on this subject, 280, 281, 294 *n*; his treatment of Tory sympathizers, 280, 281; his connection with the capturer of Charles I, 281, 282, 294 *n*; an *alias* for Jack Ketch, 294 *n*.
Junior, use of the word in framing a suggestive pseudonym, 293, 294.
Junius. *See* Jon.
Junius, Letters of, 294 *n*.
Junius, Junior, the Spirit of Liberty so signed, 294, 294 *n*; the pseudonym of Rev. J. Allen, 294 *n*.
Jury, trial by, rights of, violated in the American colonies, 430.
Juxon, William, Bishop of Hereford, 276 *n*.

Kaye, Arthur, 66 *n*.
—— Beatrix (Wentworth), wife of Arthur, 66 *n*.
—— Grace. *See* Saltonstall.
Keating, Rev. ——, 140.
Keayne, Robert, 303; his bequest for a town house and library, 302, 308, 313; failure of his conduit, 308.
Keeling, Samuel, 257.
Keep, Austin Baxter, 197 *n*.
Keith, ——, 177, 178.
Kelby, Robert Hendre, 8 *n*, 262 *n*.
Kellen, William Vail, LL.D., xv.
Kelly, Joseph, 399.
Kennedy, Archibald, 412 *n*; a letter in his Importance of Gaining and Preserving the Friendship of the Indians to the British Interests, included in Bigelow's edition of Franklin's Works, 411 *n*; his Serious Considerations on the Present State of the Affairs of the Northern Colonies, date of its publication, 411 *n*; extract from, 411 *n*.
Kennet (Kennett), White, Bishop of Peterborough, his History of Impropriations, mentioned, 264; cited, 267 *n*; quoted, 269; his Historical Register and Chronicle of English Affairs, quoted, 286; cited, 286 *n*.
Kent, Benjamin, 27; Committee of Correspondence defended by, 34.
—— Joseph, letter of, quoted, 291 *n*.
Kerf, the word, 158; its meaning, 158 *n*.
Ketch, Jack, 294 *n*.
Kettell, Ann. *See* Chapman.

Digitized by Google

Kidder, Mary. *See* Miller.
Kimball, Priscilla. *See* Ames.
Kimber, Isaac, his Life of Oliver Cromwell, quoted, 289; cited, 289 *n*.
King, Col. ——, 286.
—— family, barony of Wentworth passes to, 64.
King-Killers, History of, quoted, 289; cited, 289 *n*.
Kings, counsellors of, 425.
Kirf. *See* Kerf.
Kirkman, Francis, his plan for a circulating library, 196.
Kitterman, John, T. Young's apprenticeship with, 14.
KITTREDGE, GEORGE LYMAN, LL.D., ii, xiv, 1, 72, 102, 245, 328, 330, 347; supplement to a chapter in his Old Farmer and his Almanack, by A. McF. Davis, 73–94; his work in the Old Farmer and his Almanack, 77, 78, 79, 94 *n*; his remarks on Mr. Davis's paper, 95–97; vote of the Council in appreciation of his services, 328; vote of the Society, 334–336.
Knibloe, Rev. Ebenezer, his Church Records, quoted, 50, 51; his patriotism suspected, 51 *n*.
Knies, John, son of Michael, 50, 51.
—— Michael, 50.
—— Susannah (Young), wife of Michael 50, 51.
—— Thomas Y., son of Michael, 50, 50 *n*.
—— family, 50 *n*.
Knowles, Rev. John, 338, 341; R. Saltonstall's candidate for the presidency of Harvard College, 336, 337; his letter to the overseers of Harvard College, 337, 341; reply to this letter, 337; text of this reply, 338–341.
—— John, employed on Washington's estate, 104.
KNOWLTON, Hon. MARCUS PERRIN, LL.D., xiii, xv; elected a Vice-President of this Society, 334.
Knox, Gen. Henry, 6 *n*, 9 *n*.
—— Rev. John, 55.

LA HAVE, Nova Scotia, 222, 222 *n*.
Lamb, George, photograph of Burgis-Price View of Boston secured by, 250.
—— Martha Joanna Ready, her account of the Constitutional Courant, 438; her History of the City of New York, cited, 438 *n*.
LAMB (*continued*).
Lambert, ——, his Letter on the Construction and Use of the improved Foot Plough, 125, 125 *n*.
Lamberton, John Porter, his letters regarding Joyce Junior, 281, 282, 294 *n*, 295 *n*.
Lancashire Parish Register Society, 97 *n*.
LANE, GARDINER MARTIN, A.B., xiv.
—— WILLIAM COOLIDGE, A.B., xiv, 379; his exhibition of prints and charts, 375; photographic facsimiles of documents relating to J. Harvard, exhibited by, 381; exhibits view of Harvard College during the Revolution, 382.
Lane, Son & Frazier, 227.
Lang, Benjamin Johnson, 362.
Langdon, John, Speaker of the House, N. H., 385.
—— Woodbury, 403; his vacillating political sympathies, 401, 402.
Lathrop, Rev. John, 325.
—— Hon. JOHN, LL.D., xiii, xiv.
Latimer, Lord. *See* Nevil.
Laud, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 268 *n*, 270 *n*, 272 *n*, 276 *n*, 348, 368, 378; his opposition to the purchase of impropriations, 263, 264, 268 *n*, 271, 271 *n*, 277; Declaration of Sports attributed by Puritans to, 292.
Laughton, Henry, 346.
Laurens, Henry, letter of, to W. Fisher, communicated by H. H. Edes, 243, 244.
Lawrence, A. and A., & Co., 353.
—— Rev. ARTHUR, D.D., xiv; communicates Memoir of R. Wolcott, 347; text of the Memoir, 348–363.
—— Jason Valentine O'Brien 40, 40 *n*.
—— Sir Thomas, 30 *n*.
—— Rev. William, Bishop of Massachusetts, 354.
Leach, Capt. John, 216, 224.
Leake, Isaac Quintard, his Memoir of the Life and Times of Gen. John Lamb, cited, 26 *n*, 35 *n*.
Lear, Tobias, 191.
Lechford, Thomas, his Note-Book, cited, 301 *n*, 302 *n*, 303 *n*.
Leddra, William, 319, 319 *n*.

Digitized by Google

Lee, ——, 29.
—— Gen. Charles, 352.
—— Francis Henry, xv; communicates letter from J. Cabot, 98; text of the letter, 98–101.
—— Henry (1756–1818), letter of R. Morris to, 278.
—— Nathaniel, 233.
—— Rev. Samuel, 341.
—— Sidney, 288 *n*, 291 *n*.
Leete, William, 353.
Lefavour, Henry, LL.D., ii, xiii, xv; elected President of the Society, 334; his address as President, 364, 365.
Legge, William, second Earl of Dartmouth, 198.
Leman, William, 272.
Lenox Library, v, 336, .452, 452 *n*; rare pamphlet by T. Young owned by, 26 *n*; Copley's portrait of Lady Wentworth in, 344 *n*; copy of Constitutional Courant in, 433.
Leonard, ——, 223.
Leverett, George Vasmer, A.M., xv; appointed on Nominating Committee, 280.
—— John, Governor of Massachusetts, 302, 309, 340; letter of J. Collins to, quoted, 337.
—— Thomas, 306.
Lewis, Robert, 133, 139, 142, 176, 176 *n*.
Libbie, Frederick James, library bookplates owned by, 206 *n*.
Library Company of Philadelphia (Ridgway Branch), copies of Constitutional Courant owned by, 433, 433 *n*, 435; identifies Andrew Marvel with W. Goddard, 441, 441 *n*.
Library of Congress, 9 *n*, 452 *n*; copy of second impression of W. Burgis's Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge owned by, 252; copy of W. Burgis's Boston N. Eng. owned by, 252; original of W. Plumer's letters owned by, 382.
Lilly, William, his Monarchy or no Monarchy in England, quoted, 282, 283; cited, 285; title and collation of this pamphlet, 283 *n*, 284 *n*; statement in this pamphlet regarding the executioner of Charles I, 283, 285, 286; pamphlet attacking him, 284, 284 *n*, 285; his examination before a committee of the House of Commons, 285, 286, 287, 289; his History of his
Lilly (*continued*).
Life and Times, quoted, 286–288; cited, 288 *n*; editions of this work, 288, 288 *n*; his True History of King James the First and King Charles the First, 288 *n*; connection between this book and his Monarchy or no Monarchy, 288 *n*; date assigned to, in the History of King-Killers, 289; his Merlinus Anglicus Junior, 293; his almanacs published under the title Merlinus Anglicus, 293.
Lincoln, Earl of. *See* Clinton, Theophilus.
—— Abraham, 369.
—— Francis Henry, A.M., xiv.
—— Waldo, A.B., xiv; appointed on Auditing Committee, 280; signs report of the Committee, 333.
Lincoln, Lothrop, Bishop &, 356.
Lisle, Bridget, daughter of John. *See* Hoar; Usher.
—— Francis, 306.
—— John, the regicide, 291, 291 *n*.
Liston, Sir Robert, 234 *n*; loans cannon to the American government, 234.
Litchfield, Ct., 350.
Litchfield County, Ct., religious infidelity in, 16.
Little Britain, N. Y., 11; character of early settlers of, 11 *n*.
Lively, a ship, 218.
Livermore, Chief-Justice Samuel, 397, 397 *n*, 402, 403.
Liverpool, Nova Scotia, 221, 221 *n*.
Livingston, Robert R (1746–1813), 235 *n*.
Livingstone, Broom &, 225.
Loango, Africa, 229, 229 *n*.
Loather. *See* Loder.
Locke, John Lymburner, his Sketches of the History of the Town of Camden, Maine, cited, 224 *n*.
Lockyer, Rev. Nicholas, 341.
Loder, Rev. John, 338, 341, 341 *n*.
Lodge, Henry Cabot, his tribute to R. Wolcott, 361, 362. *See also* Garner, James Wilford, and Lodge, Henry Cabot.
London, Eng., Church of St. Anthony, lectureships established by Society of the Feoffees in, 270, 270 *n*, 271; a centre of Puritanism, 271, 272 *n*.
—— Church of St. Mary, in the Strand, 253.

Digitized by Google

London (*continued*).
—— London Bridge, 375.
—— Queen's Head Inn, J. Harvard's inheritance of, 380.
—— Tabard Inn, 380.
—— Tower, 306.
—— White Hart Inn, 380.
London, Bishop of, legislation regarding sale of almanacs approved by, 75.
Londonderry, N. H., convention at Emery's Tavern in (1786), 385; election in (1787), 403.
Long Island, N. Y., Naval Hospital, 211.
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 207, 208; medal struck by Cambridge Historical Society in commemoration of one hundredth anniversary of his birth, 330.
Longford County, Ireland, 9, 10.
Longman, Thomas, J. Mein's indebtedness to, 198, 199, 199 *n*, 200; letter to John Hancock from, quoted, 198 *n*; his correspondence with J. Hancock regarding Mein, 199, 199 *n*.
Longinus, his treatise on the Sublime, mentioned, 60, 60 *n*.
Longstaffe, William Hylton Dyer, Yorkshire visitations edited by, 62, 62 *n*.
Lopez, Cape, 229, 229 *n*, 230.
Lord, Arthur, A.B., xv; accepts Resident Membership, 1; appointed on Auditing Committee, 20; signs report of the Committee, 333; elected a Resident Member, 331.
Loring, Aaron Kimball, his circulating library, Boston, 207; his opinion regarding profitable circulating libraries, 207.
—— Augustus Peabody, LL.B., xv.
—— James Spear, his Hundred Boston Orators, cited, 6 *n*, 29 *n*, 32 *n*, 36 *n*.
Loring & Sampson, 231.
Lorphelin, Peter, 311 *n*.
Lossing, Benson John, his Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, cited, 49 *n*, 421, 439 *n*, 440 *n*; his errors regarding the snake device, 421, 421 *n*, 439; his accounts of the Constitutional Courant, 439; his incorrect reproduction of the Courant's snake device, 440; his History of New York City, cited, 439 *n*.
Lothrop, Thornton Kirkland, A.M., xv.
Lothrop, Bishop & Lincoln, 356.
Louisburg, Cape Breton, capture of (1745), 249.
Lovelace family, barony of Wentworth passes to, 64.
Lovell, ——, sister of Patience. *See* Wells.
—— Patience. *See* Wright.
Low, John, 256.
Lowell, Hon. Francis Cabot, A.B., xiv.
Lutwich, Edward, 251.
Luxford, James, 298, 315.
Lydius, John Henry, his land troubles, 26, 26 *n*.
Lyman, Arthur Theodore, A.M., xv.
Lynde, Simon, his estate and spring, 297, 327.

McClary, John, 400.
—— Michael, son of John, 400, 400 *n*.
McCleary, Samuel Foster (H. C. 1841), 249.
McCreary, George Washington, 417 *n*.
Macdonald, George, his Gold Coast Past and Present, cited, 230 *n*.
MacDonald, William. *See* Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, and MacDonald, William.
Macgee, Thomas, 445 *n*.
McIntire, Charles John, a guest at the annual dinner, 347.
McKay, James, 418, 418 *n*.
McKean, Col. ——, 42.
—— John, 391, 393, 394, 396, 403.
McKinley, William, 361.
McMaster, Capt. ——, 235.
—— John Bach, his Benjamin Franklin, quoted, 409 *n*; cited, 419 *n*.
McMullen, William, 214, 215, 216.
McMurphy, Archibald, 390, 390 *n*, 397.
—— James, 396.
McNeil, Capt. ——, 218.
Madras, India, 231, 232.
Mæonides. *See* Homer.
Maine Historical Society, Collections of, cited, 407 *n*.
Makepeace, Dr., ——, 217.
Malagash, Nova Scotia, 222, 222 *n*.
Man, Capt. John, 379; J. Harvard conveys property to, 379, 381.
Manapa, Madras. *See* Manappadu.
Manappadu, Madras, 227, 227 *n*.
Manchester, Earl of. *See* Montagu.

Digitized by Google

Maro. *See* Virgil.
MARSH, ARTHUR RICHMOND, A.B., xv.
Marshall, Christopher, his Diary, quoted 40, 41, 42, 51, 52.
Martin, Elisabeth, 201.
—— Michael, 201.
—— William, his book-shop, 200; establishes the Boston Circulating Library, 200; his irritation over delinquent patrons, 200, 201; sells out his books, 201; his personal history, 201.
Marvel, Andrew, 293; supposed to be pseudonym of William Goddard, 423 *n*, 432, 433, 434, 434 *n*, 435, 437, 438, 441; his Address to the public in the Constitutional Courant, 422, 441; reprint of this Address, 422 *n*; reasons for identifying him with W. Goddard, 441, 441 *n*, 442.
Mary I, Queen of England, 309; restores parish funds confiscated to the Crown, 266.
Mary and John, a ship, 348.
Maryland, represented in Albany Congress, 409, 412; appropriation in, toward Albany Congress, 413.
Maryland Gazette, 417.
Maryland Historical Society, 417 *n*.
Mason, Capt. ——, 243.
—— CHARLES FRANK, A.B., xiv.
—— George, 119.
—— Capt. John, 384 *n*.
—— Jonathan, 4, 4 *n*, 5 *n*, 6 *n*.
—— Thaddeus, 209 *n*.
—— Thomas, 176 *n*.
—— Thomson, 195.
Massachusetts, early postal service in, 35 *n*; Hollis Hall, Harvard College, built by, 57 *n*; legislation in, regarding extirpation of barberry bushes, 81, 82, 88, 90, 91, 93; text of the Act regarding, 82–84; early mustering of troops in, for Spanish-American War, 360; influence of traditions of, 365; interference with court proceedings in (1786), 387, 394; Rev. I. Mather agent of, 407; represented in Albany Congress, 409.
—— Acts and Resolves, cited, 346 *n*.
—— Archives, 337; cited, 341 *n*.
—— Colony Records, cited, 307 *n*, 310 *n*.
—— General Court, sends letter of congratulation to Charles II, 307; incorporates the first water-works in Boston, 310; its action in the Agawam controversy, 353; war emergency fund granted by, 360, 361; votes to establish Harvard College, 371.
—— Province Laws, cited, 4 *n*, 55 *n*, 84 *n*, 86 *n*, 201 *n*.
Massachusetts General Hospital, 356.
Massachusetts Historical Society, v, 290 *n*, 452; Proceedings of, cited, 27 *n*, 28 *n*, 33 *n*, 36 *n*, 41 *n*, 201 *n*, 249 *n*, 250 *n*, 252, 296 *n*; Collections of, cited, 35 *n*, 245 *n*, 296, 296 *n*, 297 *n*, 302 *n*, 312 *n*, 313 *n*, 314 *n*, 316 *n*, 317 *n*, 318 *n*, 319 *n*, 337 *n*, 406 *n*, 407 *n*; Catalogue of Mein's Circulating Library owned by, 197 *n*; of Mayhew and Baker's Juvenile Circulating Library, 207 *n*; copy of second edition of Burgis-Price View of Boston owned by, 250; copies of first and second impressions of W. Burgis's Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge owned by, 252; copy of Rev. I. Wiswall's poem owned by, 407; copy of Constitutional Courant owned by, 434.
Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, 356.
Massachusetts Reports, cited, 262 *n*.
Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War, cited, 217 *n*, 224 *n*.
Massachusetts Spy, snake and dragon device used in, 447, 448; facsimile of title of, facing 448; reply to lines on the snake device in, 449; called Thomas's chronicle of sedition, 451; snake device used for the last time in, 451.
Masson, David, his Milton, cited, 307 *n*.
Matchet, John, 33.
Mather, Rev. Cotton, son of Rev. Increase, 267, 268, 269, 276, 312; his Magnalia, quoted, 74 *n*, 263; cited, 263 *n*, 297 *n*; his remarks regarding the purchase of impropriations, 263.
—— Rev. Increase, son of Rev. Richard, 97 *n*, 340; agent of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, 407.
—— Katherine (Holt), wife of Rev. Richard, 97 *n*.
—— Oliver, 5 *n*.
—— Rev. Richard, marriage of, 97 *n*.

Digitized by Google

Matinicus Island, Me., 223, 223 *n*.
Matlack, Timothy, his part in framing the Pennsylvania Constitution, 42, 43; his opposition to J. Adams's plan favoring government in three branches, 42.
Matthews, Albert, A.B., ii, v, xiii, xiv, 8 *n*, 89, 196 *n*, 197 *n*, 223 *n*; his remarks on the destruction of the second Harvard College, 55; on the laying of foundations of present Harvard Hall, 55; reads poem commemorating completion of this building, 55; communicates letter from J. Cabot for F. H. Lee, 98; his paper on early celebrations of Washington's birthday, mentioned, 195 *n*; exhibits photographic copies of the Constitutional Courant, and of snake devices used in early American newspapers, 263; his paper on Joyce Junior Once More, 280–294; communicates letter from ministers and magistrates of Massachusetts relating to Harvard College, 336–338; text of the letter, 338–341; his paper on the Snake Devices, 1754–1776, and the Constitutional Courant, 1765, 408–453.
Maude, Daniel, 298.
Mauritius, island of, 228, 228 *n*.
Mayhew & Baker's Juvenile Circulating Library, Boston, catalogue of, 207, 207 *n*; some authors represented in, 207.
Mayo, Rev. John, 340.
Mazarin, Jules, Cardinal, 371.
Mead, Rev. Matthew, 341.
Meader, Lewis Hamilton, his paper on the Council of Censors, quoted, 43.
Mecom, Benjamin, printer, 26 *n*.
Meeres, James, his cook-shop, 321.
—— Robert, 298.
Mein, John, popular indignation against, 6; his shop in King Street, 6 *n*, 7; his partnership with J. Fleeming, 6 *n*; his partnership with R. Sandeman made and dissolved, 196, 196 *n*; opens bookstore and circulating library, 196, 196 *n*; his catalogue of books, 197, 197 *n*, 198; starts the Boston Chronicle, 198, 198 *n*; mobbed for defending British government, 198, 198 *n*; flees to England, 198, 198 *n*; his financial embarrassment, 198, 199; writ of attachment against, 199; J. Murray's proposal for withdrawing the attachment, 199; the proposal declined, 199; returns to Boston, 199; order of court against, 199; vote of town of Boston regarding, 199, 200; finding of Superior Court of Judicature against, 200; his debt to Wright and Gill, 200; his return to England, 200; his imprisonment, 200, 200 *n*.
Melvil, David, 257.
—— Jane (Selby) Garret, wife of David, 257.
Merlinus Anglicus, title of W. Lilly's almanacs, 293.
Merlinus Anglicus, Junior, almanacs published by H. Coley under this title, 293.
Merriman, Roger Bigelow, a guest at the annual dinner, 347.
Metcalfe, Walter Charles, Yorkshire visitations edited by, 62.
Michaud, Louis Gabriel, his Biographie Universelle, cited, 98 *n*.
Middlesex County, Mass., interference with court proceedings in (1786), 387.
Middletown, R. I., text of an Act for destroying barberry bushes in, 91; effect of the Act, 91, 92.
Milbanke family, barony of Wentworth passes to, 64.
Mildew. *See* Rust.
Miller, Jemima. *See* Chapman; Stone.
—— John, name assumed by Capt. J. Chapman, 212, 213.
—— Mary (Kidder), wife of Richard, 208 *n*.
—— Richard, 208, 208 *n*.
—— family, 209 *n*.
Miller, Rivington &, 196 *n*, 197 *n*.
Milton, John, mentioned, 61; quoted, 369, 371; his possible associations with John Harvard, 377, 378, 379.
Milton, Mass., early celebration of Washington's birthday at, 195, 195 *n*.
Minns, Thomas, xiii, xiv; presents four photographs of Copley portraits to this Society, 54; his statement regarding the statue of Rev. J. Cotton, 54; makes communication for H. E. Woods, 239; his remarks on value of W. Price's estate, 262; appointed on Nominating Committee, 280.

Digitized by Google

Mitchell, Elizabeth Andrews. *See* Clemens.
Mobary, Graham &, 228.
Moffat, Rev. John, 14, 14 *n*.
Môle St. Nicolas, Haiti, 209, 209 *n*.
Molineux, William, 28, 29, 33; defends committee of correspondence, 34.
Monasteries, suppression of, by Henry VIII, 64, 266; origin of impropriations in, 265, 266.
Monck (Monk), George, first Duke of Albemarle, 319.
Monk, George, 256; Blue Anchor Tavern kept by, 301.
Monmouth, Duke of. *See* Scott, James.
Monmouth, Geoffrey of. *See* Geoffrey of Monmouth.
Montagu, Edward, second Earl of Manchester, 281, 306.
—— Edward, second Baron Montagu of Boughton, his letter to the Earl of Manchester describing the capture of Charles I, 281, 282.
Montgomery, Capt. ——, 196 *n*.
Moore, Alexander, 228, 229; his death 230; his estate, 230 *n*.
—— Ruth, wife of Alexander, 230 *n*. *See also* Scott.
More, Paul Elmer, his description of the snake device, 420; his Benjamin Franklin, cited, 420 *n*.
Morgan, ——, 278.
—— Shanap, alias John Robinson, 5.
Morris, Robert, letters of, communicated by H. H. Edes, 277; text of the letters, referring to his financial difficulties, 277–279.
Morse, Moody, 399, 401.
—— Samuel, 393, 396, 396 *n*, 397.
Morton, Hon. James Madison, LL.D., xv.
—— Nathaniel, his New England's Memorial, cited, 407 *n*.
—— Rev. Nicholas, 376; named an executor of T. Harvard's will, 381.
—— Thomas (1564–1659), Bishop of Chester, his advice regarding the Book of Sports, 292.
Moseley, Edward Hacker, 215, 215 *n*.
Motley, John Lothrop, quoted, 363.
Moulton, Jacob, 388 *n*.
—— Jonathan, son of Jacob, 387, 388 *n*; his alleged business irregularities, 388, 389; an advocate of paper money, 389; his part in the outbreak of 1786, 395.
Moulton (*continued*).
—— Sarah, wife of Jacob, 388 *n*.
Mud, use of, as fertilizer, 103, 145.
Mud Island Fort, surrender of, 211.
Murray, James, popular indignation against, 6, 6 *n*; his Letters, cited, 6 *n*, 7 *n*, 199 *n*; his proposal for withdrawing attachment on J. Mein's books, 199; relations between Mein and, 199 *n*.
Myles, Ann, wife of Samuel, 258.
—— John, 258.
—— Rev. Samuel, 255, 256, 258.
—— Sarah, niece of Rev. Samuel. *See* Price.
Myrick, Capt. David, 237.

Nansemond County, Va., 214, 214 *n*.
Narrative and Critical History of America, cited, 27 *n*, 411 *n*.
Nase family. *See* Knies family.
Naseby, William, 102.
Nash, Francis Philip, LL.D., xvi; elected a Corresponding Member, 347; accepts, 366.
—— Nathaniel Cushing, A.M., xiv.
Nathaniel, a ship, voyage of, to India, 227, 228.
Neal, Daniel, 267, 272 *n*; his account of the Society of Feoffees, in his History of the Puritans, 269.
Nedham, Marchmont, alleged pseudonym of J. Quincy, Jr., 293.
Nedham's Rememb'rancer, articles so called, printed in the Boston Gazette, 293.
Neile, Richard, Bishop of Winchester and Archbishop of York, 260 *n*, 268 *n*, 276 *n*.
Nelson, William, 433 *n*, 434 *n*; his statement regarding J. Parker's Burlington publications, 443; his Checklist of the Issues of the Press in New Jersey, cited, 443 *n*, 444 *n*; his list of J. Parker's Woodbridge publications, 444.
Neuclus. *See* Nuclus.
Nevil (Nevill), John, Lord Latimer, 67.
—— Maud, Lady Latimer, wife of John, 67. *See also* Cambridge, Maud, Countess of.
—— family, barony of Raby held by, 65.

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New Albion, 56.
New American Magazine, 444 *n*.
New Amsterdam, island, 227, 227 *n*.
Newburgh, Lord. *See* Barrett, Sir Edward.
Newbury, Mary, daughter of Thomas. *See* Clark.
—— Thomas, 349.
Newburyport, Mass., Marine Society, 4 *n*.
Newcastle, Pa., British fleet at, 211.
NEWCOMB, SIMON, D.C.L., F.R.S., xvi.
Newell, John, 30.
Newell & Goodwin, 239.
New England, shipping in (1723), 248; climate of, 248; resources of, 248, 249; Cambridge, Eng., men among early leaders in, 378.
New England Historic Genealogical Society, Knox Manuscripts, cited, 9 *n*; J. H. Dexter's Manuscript Memoranda, cited, 202 *n*, 204 *n*.
New England Historical and Genealogical Register, cited, 15 *n*, 31 *n*, 34 *n*, 66, 202 *n*, 204 *n*, 208 *n*, 241 *n*, 250, 262 *n*, 305 *n*, 311 *n*.
New England Trust Company, 356.
New Hampshire, gift of, toward a library for Harvard College, 58, 58 *n*; outbreak in, 382; courts of, 384; conventions demand paper money in, 384, 385, 386, 389, 390, 391, 395; character of delegates to these conventions, 385, 386, 391, 397; action of citizens of, in outbreak resulting from one of these conventions, 392, 393, 394; represented in Albany Congress, 409.
—— Constitution, extract from, 401, 401 *n*.
—— Legislature, letter to, regarding imprisonment of S. Tarbell, Jr., 239–242; action of, on this letter, 242; passes Act for the recovery of small debts in an expeditious way and manner, 383, 383 *n*; this Act declared unconstitutional, 383; action in, on bill to carry into effect the definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, 389, 389 *n*; request of Rockingham Convention to, 390, 391; action of, on this request, 391; outbreak resulting from this action, 391, 392, 393; further action of, toward prisoners taken during this outbreak, 394, 395, 396; action of, regarding N. Peabody, 398.
—— Provincial Papers, cited, 384 *n*.
—— State Papers, cited, 240 *n*, 243 *n*, 385 *n*, 389 *n*, 398 *n*, 399 *n*, 402 *n*; letter of S. Tarbell, Jr., among, 239 *n*.
—— Superior Court, action of, toward prisoners taken in outbreak of 1786, 396, 402.
New Hampshire Grants, T. Young's attempt to secure the independence of, 44–46; this action opposed by New York Council of Safety, 46; action of Congress in the matter, 46–48; Declaration and Petition of the Inhabitants of, etc., 47 *n*.
New Hampshire Historical Society, Collections of, cited, 241 *n*.
New Harmony, Indiana, 204.
New Jersey, only northern colony sending no delegates to the Albany Congress, 413.
Newmarch, Lucy, 69, 71 *n*.
Newport, R. I., T. Young takes refuge in, 37, 37 *n*.
Newton, ———, 159.
—— Sir Isaac, 60.
New Windsor, N. Y., 10 *n*, 11; E. M. Ruttenber's historical sketch of, 9 *n*.
New York, State, source of some place-names in, 15; epidemic of yellow fever in (1791), 40; represented in Albany Congress, 409.
—— Colonial Documents, quoted, 99 *n*; cited, 410 *n*, 411 *n*.
—— Council of Safety, opposes independence of Vermont, 46; action of Congress in the matter, 46–48.
—— Documentary History of the State of, cited, 46 *n*, 49 *n*.
—— State Library, 9 *n*.
New York, City, W. Burgis's South Prospect of ye Flourishing City of, 251; only known copy of this view, 251; facsimile reproduction of, 251; copies of second impression of, 251; reproductions of the second impression, 251.
—— Bowling Green, statue of George III, in, 350.
—— Department of Health, Records of, cited, 202 *n*.
—— Manual of the Corporation of, cited, 251.

Digitized by Google

New York Evening Post, established by W. Coleman, 383 *n*.
New York Gazette, quoted, 197 *n*; snake device used in, 417.
New York Historical Society, 15; Collections of, cited, 15 *n*, 49 *n*; only known copy of first impression of W. Burgis's South Prospect of . . . New York, owned by, 251; copy of second impression also owned by, 251.
New York Journal, facsimile of title of, facing 426; Royal Arms discarded for snake devices in, 446, 447; lines on this change in Rivington's New York Gazetteer, 450, 451; difference between this device and that used by the Pennsylvania Journal, 448; lines referring to the snake device printed in, 449, 450; the device used for the last time in, 451, 452; interval in publication of, 452 *n*.
New-York Mercury, snake device used by, 417.
New York Society Library, 197 *n*.
Nicene Council, 76.
Nichols, Capt. William, 4, 4 *n*.
Nicholson, John, letter of R. Morris to, 277, 278, 279.
Nicola Mole, Cape. *See* Môle St. Nicolas, Haiti.
Noble, John, LL.D., ii, xiii, xiv, 340 *n*; his paper on Some Massachusetts Tories, mentioned, 239; his paper on William Leddra, mentioned, 319 *n*; his communication regarding R. Saltonstall's candidate for the presidency of Harvard College, mentioned, 336; elected Corresponding Secretary, 334; vote of sympathy in his illness passed by this Society, 336.
—— John, Jr., LL.B., xv; communicates Autobiography of Captain Jonathan Chapman (1756–1832), 208; text of the autobiography, 208–239.
Noddle's Island, views of Boston from, 245, 246.
Noel, Garrat, his circulating library, New York, 197 *n*.
—— family, barony of Wentworth passes to, 64.
Nonesuch, a frigate, 342, 343.
Noorthouck, John, his History of London, quoted, 270 *n*.
Norcliffe, Charles Best, 62 *n*.
Norfolk, James, 287, 287 *n*, 288.
Norris, Isaac, delegate to Albany Congress, 412 *n*.
North American Land Company, 279.
Norton, Francis, 307.
—— Rev. John, 317; part of Governor's Green sold to, 318, 320; regicides received by, 318; his attitude toward the Quakers, 320.
Norwich, Ct., centennial celebration at, 352.
Notes and Queries, cited, 290 *n*, 291 *n*.
Nowell, George, 310, 311, 312.
Noy, William, 267, 268 *n*, 271, 273, 276 *n*.
Noyes, James Atkins, A.B., xv.
Nuclus, a servant of Washington, 118, 181, 190.
Nye, Rev. Philip, 338, 341, 370.

Oakes, Rev. Urian, his part in the Almanac of 1656, 74 *n*.
Oborn, ——, 322.
Œrsted, Anders Sandöe, his investigations regarding rust on wheat, 86.
Offspring. *See* Ofspring.
Ofspring, Rev. Charles (*d.* 1659), son of Thomas, 271, 271 *n*.
—— Charles, son of Rev. Charles (*d.* 1659), 272 *n*.
—— Giles. *See* Rev. Charles.
—— Martha, wife of Rev. Charles (*d.* 1659), 272 *n*.
—— Martha, daughter of Rev. Charles (*d.* 1659), 272 *n*.
—— Mary, daughter of Rev. Charles (*d.* 1659), 272 *n*.
—— Samuel, son of Rev. Charles (*d.* 1659), 272 *n*.
—— Thomas, 271 *n*.
Oliver, Abigail. *See* Prescott.
—— Abigail, daughter of Thomas. *See* Johnson.
—— Peter, 320; land sold by J. Johnson to, 320, 321, 324,
—— Thomas, 302, 303, 315.
Olney, Hon. Richard, LL.D., xiv.
Onslow, Sir Richard, 286.
Orange County, N. Y., Ruttenber and Clark's History of, mentioned, 9 *n*; quoted, 11 *n*; cited, 14 *n*.
Orpheus Junior, pseudonym used by Sir William Vaughan, 293, 293 *n*.
Osborne, ——, 165, 191.
Otis, Harrison Gray, Mayor of Boston, 249.

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Otis (*continued*).
—— Herbert Foster, copy of the second edition of the Burgis-Price View of Boston owned by, 251.
—— James (1725–1783), 27; J. Robinson's assault on, 5, 5 *n*, 6, 6 *n*, 7; Tudor's Life of, cited, 5 *n*, 6 *n*, 7 *n*; chairman of Committee of Correspondence, 31.
Owen, Rev. John, 338, 341, 370.
Oxenbridge, Rev. John, 340.
Oxford, University of, profits derived by, from sale of almanacs, 75, 75 *n*.
Oxford Dictionary, quoted, 211 *n*.
Oyster shells, use of, by G. Washington, 104, 110, 111, 163, 167, 170, 175, 178, 180, 190.

Page, Alfred Baylies, his paper on An Early American Poem, communicated, 403; title of the poem, 403 *n*, 404; text of the poem, 404–406.
—— Christopher, 35 *n*.
Paige, Rev. Lucius Robinson, his History of Cambridge, cited, 36 *n*.
—— Nicholas, 308.
Paine, Nathaniel, A.M., xiv.
—— Thomas, his part in framing the Pennsylvania Constitution, 42, 43; his opposition to J. Adams's plan favoring three legislative branches, 42, 43.
—— Timothy, 383, 383 *n*.
Palmer, Rev. Anthony, 338, 338 *n*, 341.
—— Samuel, his edition of Calamy's Nonconformist's Memorial, 341 *n*.
Pandora, British man-of-war, 218.
Paper money, object lesson regarding the evils of a redundant and irredeemable, 88; demand for, in New Hampshire, 384, 385, 386, 389, 390, 391, 395; depreciation of, in Rhode Island, 387.
Paramaribo, Dutch Guiana, put to ransom by Cassard, 98, 98 *n*.
Parishes, coincident with townships in England, 264, 265.
Park, Rev. Charles Edwards, A.B., xv; a guest at the annual dinner, xv.
Parker, Rev. Henry Ainsworth, A.M., xiv; his paper on the English Wentworth family, 61–71; his paper on the Feoffees of Impropriations, 263–277; his paper on the Rev. Josse Glover and the Book of Sports, quoted, 292.
—— Hon. Herbert, A.B., xv.
—— James, Constitutional Courant may have been printed by, 434 *n*, 436, 437; his Gazette and Post-Boy, 441, 442; his press probably used by W. Goddard, 442; copies of the Courant distributed by, 443; location of his press, 443; issues from his press at Burlington, 443, 444, 444 *n*; at Woodbridge, 444, 444 *n*.
—— Richard, property conveyed to, by S. Winthrop, 316, 320.
—— Samuel Hale, his circulating library, Boston, 204, 204 *n*.
—— William, 299; his estate in Boston, 302.
Parks, Arthur, grandson of John, Jr., 10.
—— Barbara, daughter of John, Sr. *See* Crawford.
—— Jane, daughter of John, Sr. *See* Armstrong; Young.
—— John, Sr., 10.
—— John, Jr., son of John, Sr., 10.
—— Margaret (Clinton), wife of John, Sr., 10.
Parton, James, his Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin, quoted, 419; cited, 419 *n*.
Payne, James, his opinion regarding influence of barberry bushes on grain, 96.
—— Timothy. *See* Paine.
Peabody, Jacob, 241 *n*.
—— Nathaniel, son of Jacob, 241, 241 *n*, 242, 395, 397, 397 *n*; W. Plumer's estimate of, 398–401; his political offices, 398, 399; action of New Hampshire Legislature regarding, 398; his irreligion, 398; his vanity, 399; his claim regarding his property, 399; his corrupt associates, 399; his lack of honor, 399, 400; his political appointments, 400, 401.
—— Susanna (Rogers), wife of Jacob, 241 *n*.
Peak, ——, 137, 168.
Pearl, British man-of-war, 210.
Pearson, Anthony, 287, 287 *n*.
—— Joseph, 385.
Pelham, Helen (or Helena). *See* Curtis.
—— Herbert, family of, 208, 208 *n*.
—— Mary (Singleton) Copley, wife of Peter, 204.

Digitized by Google

PELHAM (*continued*).
—— Penelope. *See* Bellingham.
—— Penelope (Pelham), wife of William, 204, 208.
—— Peter, 204; family of, 208 *n*.
—— Sarah. *See* Blagrove.
—— William, grandson of Peter, 262 *n*; his bookstore and circulating library, Boston, 203; rates of subscription to his library, 203; some of his books, 203; title-page of his second catalogue, 203 *n*; removes his shop, 204; litigation over estate occupied by, 262.
—— family, booksellers and artists, 208.
Peixotto, ——, 101.
Penn, John, delegate to Albany Congress, 412.
—— Thomas, 412 *n*.
—— William, 253.
Pennington, Richard, son of William, 286, 287.
—— William, 286, 287.
Pennsylvania, Constitution of, recommended as a model for Vermont, 45; represented in Albany Congress, 409, 412, 412 *n*.
—— Constitutional Convention, 1776, 42; chief influences in, 42, 43.
—— Council of Safety, 43.
—— Supreme Executive Council, Minutes of, cited, 41 *n*, 43 *n*.
—— Historical Society of. *See* Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
Pennsylvania Chronicle, W. Goddard's association with, and his account of, 442.
Pennsylvania Gazette, 442; supports the Albany Congress, 409; notices in, regarding the Congress, 410, 410 *n*, 411, 411 *n*, 412; these notices mostly copied from New York papers, 413; device and motto used in, 409, 410, 417, 419, 420, 421, 440; facsimile of, facing 416; descriptions and reproductions of this device, 419, 420, 421; B. Franklin and D. Hall editors of, 409 *n*; no allusion in, to plan of union of the colonies, 413; its appeal for concerted action on the part of the colonies, 415, 416; this appeal copied by other papers, 417.
Pennsylvania Journal, 417; device used by W. and T. Bradford in, 421, 447, 448, 452; this device reproduced as Franklin's snake device, 421, 421 *n*;
PENNSYLVANIA (*continued*).
as the Constitutional Courant's device, 440; difference between device of, and that of the New York Journal, 448; facsimile of title of, facing 448; reply to lines on the snake device in, 448, 449; snake device used for the last time in, 451.
Penobscot (now Castine), Me., 217 *n*; American army retreats from, 217.
Pepperell, Mass., 357.
Pepperrell, Sir William, 349, 357.
Pepys, Elizabeth, wife of Samuel, 308.
—— Samuel, his Diary, cited, 307 *n*.
Percy family, 62.
PERKINS, Rev. JOHN CARROLL, D.D., xvi.
—— William, 271 *n*.
Perks, Thomas, 255.
Perley, Samuel, letter of J. Adams to, quoted, 42.
Perrin, Mary. *See* Davis.
Perry, Rev. Joseph, 3, 3 *n*.
Peter (Peters), Hugh, the regicide, 285, 287, 288, 288 *n*, 290, 291 *n*, 370.
Peters, ——, 125.
—— Rev. Richard, Secretary of Pennsylvania, delegate to the Albany Congress, 412 *n*.
Petition of Right, 379.
Phelps, Charles, his interest in New York land patents (1770–77), 34.
Philadelphia, Pa., epidemic of putrid bilious fever in, 39; resolves of the town meeting in (May 20, 1776), 41 *n*; British advance upon, 210, 211; two pamphlets caused by the proposal to build a market in, 441 *n*.
—— Bettering House, 43.
—— Continental Hospital, 43.
—— General Hospital, establishment of, 39.
—— Rifle Battalion, 41.
—— Vidal's Alley, 41 *n*.
Phileleutheros, article signed, 427 *n*.
Phileleutherus, article signed, 427 *n*.
Phillips, Thomas, 255, 256, 257.
—— Wendell, 207.
Philoleutherus, article signed, 427.
Philolutherus, article signed, 427 *n*.
Phips, Spencer, Lt.-Governor of Massachusetts, 252.
—— Sir William, Governor of Massachusetts, the Salutation conveyed to, 32 *n*; ordered to appear before the

Digitized by Google

Phips (*continued*).
Privy Council, 341; text of the order, 342, 343.
Phœnix, an English frigate, 228.
Pickering, John, W. Plumer's estimate, of, 389, 390.
Pickering, a brig, 234 *n*; Capt. J. Chapman searches for French privateers in, 234; Capt. E. Preble takes command of, 235.
Pickering Papers, cited, 35 *n*.
Pierce, Capt. William, 308; arrival of his ship, 297, 304, 306.
Pierson, Rev. John, his Discourse on the Nature and Benefits of Christ's Intercession, 444.
Pindar, 60.
Pinkerton, John, 403, 403 *n*.
Piper, William Taggard, Ph.D., xiv.
Pitkin, Martha. *See* Wolcott.
Pitts, John, 33.
Plaster of Paris, Washington's use of, on his estate, 127, 130.
Platt,—— (Wright), 30 *n*.
Plimpton, George Arthur, A. B., xvi.
Plough, Lambert's form of, 125, 126.
Plowright, Charles Bagge, his article on Wheat Mildew, 94.
Plumer, Mary (Dole), wife of Samuel, Sr., 383 *n*.
—— Samuel, Sr., 383, 383 *n*.
—— Samuel, Jr., son of Samuel, Sr., letters from W. Plumer to, 384–386.
—— William, Governor of New Hampshire, son of Samuel, Sr., letters of, communicated by W. C. Ford, 382; text of the letters, 383–403; letter to W. Coleman from, 383, 384; tries farming, 383; elected to the General Court, 383; studies law, 383; letters to S. Plumer, Jr., from, 384–386; letters to John Hale from, 386–402; his part in the outbreak of 1786, 392, 393; letter to J. Sullivan from, 402, 403.
Plymouth, Mass., Capt. T. Cromwell's adventures in, 317.
Plymouth Colony, Rev. I. Wiswall agent of, 407, 408.
Point, nautical word, 211, 211 *n*.
Pollington, Isabel. *See* Wentworth-Woodhouse.
Pool, ——, 135, 142, 176.
Pope day, celebrations of, 198 *n*, 280.
Porter, ——, 105, 127, 165.
Porter (*continued*).
—— Rev. Edward Griffin, A.M., his Rambles in Old Boston, cited, 32 *n*.
—— Sarah. *See* Gridley.
Portsmouth, Va., 214, 214 *n*.
Potomac Company, 164.
Potts, Dr. Jonathan, 43.
Potwine, Elizabeth, daughter of Rev. Thomas. *See* Ellsworth.
—— Rev. Thomas, 3.
Pound Thomas, his New Map of New England, mentioned, 253.
Powell, John, 257.
—— Joseph, Jr., 206.
Pratt, Bela Lyon, his statue of Rev. J. Cotton, 54.
Preble, Commodore Edward, 235, 235 *n*.
Prentice, John, Attorney-General of New Hampshire, 383, 383 *n*, 396, 396 *n*, 403, 403 *n*.
Prescott, Abigail (Oliver), wife of Benjamin, 240 *n*, 241 *n*.
—— Benjamin, 240 *n*, 241 *n*.
—— Edith, daughter of William Gardiner. *See* Wolcott.
—— James, son of Benjamin, 241, 241 *n*.
—— Oliver, son of Benjamin, 240, 240 *n*.
—— William, of Groton, his military services, 357.
—— Judge William, son of William, of Groton, 357.
—— William (1788–1875), his Prescott Memorial, cited, 240 *n*, 241 *n*.
—— William Gardiner, son of William Hickling, 357.
—— William Hickling, son of Judge William, 356, 357.
—— family, 357.
Presteign, Eng., 270, 270 *n*.
Preston, Capt. Thomas, troubles growing out of the trial of, 29, 30.
Price, ——, 272.
—— Sarah (Myles), wife of William, 258.
—— William, print and map seller, 256; litigation over estate of, 202 *n*, 262; Burgis-Price View of Boston published by, 246, 247, 250, 254, 259; W. Burgis's Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge sold by, 252, 259, 261; view of the Old Brick meeting-house sold by, 253; sets up organ in King's Chapel, 257; becomes associated with Christ Church, 257, 258; his mar-

Digitized by Google

PRICE (*continued*).
riage, 258; his subscription to Trinity Church, 258; his connection with Trinity Church, 258; with King's Chapel, 258; his business in Boston, 258, 259, 260, 261; his connection with the Bonner map of Boston, 259; publishes a Draught of the Meeting House of the Old Church in Boston with the New Spire and Gallery, 259; work done by, for the General Court, 259; taxed for repairs on town pump, 259; his real estate dealings, 259, 260; his death, 261; buried under Trinity Church, 261; his bequests, 261; increased value of his estate, 262.
Prince, Rev. Thomas, W. Price a subscriber to his Chronology, 258; his statements regarding the settlement of Boston in his Annals of New England, 296; entry of Rev. I. Wiswall's poem in his Manuscript Catalogue, 407; his account of the earliest rebellion at Harvard College, 408.
Prospect, Nova Scotia, 221, 221 *n*, 222.
Providence Island, emigration to, 306.
Providence Gazette, 441.
Prynne, William, 285, 285 *n*, 286, 287.
Puccinia, a genus of parasitic fungi, 86, 87.
Puritanism, English, prerequisites to knowledge of, 54, 55.
Puritans, attempt to aid, by purchase of impropriations, 263, 268, 269, 271; this attempt frustrated, 263; political triumph of, 264; their arrival at Charlestown, 295; great sickness among, 295, 296, 304; their removal to Boston, 295, 296, 297; rise of, 368; emigration of, 368, 376.
Pursue, Cape, 223.
PUTNAM, HERBERT, LL.D., xvi, 8 *n*.
Pym, John, 379.
Pynchon, William, his part in the Agawam controversy, 352, 353.

QUAKERS, persecution of, 309; their feeling toward J. Johnson, 319, 320; toward Rev. J. Norton, 320.
Quebec, Canada, T. Young's poem on the Conquest of, 14, 15.
Queen of Bohemia, frigate, 317.
Quincy, Dorothy, daughter of Edmund (1703–1788). *See* Hancock.
QUINCY (*continued*).
—— Edmund (1703–1788), letter of, to J. Hancock, quoted, 41.
—— Josiah, Jr. (H. C. 1763), 29, 37; member of Committee of Correspondence, 31; Committee of Correspondence defended by, 34; articles signed Marchmont Nedham attributed to, 293.
—— Josiah (H. C. 1790), his History of Harvard University, cited, 55, 337 *n*.
—— Josiah (H. C. 1821), mayor of Boston, 251.
Quint, Alonzo Hall, his Historical Memoranda, cited, 389 *n*.

RABELAIS, François, 77.
Raby, barony of, 65.
RACKEMANN, CHARLES SEDGWICK, A.M., xiv.
Rainborow, Thomas, 316 *n*.
—— William, 316, 316 *n*.
Rainton, Nicholas, 272.
Randall, ——, 252.
—— William, 257.
Randolph, Edward, 293.
Read, Col. ——, 318.
—— Elizabeth. *See* Winthrop.
—— John, 260.
Recovery, a ship, 232, 233.
Reed, Mary Hoes, 50, 51 *n*.
—— Newton, his Early History of Amenia, cited, 14 *n*, 15 *n*, 50 *n*; quoted, 15.
Regiments:
—— First Corps of Cadets, 362.
—— First Massachusetts Heavy Artillery, 360.
—— First Suffolk Regiment, 18 *n*.
—— National Lancers, Troop A, 362.
—— Philadelphia Rifle Battalion, 41.
—— Second Corps of Cadets, 362.
—— Wolcott's State Regiment (1776), 3.
Regulators, of North Carolina, 28.
Renown, a privateer, Capt. J. Chapman ships on, 216; the crew of, 216, 217; returns to Marblehead without a prize, 217.
Republican Club of Massachusetts, 358
Revere, Paul, engraved view of Harvard College by, exhibited, 382.
Rhode Island, Constitution of,

Digitized by Google

Rhode Island (*continued*).
legislation in, regarding barberry bushes, 89, 90; text of the Acts, 91, 92, 93; effect of the first Act, 91, 92; depreciation of paper money in, 387; represented in Albany Congress, 409.
—— Colonial Records, 89, 91; cited, 91 *n*, 92 *n*.
—— Laws, cited, 93 *n*.
Rich, Sir Henry, first Earl of Holland, 268 *n*.
—— Sir Robert, second Earl of Warwick, 317.
Richardson, Amos, 318, 319, 320, 321.
Ridgway, ——, 217.
Ripley, Capt. ——, 217.
Rittenhouse, David, 45.
Rivington, James, 451, 451 *n*; his New-York Gazetteer, lines on the snake device in, 448; answer to these lines, 448, 449; lines in, on change of device in Holt's New-York Journal, 450, 451; vote regarding Boston Committee of Correspondence reprinted in, 451.
Rivington & Miller, 196 *n*, 197 *n*.
Roberts, John, Governor of the Gold Coast, 230, 230 *n*.
Robinson, Anne (Boutineau), wife of John, 6 *n*.
—— Asa, 391.
—— Ephraim, 391 *n*.
—— John, Commissioner of Customs, his assault on J. Otis, 5, 5 *n*, 6, 6 *n*, 7, 7 *n*; his marriage, 6 *n*.
Rochester, N. H., paper money convention at (1786), 387, 389.
Rockingham, N. H., paper money convention at (1786), 390; request from, to the legislature, 390, 391; action of members of, on the answer of the Legislature, 391, 392, 393; members of, taken prisoners, 393, 394; treatment of these prisoners by the Legislature, 394–396; advice of J. Moulton to, 395; action of Superior Court toward, 402.
Rodgers, Rev. John, 51.
Rodney, George Brydges, first Baron Rodney, 225.
Roebuck, British man-of-war, 210.
Römer, Col. William Wolfgang, 253.
Rogers, Alice, wife of Thomas, 373, 374.
Rogers (*continued*).
—— Charles, son of Thomas, 374, 375.
—— Edward, son of Thomas, 374.
—— Edward, his Life and Opinions of a Fifth Monarchy Man, cited, 307 *n*.
—— Katherine, daughter of Thomas. *See* Elletson; Harvard; Yearwood.
—— Margaret. *See* Chapman.
—— Richard, son of Thomas, 374.
—— Susanna. *See* Peabody.
—— Thomas, 373, 374.
Rollesby, Norfolk Co., Eng., name of Mildew Rollesby given to, 96, 97.
Rollins, Mary Harris, 98 *n*.
Romney, a ship, Gov. Bernard requested to remove, from Boston harbor, 27.
Ropes, Rev. James Hardy, D.D., xv.
—— Rev. William Ladd, 2.
Ros, John de, Lord Ros, 69.
—— Margaret, widow of John de, Lord Ros. *See* Wentworth.
Rose, Rev. David, 51, 51 *n*.
Rose, frigate, 38, 38 *n*.
Rotherfield, Dionisia, 69, 71 *n*.
Round, John Horace, his Studies in Peerage and Family History, mentioned, 68 *n*.
Rowe, Rev. John (1626–1677), 338.
—— John, (1715–1787) of Boston, 4 *n*, 29; his Letters and Diary, cited, 4 *n*, 5 *n*, 6 *n*, 7 *n*, 27 *n*, 33 *n*, 34 *n*, 200 *n*; quoted, 28, 34.
Roxbury, Mass., 24; represented by A. Davis in the three Provincial Congresses, 18 *n*; Town and Church Records, 18 *n*.
Royal Arms, discarded for snake devices, in New York Journal, 446, 447.
Ruggles, Henry Stoddard, his Right to Bear Arms, mentioned, 68 *n*.
Runnels, Col. Daniel, 390, 390 *n*, 397, 398.
—— Daniel, son of Col. Daniel, 397.
Rush, Benjamin, 39; his Medical Inquiries and Observations, quoted, 39, 40; cited, 40 *n*; letter of J. Adams to, quoted, 42, 43.
Rushworth, John, 287, 287 *n*; his Historical Collections, mentioned, 264; cited, 264 *n*, 282 *n*; quoted, regarding the trial of the Society of the Feoffees, 271–276.
Russell, Chambers, son of Daniel, 344, 345, 345 *n*.

Digitized by Google

Russell (*continued*).
—— Daniel, 345 *n*.
—— Elias Harlow, xv.
—— Elizabeth (Henley) first wife of Thomas, (1740–1796), 219 *n*.
—— Elizabeth (Watson), third wife of Thomas (1740–1796). *See* Temple.
—— James, son of Daniel, 344, 345, 345 *n*, 346.
—— Joseph, 230.
—— Richard, 340.
—— Thomas (1740–1796), son of James, 218, 219, 219 *n*, 226, 227, 344.
—— William Eustis, Governor of Massachusetts, 358.
Rust, function of barberry bushes in production of, on wheat, 85, 86, 87, 88; not dependent on the barberry bush, 87, 88; letter from E. W. Allen regarding, 95; investigations of A. Young regarding, 95, 96; statement of Sir J. Banks regarding, 96, 97; of J. Timbs regarding, 97.
Rutherford, Rev. Samuel, his Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist, cited, 300 *n*.
Ruttenber, Edward Manning, 50 *n*; his Historical Sketch of New Windsor, N. Y., mentioned, 9 *n*; his copy of J. Young's account of the Young and Clinton families, 9 *n*; and L. H. Clark, their History of Orange County, N. Y., quoted, 11 *n*; cited, 14 *n*.
Rye. *See* Grain.
Rye, Walter, his Records and Record Searching, quoted, 62 *n*, 68 *n*.
Rymer, Capt. ——, 10, 11.

Sabin, Joseph, his Dictionary of Books Relating to America, cited, 441 *n*.
Sabine, Lorenzo, his Biographical Sketches of Loyalists in the American Revolution, cited, 6 *n*, 7 *n*, 200 *n*, 201 *n*, 212 *n*.
Sackville, Sir Edward, fourth Earl of Dorset, 268 *n*.
Sadler, Anne, sister of John. *See* Harvard.
—— John, his friendship with J. Harvard, 378, 379; Cromwell's liking for, 378, 379.
St. Estatia. *See* St. Eustatius.
St. Eustatius, island, 231.
St. George, Richard, Yorkshire Visitation by, 62 *n*; cited, 71 *n*.
St. Jacob, a ship, 343.
St. Mary's, packet-ship, 224; attack on, 225.
St. Paul, island, 227, 227 *n*.
St. Paul de Loanda, 229, 229 *n*.
St. Thomas, island, 230, 231.
Salem, Mass., Committee of Correspondence, 35 *n*.
Salisbury, Ct., 50 *n*.
Sally, a schooner, 226.
Saltonstall, Grace (Kaye), mother of Sir Richard, 66 *n*.
—— Hon. Leverett, A.M., his Ancestry and Descendants of Sir Richard Saltonstall, mentioned, 66 *n*.
—— Sir Richard, 66 *n*, 340 *n*, 377.
—— Richard, son of Sir Richard, 340; his candidate for presidency of Harvard College, 336, 337; date of his return to England, 340 *n*.
—— Richard Middlecott, A.B., xiv.
Sambrero, island. *See* Sombrero.
Sambro Head, Nova Scotia, 221, 221 *n*.
Sampson, Loring &, 231.
Samuel Smith, a ship, 235.
Sancroft, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, 377.
Sandeman, Rev. Robert, 196, 196 *n*.
—— Robert, nephew of Rev. Robert, his partnership with J. Mein, 196, 196 *n*.
Sanderson, Sir William, his Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles, quoted, 282; cited, 282 *n*.
Sanford, Hon. John Eliot, LL.D., deceased, xvii; notice of, 331.
Saunders, James, 399.
Savage, Henry Wilson, 297.
—— James, his Genealogical Dictionary of New England, cited, 298, 303 *n*, 309 *n*, 315 *n*, 340 *n*.
—— Thomas (1688–1720), letter from J. Cabot to, 98–101.
Savanna-la-Mar, Jamaica, 226, 226 *n*.
Sawyer, Timothy Thompson, his Old Charlestown, cited, 209 *n*, 238 *n*.
Scantic, Ct. *See* East Windsor, Ct.
Scherpenhayzon, ——, van, 98 *n*.
Schlosser, George, 51.
Schoepf, Johann David, his knowledge of legislation against barberry bushes, 94; his Reise durch einige der mittlern

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Schoepf (*continued*).
und südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten, cited, 94 *n*.
Schuyler, Philip, 350.
Scott, James, Duke of Monmouth, 64.
—— John, 230 *n*.
—— Ruth Moore, wife of John, 230 *n*.
—— (or Scot), Thomas, the regicide, 288, 288 *n*.
Scottow, Joshua, son of Thomasine, 303; his rights in Mill Creek, 309; his interest in early water-works of Boston, 310, 313.
—— Thomas, son of Thomasine, 303, 305.
—— Thomasine, 303.
Scrope (or Scroope), Adrian, the regicide, 288, 288 *n*.
Sears, David, 235, 236, 237.
Seaver, Capt. James, 234.
Sedgwick, Charles Frederick, his General History of the Town of Sharon, Conn., cited, 52 *n*.
—— Maj. Robert, 302.
Seguin, Island, Me., 209, 209 *n*.
Selby, Elizabeth, first wife of Thomas, 254.
—— Jane, daughter of Thomas. *See* Garret; Melvil.
—— Mehitable (Bill), second wife of Thomas, 251, 255, 257. *See also* Burgis.
—— Thomas, (*d.* 1727), Burgis's map of Boston sold by, 246, 247, 251; first mention of, in Boston records, 254; admitted an inhabitant, 254; his interest in church affairs, 254, 255, 256; becomes proprietor of the Crown Coffee House, 254, 255, 256, 257; his land transactions, 254, 255; becomes town scavenger, 255; his death, 257; inventory of his estate, 257.
—— Thomas, son of Thomas (*d.* 1727), 257.
Sellick, David, 314.
Senex, John, his America, mentioned, 254; patent on globur chart granted to, 254.
Separatists. *See* Independents.
Sewall, Chief-Justice Samuel, 245, 257, 313, 314; his Diary, quoted, 254; cited, 321; his statement regarding the settlement of Boston, 296.
Seymour, ——, suit of Company of Stationers against, 75, 76.
Shakspere, Edmund, son of John, 374.
—— John, 374.
—— Mary (Arden), wife of John, 374.
—— Richard, son of John, 374.
—— William, son of John, 372, 373, 374; the Duke of Cambridge in his Henry V, 67; his possible associations with John Harvard, 375, 379.
Shannon, Richard Cutts, 383, 383 *n*.
Shark, a cruiser, 228.
Sharon, Ct., 50 *n*; Probate Records, cited, 52 *n*.
Sharp, Capt. ——, 100.
Shaving-mill, meaning of the term, 223 *n*, 224 *n*.
Shawmut, 295, 304, 327, 328.
Shays's rebellion, 382.
Sheath, ——, 314.
Shelley, Henry Charles, 375, 378, 380.
Shepard, Rev. Thomas, 340.
Sherland, Christopher, 273, 274.
Sherman, William Tecumseh, 355.
Shippee, John, 255.
Shirley, Frances, daughter of Gov. William. *See* Bollan.
—— Frances (Barker), first wife of Gov. William, memorials to, 344 *n*.
—— Harriet, daughter of Gov. William. *See* Temple.
—— William, Governor of Massachusetts, 344, 344 *n*; his remark on the union of the colonies, 413; message of the Legislature to, 414.
Short, Capt. Richard, 342 *n*; his complaint against Sir W. Phips, 342, 343.
Shrimpton, Henry, 314.
Shurtleff, Nathaniel Bradstreet, his Topographical and Historical Description of Boston, mentioned, 252; cited, 297 *n*, 308 *n*, 324 *n*; disadvantages under which this was written, 313.
Shute, Samuel, Governor of Massachusetts, Burgis-Price View of Boston dedicated to, 247, 248.
Sibbes, Rev. Richard, 271, 271 *n*, 275 *n*.
Sibley, John Langdon, his Harvard Graduates, cited, 318 *n*.
Sims, a servant of Washington, 118.
Skinner, Richard, 255.
—— Robert, 255, 257.
Slade Denison Rogers, A.B., xvi.
Slave-trade, to Brazil, method of carrying on, 229, 230.

Digitized by Google

Smith, Capt. ——, 219, 220, 224.
—— Col. —— 42.
—— Capt. George G., 232, 233.
—— Capt. Isaac, 218.
—— James Hadden, his History of Dutchess County, N. Y., cited, 14 *n*.
—— Samuel, the printing of his History of New Jersey, 443, 444, 445; collation of, 443 *n*; opinion of the University Press as to time required for printing this book, 445.
—— Sidney Lawton, engraver, 252.
—— Thomas, 320.
Smyth, Albert Henry, his edition of Franklin's Writings, cited, 412 *n*.
—— Rev. Egbert Coffin, manuscripts given to Andover Theological Seminary from estate of, 2.
—— Elizabeth Bradford (Dwight), wife of Rev. Egbert Coffin, 2.
Snake devices, photographic copies of, exhibited by A. Matthews, 263, 408 *n*; paper on, by A. Matthews, 408–453; existence of, due to Franklin, 409; the three periods at which they appeared, 409; their influence and popularity, 409; inaccurate statements regarding, 409; as used by Pennsylvania Gazette, 409, 410, 417, 419, 420; the device copied, with variations, by other papers, 417, 418; descriptions of, 419, 420, 421, 439; reproductions of, 420, 421; used in Pennsylvania Journal, 421, 447, 448; difference between Franklin's device and that used in Constitutional Courant, 433; that used in different forms of the Constitutional Courant, 433, 434, 435; incorrect reproductions of this device: by Buckingham, 440; by Lossing, 440; device used on verso of title of poem attacking Gov. Bernard, 446; J. Holt discards Royal Arms for snake devices in the New York Journal, 446, 447, 448; used by Thomas in the Massachusetts Spy, 447, 448; lines on, in Rivington's New-York Gazetteer, 448; replies to these lines, 448, 449; lines referring to, in the New York Journal, 449, 450; last uses of, 451, 452; list of facsimile reproductions of, 452.
Snow, ——, 215.
—— Caleb Hopkins, his History of Boston, cited, 28 *n*, 296, 296 *n*, 317 *n*, 326 *n*.
—— Charles Armstrong, A.B., ii, xiv.
Snow, a two-masted vessel, 212, 212 *n*.
Social Science Association, 356.
Société Botanique de France, Bulletin de, cited, 86.
Society of Colonial Wars, 356.
Society of the Feoffees, organization of, 267; their plan for buying impropriations, 267, 268, 269; Heylyn's attack upon, 268; success of the scheme, 270; lectureships established at St. Antholin's by, 270, 270 *n*, 271; charged with misuse of funds, 270 *n*; trial of, 271-276; decision of the court regarding, 274–276, 277; integrity of, 274 *n*, 275 *n*; criminal proceedings against, suggested, 276 *n*.
Sohier, William Davies, 360.
Solebay, English man-of-war, 209, 210, 211, 215.
Solms, Count de, J. Wright's portrait of Washington painted for, 30 *n*.
Sombrero, island, 231, 231 *n*.
Sons of Liberty, Albany, 26 *n*.
—— Boston, 37 *n*; address to John Wilkes from, 27; send committee to tea-consignees, 32, 33.
—— New York, 37 *n*; statue of George III overthrown by, 350.
Sophia, a ship, 228, 229, 230.
Soulsby, Basil Harrington, 250.
South Carolina, union of the colonies advocated by, 414.
South Carolina Gazette, description of snake device in, 418.
South Carolina Historical Society, 418 *n*.
South Malling, Eng., photograph from parish register of, 381.
Southerton, Rev. Valentine, 276 *n*.
Southwark, London, Eng., home of Robert Harvard, 374, 375; photograph from parish register of, 381.
—— Globe Theatre, 375.
—— St. Saviour's Church, 375, 376.
Spanish-American War, early mustering of Massachusetts troops for service in, 360.
Sparks, Jared, quoted, 409 *n*; his Writings of Washington, cited, 103 *n*, 118 *n*; his description of the snake

Digitized by Google

Sparks (*continued*).
device, 419; his Works of Franklin, cited, 419 *n*.
Spavin, Robert, 287, 289.
Spirit, the, of Liberty, by Junius Junio , 293, 294; description of the work, 294 *n*.
Spitfire, a lugger, 218.
Sprague, Mary, her circulating library, Boston, 205.
—— P., his opinion of the barberry bush, 79, 81.
—— Rev. William Buell, his Annals of the American Pulpit, cited, 3 *n*.
Sprigg, Richard, Jr., 277.
Springfield, Mass., founding of, 352; controversy regarding, 353.
Squires, Daniel, 212.
Stadium, 60.
Stamp Act (1765), 20, 26, 421; snake devices used at time of, 409, 439; Constitutional Courant's protest against, 423–432; passed without debate in Parliament, 431; editions of, 444.
Stansbury, Thomas, 312.
Stark Mills, 356.
Statesman's Year Book, 74.
Stationers' Company. *See* Company of Stationers.
Stedman, ——, 252.
—— John Gabriel, his Narrative, quoted, 98.
Steele, Sir Richard, 377.
Steuart, Andrew, Philadelphia edition of the Constitutional Courant attributed to, 445 *n*; removes to Wilmington, N. C., 445 *n*.
Stevens, Capt. ——, 216.
—— Benjamin Franklin, 433 *n*, 434 *n*.
—— John Austin, description and reproduction of Franklin's snake device in his Memorial History of New-York, 420, 421; this work, cited, 420 *n*, 421, 440 *n*; his account of the Constitutional Courant, 439, 440.
Stiles, Rev. Ezra, his Literary Diary, cited, 36 *n*, 37, 37 *n*, 38, 39 *n*; quoted, 37, 38, 195 *n*.
—— Capt. George, 235.
—— Henry Reed, his History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, cited, 2 *n*, 3 *n*, 5 *n*, 16 *n*; quoted, 3.
—— Jeremiah, 391 *n*.
Stirling, James, 256.
Stock, Rev. Richard, 273, 273 *n*.
Stock, support of, by fallows, 145.
Stoddard, Anthony, 310, 321, 323.
—— Simeon, son of Anthony, 322, 323.
Stone, Benjamin, 395, 401.
—— Jacob, 208 *n*.
—— Jemima (Miller), wife of Jacob, 208 *n*. *See also* Chapman.
Stoughton, William, Lt.-Governor of Massachusetts, 340, 343.
Stoughton, Mass., Doty Tavern, 52 *n*.
Stout, Capt. Jacob, 228.
Strafford, Earls of, second creation, extinction of, 63.
Strafford, Eng., wapentake of, 62.
Strafford, N. H., paper money convention at, 395.
Stratford-on-Avon, Eng., Shakspere associated with, 372, 373; the Rogers house in High Street, 373, 380; the Rogers family of, 373, 374; the Shakspere family of, 374; expected records from parish registers of, 381.
—— Holy Trinity Church, Robert Harvard and Katherine Rogers married at, 375.
Strong, Josiah, 50, 50 *n*, 51.
—— Lydia, daughter of Josiah, 51.
—— Mary (Young), wife of Josiah, 50, 50 *n*, 51.
—— Rev. Thomas Campbell, 252.
Stuart, ——, 149.
—— David, 150, 182.
—— Gilbert, 30 *n*.
Stubbs, William, Bishop of Oxford, his Constitutional History of England, quoted, 264, 265; cited, 265 *n*.
Suffolk Congress, convened at Stoughton, Mass. (1774), 52 *n*.
Suffolk County, Mass., Court Files, cited, 199 *n*.
—— Deeds, cited, 5 *n*, 30 *n*, 31 *n*, 32 *n*, 237 *n*, 262 *n*, 300 *n*, 301 *n*, 302 *n*, 305 *n*, 306 *n*, 307 *n*, 309 *n*, 310 *n*, 312 *n*, 314 *n*, 316 *n*, 317 *n*, 318 *n*, 319 *n*, 321 *n*, 323 *n*; mentioned, 311, 313.
—— Inferior Court of Common Pleas, 199.
—— Probate Files, cited, 6 *n*, 32 *n*, 34 *n*, 201 *n*, 202 *n*, 230 *n*, 238 *n*, 262 *n*.
—— Superior Court of Judicature, 200; Records of, cited, 200 *n*.
Suffolk Resolves, drafted by Joseph Warren, 52 *n*.

Digitized by Google

Sullivan, James, Governor of Massachusetts, 402.
—— John, President of New Hampshire, 385; his statement regarding action of Rockingham Convention, 391; his later treatment of the members of the Convention, 392, 393; orders a court-martial for them, 401; W. Plumer's estimate of, 402; letter from W. Plumer to, regarding his re-election, 402, 403.
Sumner, William Graham, his Financier of the American Revolution, cited, 277 *n*.
Surtees Society, Publications of, mentioned, 62 *n*; cited, 64 *n*, 68 *n*.
Swan, a ship, 343.
Sweeney, Lawrence. *See* Sweeney, Samuel.
—— Samuel, 437, 438, 440.
Swift, Rev. Jonathan, 77.
—— Lindsay, A.B., xiv; exhibits a manuscript containing a version of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Brut, 102; appointed to write memoir of S. Cunningham, 366.
Symonds, Capt. Thomas, 209, 209 *n*, 210.

Talbot, Capt. ——, 215, 216.
Tansley, Alice, wife of John, 67.
—— Cecilia, daughter of John. *See* Wentworth.
—— John, 66, 67.
Tant, William, 216.
Tarbell, Samuel (1746–1796), 239; anonymous letter of, presented to New Hampshire House of Representatives, 239–242; bond signed by, 239, 240; the bond defaulted, 239; his confinement in jail, 239, 240, 241, 242; conditions of release offered to, 239, 240, 241; action of the House of Representatives on his letter, 242.
Tartar, a snow, 212, 213; wreck of, 213, 214; experiences of her officers and crew, 213, 214; her crew made prisoners of war, 214, 215; their release, 215.
—— a ship, 224, 225.
Taylor, ——, 156, 157, 171.
—— Rev. Jeremy, 377.
Tea, T. Young's communication regarding, 33, 34.
Tellecherry. *See* Tellicheri.
Tellicheri, British India, 228, 228 *n*.
Temple, Elizabeth (Watson) Russell, wife of Sir Grenville, 344.
—— Sir Grenville, son of Sir John, 344.
—— Harriet (Shirley), wife of Robert, 344.
—— Sir John, 344.
—— Robert, 344.
—— Sir Thomas, 318.
—— Sir William, 290; his Works, cited, 290 *n*.
Tenny, ——, 255.
Terrible, a brig, 217.
Testamenta Eboracensia, cited, 68 *n*.
Thacher, James, his American Medical Biography, cited, 40 *n*.
—— Rev. Thomas, 340.
Thayer, Adele Granger, original portrait of Rev. J. Cotton owned by, 54.
—— Ezra Ripley, A.M., xv.
—— John Eliot, A.B., xv; elected Member of the Council, 334.
—— Rev. Henry Otis, his Ministry on the Kennebec, cited, 407 *n*.
—— William Roscoe, a guest at the annual dinner, 347.
Theodore, Archbishop, traditional creator of the parochial system, 264.
Thomas, Isaiah, 37; his History of Printing in America, cited, 6 *n*, 200 *n*, 419 *n*, 422 *n*, 437 *n*, 441 *n*, 442 *n*, 443 *n*, 445 *n*, 447 *n*; his description of the snake device, 419; part of Constitutional Courant reprinted by, 422 *n*; his account of the Constitutional Courant, 436–438, 438 *n*; his statement regarding the identity of Andrew Marvel, 441; his account of the Providence Gazette, 441; his statements regarding the place of publication of the Constitutional Courant, 443; snake and dragon device used by, in Massachusetts Spy, 447; this paper called Thomas's chronicle of sedition, 451; last use of snake device by, 451.
—— Joshua, his circulating library, Boston, 205.
—— Robert Bailey, his Farmer's Almanac, 76, 77, 78.
—— William, 216.
Thompson, Abigail (Emerson), 242 *n*.
—— Capt. Daniel, 218.

Digitized by Google

THOMPSON (*continued*).
—— Ebenezer, son of Robert, 242, 242 *n*, 243 *n*, 385.
—— Robert, 242 *n*.
—— Rev. Zadock, extracts from his unpublished lecture on the Allen family, 15; his History of Vermont, cited, 49 *n*.
Thornbury, George Walter, and Edward Walford, their Old and New London, quoted, 270 *n*.
THORNDIKE, SAMUEL LOTHROP, A.M., xiv.
Thorn trees, Washington's attempt to cultivate, 148, 152, 195.
Thorne, William, his school-room in Philadelphia, 41, 41 *n*.
Thurloe, John, 285, 285 *n*; his State Papers, cited, 307 *n*.
Ticknor, George, 207.
TILLINGHAST, CALEB BENJAMIN, Litt.D., xv; elected a Resident Member, 1, 331; accepts, 72.
Timbs, John, his Knowledge for the People, quoted, 97; cited, 97 *n*.
Tithes, made a legal obligation, 265.
Tobacco, Washington's directions on raising, 103, 160, 191, 192.
Tompkins, Abel, 251.
Toner, Joseph Meredith, his Notes on early American Physicians, 9 *n*.
Tonge, Thomas, Wentworth pedigrees recorded by, 62, 62 *n*, 63 *n*, 66.
Tories, rumored provisions concerning estates of, in definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States, 390, 395.
Torrey, Rev. Samuel, 408.
—— William, extract from the Preface of his Brief Discourse concerning Futurities, 408.
Townsend, Mary. *See* Devens.
Townshend, Charles, 292, 292 *n*.
Townships, coincident with parishes in England, 264, 265.
Trankabar. *See* Tranquebar.
Tranquebar, 232, 232 *n*.
Trenchard, Sir John, 343.
Trenkabar. *See* Tranquebar.
Trent, William, 415, 415 *n*, 419.
Trimountain, name changed to Boston, 296.
Trincomali Bay, Ceylon, 233, 233 *n*.
Trowbridge, Edmund, 345 *n*; the date of his birth, 344, 346; his death, 346 *n*.
TROWBRIDGE (*continued*).
—— Mary (Goffe), wife of Edmund, 344.
Trumbull, Jonathan (1710–1785), Governor of Connecticut, 350; letter of W. Williams to, quoted, 49.
TUCKER, GEORGE FOX, Ph.D., xiv.
—— Hon. WILLIAM JEWETT, LL.D., xvi.
Tudor, William, his Life of James Otis, cited, 5 *n*, 6 *n*, 7 *n*.
Tulasne, Louis René, his investigations regarding rust on wheat, 86.
Turner, Charles, 170.
—— FREDERICK JACKSON, Ph.D., xvi.
—— Robert, 299, 303; his Boston house-lot, 301, 302.
TUTTLE, JULIUS HERBERT, xv, 8 *n*, 290 *n*; a guest at the annual dinner, 347.
Tyas, Joan (or Jane). *See* Wentworth.
Tyler, Daniel, letter to John Warren from, quoted, 36.
—— Capt. Edward, 218.
Tyng, Edward, 340; his estate and wharf in Boston, 307.
—— William, 315; his spring, 309, 327; T. Brattle falls heir to certain property of, 310, 311.

UNITED States Lighthouse Board, 253.
Underhill, Capt. John, 305.
University, value of a, 366, 367.
University Press, Cambridge, opinion of, as to length of time required for printing S. Smith's History of New Jersey, 445.
Usher, Bridget (Lisle) Hoar, wife of Hezekiah, 291, 291 *n*.
—— Hezekiah, 291 *n*.
Utrecht, Peace of, 99, 99 *n*, 100.

VAN ALSTYNE, Lawrence, his Burying Grounds of Sharon, Ct., etc., quoted, 51; cited, 51 *n*.
Van Cortlandt, Pierre, first Lieut.-Governor of New York, 46.
Van Peyma, Charlotte, 9 *n*.
Vane, Sir Henry (1589–1655), barony of Raby taken from, 65, 65 *n*.
—— Sir Henry (1612–1662), son of Sir Henry (1589–1655), 298, 319, 380; his suggestion of an English constitution, 369, 370; J. Cotton's influence on, 370.

Digitized by Google

Vaughan, Sir William, pseudonym Orpheus Junior used by, 293, 293 *n*; his Golden Fleece, quoted, 293 *n*.
Vavasour family, 62.
Venner, Thomas, his troubles in Boston and in London, 306, 307; his wharf and house in Boston, 307, 308.
Venning, Rev. Ralph, 341.
Vermont, word coined by T. Young, 15, 44, 53; T. Young's address regarding its formation into an independent state, 44–46; this action opposed by New York Council of Safety, 46; action of Congress in the matter, 46–48; petition to General Assembly of, in behalf of T. Young's family, 53, 53 *n*.
—— Records of the Governor and Council of, cited, 35 *n*, 46 *n*, 49 *n*.
—— State Papers, cited, 46 *n*, 49 *n*, 53 *n*.
Villiers, George, first Duke of Buckingham, 376.
Vindex, pseudonym used by S. Adams, 17, 23.
Virgil, quoted, 61 *n*.
Virginia, not represented in Albany Congress, 410 *n*.
Virginia Gazette, allusion to snake device in, 418.

W., J., early American poem by, 403; early New England writers bearing these initials, 406. *See also* Wiswall, Rev. Ichabod.
Wade, Winthrop Howland, A.M., xv; moves an expression of sympathy for J. Noble, 336.
Wadhams, Abigail (Beebe) Allen, wife of Solomon, 16, 16 *n*.
—— Solomon, 16 *n*.
Wadsworth, Mrs. Alexander, original manuscript of Capt. J. Chapman's autobiography owned by, 208 *n*.
Wait, Hon. William Cushing, A.M., xiv.
Wakeman, Rev. Samuel, 408.
Walcott family, 354, 355. *See also* Wolcott.
Waldenses, 371.
Waldron, John, 391 *n*.
Walker, Rev. George, his sermon on the Duty and Character of a National Soldier, quoted, 290; cited, 290 *n*.
Walker (*continued*).
—— Rev. James, President of Harvard College, 238, 238 *n*.
—— Thomas Oliver, his circulating library, Boston, 207.
—— Rev. Williston, D.D., xvi.
Wall, Mary Honoria. *See* Gill.
Wallace, Capt. James, his attempt to capture T. Young, 38, 38 *n*.
Walter, Rev. Nathaniel, 261.
Wandsworth, Eng., photograph from parish register of, 381.
Ward, Edward, 415, 415 *n*.
—— Henry, Secretary of Rhode Island, 38.
Ware, Horace Everett, A.B., xv; presents copy of G. M. Bodge's Soldiers in King Philip's War to this Society, 72; letter from E. W. Allen to, on wheat-rust, 95, 96; presents set of old Farmer's Almanack to this Society, 245.
—— Thornton Marshall, A.B., xv.
Warham, Rev. John, 348.
Warner, Col. Seth, 48.
Warren, Edward, his Life of John Warren, M. D., cited, 36 *n*, 44 *n*.
—— John (H. C. 1771), letter from D. Tyler to, quoted, 36; letter from J. B. Cutting to, quoted, 44.
—— John Collins (H. C. 1863), 252.
—— Joseph, 7, 27, 29, 38; Frothingham's Life and Times of, cited, 6 *n*; his friendship for Dr. T. Young, 8; his house in Hanover Street, 30; member of Committee of Correspondence, 31; regulations of North End Caucus drawn up by, 32; his part in the Boston tea-party, 32, 33; Committee of Correspondence defended by, 34; family physician to J. Adams, 36; letter from D. Tyler to, quoted, 36; Judge Danforth's resignation witnessed by, 36; Suffolk Resolves drafted by, 52 *n*.
—— family, 62.
Warwick, Earl of. *See* Rich.
Washington, Augustine, half-brother of George, 110 *n*.
—— Frances (Bassett), wife of George Augustine, 105, 105 *n*, 106, 112, 113, 161, 163, 166, 169, 171, 177, 179, 182, 185.
—— George, 350, 363, 399, 415; J. Wright's portrait of, 30 *n*; his direc-

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Washington (*continued*).
tions to G. A. Washington and A. Whiting regarding his estate, communicated by W. C. Ford, 103–195; regarding the treatment of exhausted land, 103; tobacco, 103, 160, 191, 192; raising and care of grain, 104, 109, 114, 116, 120, 124, 128, 129, 130, 131, 134, 135, 138, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151, 152, 154, 157, 183, 185, 186, 188, 189, 194; digging of ditches, 104, 110; use of oyster shells, 104, 110, 111, 163, 167, 170, 175, 178, 180, 190; his botanical garden, 105, 153; economies, 106, 130, 149, 167, 173; planting of trees, 107, 108; hedges, 108, 112, 120, 127, 134, 141, 143, 144, 148, 149; grass, 109, 113, 117, 144, 145, 152, 153, 154, 162; raising of hogs, 109, 117, 122; carpentering and painting, 110, 129, 138, 146, 147, 148, 171, 180; care of sick negroes, 111, 114, 133; care of tools, 111; building of fences, 113; potatoes, 116, 120, 182, 194; his fishery, 118, 119, 141, 182; loss of sheep, 118, 122, 131, 146, 160, 174; water-supply, 124, 125, 133, 145, 150; vistas, 125, 133, 145, 150, 163, 166; dogs, 132; his house in Alexandria, 133; sewing and spinning, 135, 142, 152; horses, 136, 192; keeping of accounts, 137; conduct of overseers, 137; use of sand, 152; gate-latches, 155; preparation of mortar, 159, 170, 171, 178, 185; making of bricks, 163; payment of taxes, 167, 170, 177, 178; care and sheering of sheep, 169, 174, 181, 182, 191; his land in Fairfax Parish, 170; allowance of meal, etc., to his negroes, 172, 173, 179, 186, 187; cattle, 175, 181, 182; answering letters, 183, 184; early celebration of his birthday at Milton, 195, 195 *n*; his association with J. Huntington, 352; capitulates at Fort Necessity, 418, 418 *n*.
—— George Augustine, nephew of George, 112, 112 *n*, 115, 146, 148, 156, 157, 159, 161, 172, 178, 190, 191; directions from G. Washington to, regarding his estate, communicated, 102; text of the letters, 103–106; illness of, 129, 140, 141.
—— George Steptoe, son of Samuel, 105, 105 *n*, 115.
Washington (*continued*).
—— Harriott, daughter of Samuel, 105, 105 *n*.
—— Lawrence, son of Samuel, 105, 105 *n*, 115.
—— Martha (Dandridge) Custis, wife of George, 105, 111, 113, 135, 153, 172, 179, 185.
—— Samuel, brother of George, 105 *n*.
—— William Augustine, son of Augustine, 110, 110 *n*, 159, 159 *n*, 163, 175, 190.
Waters, Henry FitsGilbert, his researches concerning John Harvard, 367, 373, 374, 378, 381.
—— Rev. Thomas Franklin, A.B., xv; elected a Resident Member, 1, 331; accepts, 72.
Wath, parish of, Yorkshire, Eng., 62.
Watkinson Library, v.
Watson, ——, 160.
—— Elizabeth. *See* Russell; Temple.
—— Leonard, 285.
—— William, Ph.D., xiv.
Weare, Meshech, 400.
Webb, Henry, 307.
Webber, Mabel Louise, 418 *n*.
Weeden, William Babcock, A.M., xvi.
Weld, Charles Goddard, M.D., xiv.
Welles, Thomas, 353.
Welling, John, 11 *n*.
Wells, Mrs. —— (Lovell), her waxworks, 30, 30 *n*.
—— William Vincent, his Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams, cited, 17 *n*. 28 *n*, 31 *n*, 33 *n*, 36 *n*.
Wells, Bangs &, 324.
Wendell, Oliver, member of Committee of Correspondence, 31.
Wentworth, —— (Beaumont), wife of John, 69.
—— Agnes (Dronsfield), wife of John, of Elmsall, 66, 68, 69.
—— Beatrix, daughter of Matthew, of Bretton (*d.* 1505). *See* Kaye.
—— Sir Butler Cavendish, 63.
—— Cecilia (Tansley), wife of Richard, of Bretton (*d.* 1449?), 66, 67.
—— Sir Charles Mary, 63.
—— Elizabeth (Woodruffe), wife of Matthew, of Bretton (*d.* 1505), 66.
—— Frances (Wentworth), wife of Sir John, Copley's portrait of, 344 *n*. *See also* Atkinson.

Digitized by Google

WENTWORTH (*continued*).
—— Frederick Thomas, third Earl of Strafford, 63.
—— Godfrey, 63.
—— Baroness Henriette Maria, 64.
—— Hugh, 63.
—— Isabel (FitzWilliam), wife of Richard, of Bretton (*d.* 1488), 66.
—— Joan (Tyas), wife of John, son of William, of Wentworth-Woodhouse, 69.
—— Sir John (*d.* 1631), 63.
—— John, of Elmsall, 66, 68, 69.
—— John, son of John of Elmsall, 69.
—— John, son of William, of Wentworth-Woodhouse, 69.
—— Sir John, Governor of New Hampshire, 344 *n*; arms assigned to, 63.
—— John, of Chicago, his Wentworth Genealogy, 64, 65, 69; cited, 64 *n*, 67 *n*, 68 *n*, 71 *n*; 344 *n*, quoted, 67, 68.
—— Margaret (Despencer) Ros, wife of Roger, of Nettlestead, 69.
—— Matthew (*d.* 1505), of Bretton, son of Richard (*d.* 1488), 66, 66 *n*, 67.
—— Peregrine, 63.
—— Richard (*d.* 1449), of Bretton, son of John, of Elmsall, 66; his marriage, 66, 67.
—— Richard (*d.* 1488), of Bretton, son of Richard (*d.* 1449), 66, 67.
—— Roger, of Nettlestead, his marriage, 69.
—— Sir Thomas, of Bretton, son of Matthew (*d.* 1505), 66.
—— Sir Thomas, of Nettlestead, created a baron, 64.
—— Thomas, first Earl of Cleveland, 63, 64.
—— Thomas, first Earl of Strafford, 62, 64, 368, 378; peerages conferred upon, 65; results of his assuming the title of Baron of Raby, 65, 65 *n*.
—— William, son of Richard, of Bretton (*d.* 1449), 67.
—— William, second Earl of Strafford, 63; receives all his father's peerage honors, 65.
—— William, of Exeter, N. H., 64.
—— family, the English, paper on, by Rev. H. A. Parker, 61–71; American branch of, settled in New Hampshire, 62; pedigrees of, by Tonge, 62, 62 *n*, 63 *n*, 66; by Gascoigne, 62; by Dugdale, 62, 62 *n*, 63 *n*, 66, 67 *n*; by Rev. J. Hunter, 62, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69; by Col. Chester, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68; by Flower, 66, 67, 68, 69; by Glover, 66, 67, 69; by J. Wentworth, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69; settlement of, in Yorkshire, 62; rank of, 62; disappearance of, 62, 63, 64; descent of American branch of, 63, 63 *n*, 64; loyal to the king in the Civil War, 64; first peerage in, 64; parallel pedigrees of, 70, 71.
—— family, of Bretton, extinction of, 63.
—— family, of Elmsall, extinction of, 63; coat of arms of, 63 *n*; American Wentworths descended from, 63 *n*; founding of, 64.
—— family, of Gosfield, extinction of, 63.
—— family, of Nettlestead, extinction of, 63; founding of, 64.
—— family, of South Elmsall, extinction of, 63.
—— family, of Wooley and Hickelton, extinction of, 63.
Wentworth-Woodhouse, Isabel (Pollington), wife of William, 69.
—— Sir Thomas, peerage honors conferred upon, 65.
—— William, created a baronet, 64.
—— family, extinction of, 63; arms of, 63, 63 *n*; peerages conferred upon, 64, 65.
West, Benjamin, 30 *n*.
—— Thomas, 237.
—— family, of Boston, 208.
Western, Charles, 345.
—— Charles Callis, Baron Western of Rivenhall, son of Charles, 345.
—— Frances Shirley (Bollan), wife of Charles, early life of, 344, 344 *n*; letter of F. Dana to, 345–347.
Weston, Sir Richard, 286, 286 *n*, 287.
—— ROBERT DICKSON, A.B., xv.
Weyman, William, his New-York Gazette, quoted, 197 *n*.
Whalley, Edward, the regicide, 291.
Wharton, Thomas, 442.
Wheat. *See* Grain.
Wheatland, Capt. Richard, 237.
Wheeler, Sir Francis. *See* Wheler.
WHEELWRIGHT, ANDREW CUNNINGHAM, A.M., deceased, xvii.

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Wheelwright (*continued*).
—— Edmund March, A.B., xiv.
—— Edward, A.M., debt of this Society to, 335.
Wheildon, William Willder, his Sentry, or Beacon Hill, cited, 297 *n*, 325 *n*.
Wheler, Sir Francis, 343, 343 *n*.
White, Andrew Dickson, D.C.L., xvi; elected an Honorary Member, 347; accepts, 366.
—— Daniel, 284 *n*.
—— John (1590–1645), 264, 272, 272 *n*.
—— John, of Boston, T. Young's estate mortgaged to, 31, 31 *n*; the mortgage assigned to D. Bradlee by, 31 *n*.
Whitefield, Edwin, 251.
—— Rev. George, 30.
Whitelocke, Sir Bulstrode, his Memorials of the English Affairs, quoted, 282; cited, 282 *n*.
Whitgift, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, 267.
Whiting, Anthony, letters from Washington to, communicated, 102; text of the letters, 106–195; Washington's anxiety regarding his health, 192, 193; death of, 192 *n*.
Whitmarsh, Rufus, 346 *n*, 347.
Whitmore, William Henry, his Massachusetts Civil List, cited, 345 *n*.
Whitney, David Rice, A.M., xiv.
—— James Lyman, A.M., xv.
Whittaker's Almanac, 74.
Whitton, Henry, 254, 257.
Wigglesworth, George, A.M., xiv.
Wilde, Silent, local express between Boston and Deerfield (1761–1775), 34, 34 *n*, 35 *n*.
Wilder, the postman. *See* Wilde, Silent.
Wilkes, John, address of Sons of Liberty of Boston to, 27.
William, Prince of Orange, 363.
William, a brig, crew of, captured, 209, 210; ordered on board English frigate, 210.
Williams, Benjamin, 226.
—— Jonathan, 257, 323.
—— Moses (1790–1882), 5 *n*.
—— Moses, A.B., xiv.
—— Roger, 318, 370.
—— Rev. Samuel, his Natural and Civil History of Vermont, cited, 49 *n*.
—— William, letter to J. Trumbull, from, quoted, 49.
Williams College, 359.
Willing Maid, a pilot boat, 215, 216.
Willmans, Henry, 193 *n*.
Wilmington, N. C., A. Steuart removes his press to, 445 *n*.
Wilson, Henry, patent on globur chart granted to, 254.
—— James Grant, 76.
—— John, teacher of mathematics, 12, 13.
—— Rev. John, 295, 306, 308, 314; his excommunication of Anne Hutchinson, 300, 301.
Winchelsea, English frigate, 210.
Windebank, Sir Francis, 276 *n*.
Windsor, Ct., 348; Stiles's History and Genealogies of Ancient, cited, 2 *n*, 3 *n*, 5 *n*; quoted, 3; donations for the poor in Boston collected in, 5 *n*.
Windsor, Eng., 283.
Winegar, Elizabeth (Doty), wife of John, 52.
—— Garret, 14, 50.
—— John, son of Garret, 52.
—— Mary, daughter of Garret. *See* Young.
—— family, 14 *n*, 50 *n*, 52 *n*.
Wing, John, 312, 313.
Winship, George Parker, A.M., xvi.
Winslow, Abigail (Atkinson), wife of John (*d.* 1695), 323.
—— Edward, Governor of Plymouth Colony, 317.
—— John (*d.* 1674), brother of Gov. Edward, 317, 320.
—— Josiah, Governor of Plymouth Colony, son of Gov. Edward, 408.
—— Mary (Chilton), wife of John (*d.* 1674), 317.
Winsor, Justin, 249, 433 *n*; his History of Duxbury, mentioned, 407; his article on Intercolonial Congresses and Plans of Union, cited, 411 *n*.
Winthrop, Elizabeth (Read), wife of John, Jr., 318.
—— Fitz-John, son of John, Jr., 245, 318, 319, 406.
—— John, Governor of Massachusetts, 298, 304, 308, 317, 318, 326, 371, 377; his first house, 295, 296, 306; his quarrel with Dudley, 296, 306; his History of New England, cited, 296 *n*, 303 *n*, 309 *n*, 316 *n*, 317 *n*; site of his first house in Boston, 298, 299, 306; his second house in Boston, 298, 299, 315; his land called Governor's

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WINTHROP (*continued*).
Green, 299, 303, 315; his Journal, 306; makes over Governor's Green to his son, 315, 316.
—— John, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, son of Gov. John, of Massachusetts, 314, 316, 318.
—— Prof. John (H. C. 1732), 7, 7 *n*.
—— Judith, wife of Stephen, 318.
—— Lucy, sister of Gov. John, of Massachusetts. *See* Downing.
—— Stephen, son of Gov. John, of Massachusetts, Governor's Green made over to, 315, 316; joins an English regiment, 316, 318; conveys property to R. Parker, 316, 320; inherits his father's land, 318; his freedom of thought, 318; sells some of his land, 318; his death, 318.
—— Wait Still, son of John, Jr., 245, 319.
Wise, Rev. John, 406.
Wiswall, Rev. Ichabod, poem by, on the comet of 1680, communicated, 403; title of the poem, 403 *n*, 404; London imprint of the poem, 403, 404; text of the poem, 404–406; early mentions of the poem, 406, 407; his authorship of the poem now first noted in print, 407; his only literary production, 407; brief sketch of, 407; his failure to graduate at Harvard, 407, 408; contemporary estimates of, 408.
Wolcott, Cornelia (Frothingham), wife of Joshua Huntington, 354.
—— Edith (Prescott) wife of Roger (1847–1900), v, 357.
—— Elizabeth (Huntington), wife of Frederick, 351, 352, 353.
—— Erastus, his State Regiment, 3.
—— Frederick, son of Oliver (1726–1797), his public services, 351, 352, 353.
—— Henry, his emigration to America, 348.
—— Huntington, son of Joshua Huntington, 354; his services in the Civil War, 354; his death, 354.
—— Joshua Huntington, son of Frederick, 353; his characteristics, 353.
—— Martha (Pitkin), wife of Simon, 349.
—— Oliver (1726–1797), Governor of Connecticut, son of Roger (1679–1767), 358; his public services, 350.
WOLCOTT (*continued*).
—— Oliver, Jr., son of Oliver (1726–1797), his public services, 350, 351.
—— Roger (1679–1767), Governor of Connecticut, son of Simon, his public services, 349, 357; his character, 349.
—— Hon. ROGER, LL.D., son of Joshua Huntington, Memoir of, communicated by Rev. A. Lawrence, 347; text of the Memoir, 348–363; his birth, 348; his ancestors, 348–353; his education, 354, 355; his foreign travel, 354, 355, 361; his Americanism, 354, 355; influence of his brother upon, 354, 355; his college career, 355; his law studies, 356; his political activities, 356, 357, 358, 361; his business interests, 356; his philanthropic interests, 356; his public interests, 356; his position in the national election of 1884, 357; first mentioned for Governor, 357; elected Lt.-Governor, 358; becomes Governor, 358; his conduct of this office, 359; receives degree of LL.D. from Williams College, 359; his popularity as a speaker, 359, 360; his action at outbreak of Spanish-American War, 360; war emergency fund granted to, 360, 361; his care for the soldiers in this war, 361; tribute of H. C. Lodge to, 361, 362; public offices declined by, 361; his death and burial, 361, 362; memorial service for, 362; his personality, 362; his character, 362, 363; tribute of G. F. Hoar to, 363; of F. T. Greenhalge, 363; his statue, 363.
—— Sarah (Drake), wife of Roger (1679–1767), 349.
—— Simon, son of Henry, 349.
Wolfe, James, 15.
Wood, Anthony à, his Fasti Oxonienses, quoted, 291 *n*.
—— John, 235.
Woodbridge, Rev. John, of Andover, 406.
—— Rev. John, of Wethersfield, son of Rev. John, of Andover, 406.
Woodbridge, N. J., Constitutional Courant may have been printed at, 434 *n*, 436, 438, 443; issues from J. Parker's press at, 444, 444 *n*.
Woodruffe, Elizabeth. *See* Wentworth.
WOODS, HENRY ERNEST, A.M., xiii, xiv; communicates letter of S. Tarbell, Jr.,

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Woods (*continued*).
239; elected Member of the Council, 334; Corresponding Secretary, *pro tempore*, 366.
Worcester, Eng., All Saint's Church, advowson of, 275 *n*, 276 *n*.
Worcester County, Mass., 80; interference with court proceedings in (1786), 387.
Worthington, Dr. ——, 235.
Wright, ——, daughter of Joseph, Sr. *See* Platt.
—— Joseph, Sr., 30 *n*.
—— Joseph, Jr., son of Joseph, Sr., his portrait of Washington, 30 *n*.
—— Patience (Lovell), wife of Joseph, Sr., her wax works, 30, 30 *n*.
—— Phœbe, daughter of Joseph, Sr. *See* Hoppner.
Wright & Gill, their claims against J. Mein, 199, 200.
Wroe, Joshua, 255.
Wyer, John, 31 *n*.
Wyman, Thomas Bellows, his Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown, cited, 5 *n*, 209 *n*, 345 *n*.
Wythe, George, 42.

Yale College, Library, copy of Constitutional Courant in, 434, 434 *n*.
Yard, Mrs. ——, 43.
Yearwood, Katherine (Rogers), Harvard Elletson, 376; her will, 381; photograph of record of marriage of, 381. *See also* Elletson; Harvard.
—— Richard, 376, 379, 381.
Yellow fever, epidemic of, in New York (1791), 40.
York, Edmund, Duke of, 67.
Yorkshire, Eng., Wentworth family of, 61; Wentworth pedigrees in visitations of, 62; printed visitations of, 62 *n*; inaccurate transcriptions of these visitations, 62 *n*; settlement of the Wentworths in, 62.
Yorktown, Pa., 41, 41 *n*.
Young, Arthur, 94 *n*, 153, 191; his inquiries concerning wheat rust, 95, 96; his theory regarding the support of stock by fallows, 145.
—— Barbara, daughter of John (*d.* 1784), 12.
—— Catharine, daughter of Thomas (1731–1777). *See* Castle.
Young (*continued*).
—— Charles, 278.
—— Rev. Edward, his Conjectures on Original Composition, mentioned, 60, 60 *n*.
—— Isaac, son of John (*d.* 1784), 12.
—— Jane, daughter of John (*d.* 1784), 12.
—— Jane (Parks), wife of John, Sr., 10, 12. *See also* Armstrong.
—— John, Sr., 10.
—— John (*d.* 1784), son of John, Sr., 10, 11 *n*, 12, 13; settles in New Windsor, N. Y., 11; removes to Albany, 11 *n*; his marriage, 11.
—— John, son of John (*d.* 1784), 12.
—— John (*d.* 1805), son of Thomas (1731–1777), 50.
—— Joseph, son of John (*d.* 1784), 9, 9 *n*; his Genealogical and Biographical Sketch, mentioned, 9 *n*; extracts from this Sketch, 10–14, 26, 27, 38, 39, 49, 50; his marriage, 50, 50 *n*.
—— Mary, daughter of John, Sr., 10.
—— Mary, daughter of John (*d.* 1784), 12.
—— Mary, daughter of John (*d.* 1805), 50.
—— Mary, daughter of Thomas (1731–1777). *See* Strong.
—— Mary (Crawford), wife of John (*d.* 1784), 10, 11.
—— Mary (Hammond), wife of John (*d.* 1805), 50.
—— Mary (Winegar), wife of Thomas (1731–1777), 31.
—— Rosmond, son of Thomas (1731–1777), 50.
—— Sarah, daughter of Thomas (1731–1777). *See* Clark.
—— Sarah, daughter of John (*d.* 1805), 50.
—— Sarah (Brown), wife of Joseph, 50.
—— Susannah, daughter of Thomas (1731–1777). *See* Knies.
—— Dr. Thomas (1731–1777), son of John (*d.* 1784), Memoir of, by H. H. Edes, 2–54; letter from, 2; this letter written either to Rev. T. Potwine or Rev. J. Perry, 3; text of the letter, 4–8; his political activity in early years of the Revolution, 8, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 41, 42; his birth, 11 *n*, 12; his early education, 12, 13,

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YOUNG (*continued*).
14; his habits of study, 13, 14; his apprenticeship to J. Kitterman, 14; his epic poem, the Conquest of Quebec, 14, 15; his residence in Amenia, 14, 15; certain place-names due to, 15, 44, 53; his friendship with Ethan Allen, 15, 16, 34, 44; his theological views, 16, 17; his part in the Oracles of Reason, 17; A. Davis's attack on his character, 17, 18–20; S. Adams's defence of, 17, 17 *n*, 21–23; his answer to Davis's attack, 24, 25; his removal to Albany, 26; his opposition to the Stamp Act, 26; his removal to Boston, 26; his anonymous pamphlet, Some Reflections on the Disputes between New-York, New-Hampshire and Col. John Henry Lydius, 26 *n*; one of the Sons of Liberty, 26 *n*; attacked by British officers, 27; his visit to the South, 28; his oration on the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, 28, 28 *n*, 29; political attacks upon, 29; his estate in Wing's Lane, 30, 31, 52; mortgages this estate, 31, 31 *n*; final disposition of this estate, 31 *n*; member of Committee of Correspondence, 31; first president of the North End Caucus, 32; his part in the tea-party, 32, 33; his communication regarding tea, 33, 34; his part in Boston political affairs, 34; defends the Committee of Correspondence, 34, 35 *n*; appointed financial agent of C. Phelps, 34;

YOUNG (*continued*).
his personal and press correspondence, 35, 35 *n*; his professional work, 35, 36 *n*, 43; a letter to S. Adams from, describing Judge Danforth's resignation, mentioned, 36; takes refuge in Newport, 37, 37 *n*, 38; attempt of the British to capture, 38; his escape from Newport, 39; his life in Philadelphia, 39, 39 *n*, 40, 41; his use of calomel, 39, 40; letters between John Adams and, 40, 40 *n*; E. Quincy's allusions to, 41; member of Albany Committee of Correspondence, 41; his part in framing the Pennsylvania Constitution, 42, 43; his opposition to J. Adams's plan favoring three legislative branches, 42; receives rank and pay of senior surgeon in the Continental Hospital, 43; memorial to Congress from, mentioned, 44; his attempt to secure the independence of the New Hampshire Grants, 44–46, 48, 52; this action opposed by the New York Council of Safety, 46; action of Congress in the matter, 46–48; his sudden death, 46, 49; his library, 49; his family, 50, 51, 52; petition to Vermont Assembly in behalf of his family, 53, 53 *n*; I. Allen's tribute to, 54; Memoir of, mentioned, 315 *n*.
—— Thomas, son of John (*d.* 1805), 50.
—— William, son of John (*d.* 1805), 50.
—— family, J. Young's account of, 9 *n*.

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